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HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

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HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

VOLUME XIX.

HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA

VOL. II. 1801-1824

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To

THOMAS MORE STORKE

He calms the tempest; never
does he curse the elements.

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OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

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HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA.

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IN the preceding volume the annals of California were brought down to the end of the last century. After a résumé of events in northern Mexico prior to 1769, a bibliographic view of authorities consulted, and a chapter on the earliest voyages to the coast from Cabrillo's discovery in 1542 to Vizcaino's exploration in 1602–3, was presented a minute record of the Spanish pacification and occupation of the shore-line from San Diego to San Francisco Bay, including the founding of missions, presidios, and pueblos. In this volume I complete the history of California as a province of Spain, note also the country's brief experience as part of the Mexican empire, and bring the general record down to the beginning of republican rule in 1824. Local and institutionary annals are continued beyond this limit to 1830. The rest of the volume is devoted to the first parts of a *Pioneer Register and Index*, containing biographic notices of all who came before 1849, a new feature in provincial annals, which it is hoped will merit approval.

The century opened quietly. Perhaps there were not in the whole course of provincial annals less eventful years than those of 1801 and 1802. Arrillaga as temporary governor issued his routine orders from Loreto, and Alberni as commandant had a very easy time of it at Monterey. Orders came from Mexico to be on guard against hostile foreigners, to watch for British ships that had doubled 'Cabo de Hornos,' and to treat with great circumspection and prudence the Anglo-Americans "who were continually arriving on the coast." The orders were duly promulgated, but no foreign craft made its appearance with hostile intent, though in May two large vessels and a small one were sighted off the coast between Monterey and Santa Bárbara,[1] and in June the American ship *Enterprise,* carrying ten guns and a crew of twenty-one men, touched at San Diego for supplies. She was from New York, and was under the command of Ezekiel Hubbell.[2]

Local happenings of the year include the illness of four or five friars at San Miguel and San Antonio, and the death of one of the number, under circumstances suggestive of poisoning by neophytes; a somewhat destructive epidemic among the Santa Bárbara Indians; a fight near Santa Clara in which five Indians were killed; a false alarm of a plot to kill the minister and burn the mission of San Cárlos; and a fire at San Juan Capistrano which destroyed quite a large amount of grain.[3]

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[1] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 77, 88, 96, 98, 118, 133-4. Communications between viceroy and governor. March 2, 1802, strict vigilance ordered, owing to war with England. *Id., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxii. 13.

[2] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 11, 12. The supply-ships of this year were the *Princesa* and *Concepcion.* They went up to Bodega, where they were separated in a fog, the former entering San Francisco Bay and the latter, after narrowly escaping grounding off the Salinas, reaching Monterey August 9th. They were at Santa Bárbara in November and at San Diego in December, probably not sailing until January or February. *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 40, 42, 44, 47; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 13; xi. 87, 161; xii. 8, 13, 14.

The president was alarmed at the rumored intention of the bishop to send a visitador to inspect the Californian establishments. Lasuen regarded it as an unheard of thing for the ecclesiastical authorities to interfere in Franciscan affairs; but he wrote to the guardian for instructions, suggesting the expediency of issuing a report to show the zeal of the friars together with new instructions on mission management, to the end that if the visitador should note any carelessness he might not deem it habitual or sanctioned by the Franciscan authorities. The guardian, Gasol, replied that the bishop could not act without the pope's special authority or a commission from the king. Should he come with merely episcopal authority he was to be received kindly, but not allowed to make his *visita* until the matter could be reported to the college, unless indeed it was likely to cause disturbance, in which case the president might use his discretion. The bishop attempted no interference, but the alarm not improbably roused the friars to new zeal and caution.[4]

In Mexico the project of opening land communication between New Mexico and California was discussed anew in connection with the pending question of dividing the province. The reports of the fiscal Borbon and General Nava of Chihuahua were unfavorable to the scheme. From a commercial point of view the proposed road would not be profitable for many years at least. One presidio on the Colorado would not suffice, and no proper survey for the location of a presidio had ever been made. There were no men to spare in New Nexico; reënforcements for California could with proper precautions cross the country without the road or a protecting presidio, and finally, the opening of the new route would probably lead to hostilities with the Indians of the Colorado region.[5] In accordance with these views the matter was dropped, though the main proposition of dividing the province was favored by both counsellors and was still an open question. Another scheme for the good of California was considered and allowed to drop out of sight. This was the proposition of Lieutenant Luis Perez de Tagle of Manila, who asked the king's license to bring a colony from the Philippines and establish it on the coast of California. In his petition Don Luis had much to say of his father's services and his own desire to serve the king. He had been at Monterey and knew the country's needs. His purpose was to build up commerce and head off the English and Dutch. His proposition was submitted to the viceroy and governor, and perhaps one reason why no more is heard of it was the modest demand of Perez to be put in command of Monterey and the coast.[6]

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[3] In a chapter on local annals for this decade I give more details of some of these events with references.

[4] Sept. 22, 1801, Lasuen to guardian. Dec. 30 and Aug. 11, 1802, Gasol to Lasuen. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 365–7. The president says the bishop has acted rather queerly on one or two occasions since the refusal to pay war contributions, omitting the title vicario foraneo from his addresses. Lasuen is glad of that, for he has not exercised the functions of the office and does not intend to unless in case of special need. A curious communication from the viceroy to the governor was that calling for a list of Jesuits in the province, and requiring all of that order to be quietly arrested at 12 o'clock of Aug. 20th. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 97–8, 102–4.

Peace with England and with Russia was announced in California at the end of 1802; fears of foreign invasion, by no means very strong in these times after so many false alarms, were thus removed; and not even a Yankee trader made her appearance on the coast so far as the records show.[7] Pedro de Alberni, military commandant of Alta California, died at Monterey on the 11th of March. He had come in 1796 as captain of the Catalan volunteers, and by virtue of his superior rank had been commandant of San Francisco until, ranking Arrillaga, he had been transferred to Monterey in 1800 on Borica's departure. His high positions in the province having been purely accidental, he has left little in the records from which we may form any estimate of his character and ability, but he had been for some years from about 1774 in command of the Jaliscan province of Nayarit, where he had rendered himself popular with both missionaries and natives; and he had commanded in 1790 the detachment of volunteers sent to garrison Nootka, where he made himself a favorite with the Indians, and left his name attached to one of the inlets on the coast of Vancouver Island. At his death the military command passed naturally into the hands of Arrillaga, who from Loreto communicated directly with the presidio commanders. Lieutenant José Font took command of the volunteer company.[8] Locally

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[5] *Borbon, Parecer sobre el Proyecto de abrir via de Comunicacion entre California y N. Mexico y establecer un Presidio á la Entrada de Rio Colorado, 1801*, MS., dated March 4th. *Nava, Informe sobre Proyecto de abrir caminos entre California y N. Mexico, 1801*, MS., dated July 20th. The fiscal's report contains a full statement of what had been done and proposed in past years concerning overland communication. June 9th, Colorado Indians not to be baptized at present. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 238.

[6] April 7, 1801, petition of Perez, forwarded Sept. 1st, by viceroy to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 105–13. Nov. 7th, Arrillaga deems the project a very useful one. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 12. Mentioned as a measure against English invasion, with nothing of results, in *Virreyes, Instrucciones*, 211.

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[7] Oct. 9, 1802, viceroy ordered high mass in honor of peace between Spain and Russia. This order was transmitted by Arrillaga to Lasuen Dec. 11, and by Lasuen to his padres Jan. 16, 1803. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 137–9. Dec. 10, 1802, Lasuen circulates order for high mass for peace between Spain and England. *Id.*, iv. 133–5, also July 25th, mass for peace with Portugal. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 150–1. Both of these are original documents and bear the signatures of various padres who complied with the order. July 1, 1802, a circular of the bishop about a tax on legacies in aid of the war. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., v. 68–73; vi. 298–303. The Spanish vessels of the year were the *Activo*, under Alférez Manuel de Murga, which arrived at San Francisco July 23. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 227; and the *Princesa*, whose arrival at San Diego is noted by Arrillaga at Loreto in the note of Nov. 6. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 17.

[8] Alberni was a native of Tortosa in Cataluña, Spain. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., v. 83. His service in Nayarit, recorded in *Maseres, Informe*, MS., and *Nayarit, Informe de la Aud. de Guadalajara, 1784*, MS. His correspondence in the archives is somewhat extensive, but chiefly of a routine character. Much of it has already been cited in the notes of the preceding volume. On Dec. 16, 1801, being very ill of dropsy he made his will in which he declared himself to be 54 years of age, the son of Jaime de Alberni and Josefa Texedor, and married to Juana Velez, a native of Tepic, who had a daughter now dead. His estate was worth about $9,000 and he made his wife sole heir, naming Sergt. Ticó as executor. He received the *viático* on Feb. 1st, and died on March 10th or 11th. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 25; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 161, 183, 187, 192; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 15, 71; xi. 168. After his

I note in 1802 a deadly epidemic at Soledad, a hurricane at San Francisco which played havoc with the roofs, and a favorable assay at Monterey of silver ore from the hills.

Several important matters occupied the friars' attention this year, one being a proposal from Mexico to change the mission system by adopting the plan formerly favored by Neve for the Channel missions; that is to leave the natives after conversion in their rancherías, requiring occasional visits by and to the padres for instruction and the performance of spiritual duties. The guardian of course opposed the change, but he called on Lasuen for a new statement of the arguments against it. The president in reply, besides dwelling on the fact that the Indians could be induced to change their habits only under the constant supervision of missionaries, recalled the tragic results of a former experiment on the Rio Colorado; and referred to the comparative failure in Baja California and at San Diego, where the sterility of the soil rendered necessary a practice somewhat similar to that proposed. He believed the innovation would be in every respect injurious, and the viceroy decided that it should not be attempted.[9]

Another question, by no means a new one, was that of chaplain's service at the presidios and pueblos. It does not appear that there were at this time any local troubles resulting from a refusal of the friars to render this service; but the governor urged the appointment of chaplains, complaining that the missionaries had not been given the necessary powers, that it was an inconvenience for soldiers to go to the missions for sacraments, and that it was bad for their morals to be free from a curate's supervision. The

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death there came from the viceroy a leave of absence dated April 3d. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., iii. 33. Arrillaga puts Font in charge of the company. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., iii. 24.

[9] *Lasuen, Informe sobre inconvenientes de dejar á los Indios en sus Rancherías despues de bautizados, 1802*, MS. Lasuen's argument was dated June 16, 1802, and the viceroy's decision, Feb. 2, 1803.

viceroy's advisers in Mexico took the ground that the evil complained of was not a very serious one. The distance to be traversed by soldiers and settlers was not greater than was often the case in sub-pueblos in other provinces; the president now had *castrense* power which he could delegate, and it would be very difficult if not impossible to obtain secular clergymen for chaplains. It need not be said that no chaplains were appointed. The truth is, the friars wanted not secular chaplains but compensation for doing chaplain duty, while the government was not willing to appoint chaplains, because their pay must come from the treasury, and could not legally be taken from the pious fund.[10] Finally the friars were troubled this year and the next by land complications. The ministers of Soledad replied at some length to a complaint from those of San Cárlos about a rancho of San Gerónimo. The president's reply was that no such complaint had ever been made. The ministers of San Cárlos in turn called for the expulsion of settlers from the rancho of Buena Vista, a step promised by Borica whenever the mission should need its lands. Arrillaga decided that as temporary governor he had no authority in the matter, and advised a petition to the superior government. Again the padres of San Juan Bautista were ordered to remove their cattle from the rancho of La Brea granted to Mariano Castro. They refused, and the matter was referred successively to president, guardian, and viceroy, the latter finally deciding that if the friars' statements were true Castro must settle elsewhere.[11]

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[10] Fiscal's opinions, September 1802, in *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., v. 79–85; ix. 26–34. Oct. 18th, Lasuen to guardian, says the bishop has addressed Tapis as chaplain of Santa Bárbara, to which he, Lasuen, has replied that there was no such appointment, title, or pay. *Id.*, xii. 367–8. 1804, Carnicer spoken of as chaplain of the troops. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiv. 20. July 15, 1806, Arrillaga complains to viceroy that while the natives have plenty of spiritual instruction, the *gente de razon* are deprived of it, many soldiers being in prison for failure to comply with church duties, because they do not know the doctrina. *Prov Rec.*, MS., ix. 88–9.

[11] Oct. 16, 1802, padres of Soledad to president. Oct. 26th, reply. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 11, 12. April 2d, padres of San Cárlos to Gov. June 16th,

The Californians—by which term for a time we are to understand Mexican residents in California—were now called upon to part with the venerable friar, Padre Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, for thirty years a missionary in the province, and for eighteen years president of the missions. He died at San Cárlos on June 26, 1803, at two o'clock in the afternoon, and was buried next day by six of his brother religious, with all possible solemnity and pomp, in a stone sepulchre at the foot of the altar on the gospel side within the mission church. We have no details respecting his last illness, and the correspondence that has been preserved respecting his death is exceedingly and surprisingly meagre. Though Lasuen's name stands second and not first chronologically in the list of Franciscan prelates, though no pen of brother friar or friend has recorded his life and virtues, I cannot but regard Lasuen as first thus far in California, both as man and missionary. In him were united the qualities that make up the model or ideal padre, without taint of hypocrisy or cant. In person he was small and compact, in expression vivacious, in manners always agreeable, though dignified. He was a frank, kind-hearted old man, who made friends of all he met. Distinguished visitors of French and English as well as of Spanish blood were impressed in like manner with his sweetness of disposition and quiet force of character. His relations with the college, with the government, and with his band of missionary workers were always harmonious, often in somewhat trying circumstances, though no one of the Franciscans had more clearly defined opinions than he. None of them had a firmer will, or were readier on occasion to express their views. His management of the mission interests for eighteen years affords abundant evidence of his untiring zeal and of his ability as a man of business. His writings, of which I have many, both original and

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reply. *Id.*, ii. 9-11. Dec. 30, 1883, guardian to V. R. Feb. 24, 1804, V. R. to Gov. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 385-6. Nov. 2, 1803, Gov. to Com. of Monterey. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 185.

copied, prepossess the reader in favor of the author by their comparative conciseness of style. Of his fervent piety there are abundant proofs; and his piety and humility were of an agreeable type, unobtrusive, and blended with common-sense. He overcame obstacles in the way of duty, but he created no obstacles for the mere sake of surmounting them. There was in him nothing of the bigot, ascetic, or fanatic; he was not the man to limp through life on a sore leg if a cure could be found; and we hear nothing of fasting and the scourge; but Padre Fermin—as he was everywhere known—to a remarkable degree for his time and environment based his hopes of future reward on purity of life, kindness, and courtesy to all, and a zealous performance of duty as a man, a Christian, and a Franciscan. Let us remember the good qualities of Junípero Serra and others like him; let us make every allowance for their weaknesses; but first among the Californian prelates let us ever rank Fermin de Lasuen as a friar who rose above his environment and lived many years in advance of his times.[12]

Estévan Tapis, who since 1798 had held a provisional *patente* from the college, immediately assumed the office of president, and the machinery of the Franciscan establishments continued to move smoothly under its new management. That this system in its mechanical aspects was a very perfect one cannot be questioned.[13]

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[12] Fermin Francisco de Lasuen was a native of Vitoria, province of Álava, Spain. The date of his birth is not recorded, nor anything of his life until he sailed from San Blas on March 14, 1768. He reached Loreto April 1st, and was assigned to the mission of San Francisco de Borja. In March 1769 he went up to Velicatá to bless Rivera's expedition starting for the north. In May 1773 he left Loreto, was at Velicatá in July, and on August 30th arrived at San Diego. He served at San Gabriel from Dec. 1773 to Sept. 1775; at San Juan Capistrano through 1776; and at San Diego until 1785, when he was elected president. During his term of office, from Sept. of that year, his head-quarters was at San Cárlos, but in addition to his frequent tours through all the missions, he was at Santa Clara almost continuously from 1786 to 1789, at San Buenaventura in 1797, and at San Luis Obispo from Oct. 1799 to August 1800. In May 1795 he received a few votes for the prelacy of his college, but Nogueira was elected. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 436. Mention of his death on June 26th. *Id.*, viii. 177; xi. 73–4; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 73; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 241. Certificate of burial on June 27th, by Carnicer, in *Monterey, Parroquia*, MS., 105. In this document Lasuen is spoked of as 'Religioso Franciscano Observante, Presidente (Predicador?) General Apostólico de Propaganda Fide, Vicario Foraneo del Ilmo. Sr. Obispo de Sonora, Comisario de la Inquisicion de Mexico, y Presidente de

Several American trading craft made their appearance on the California coast this year, creating not a little excitement in some instances by attempts at smuggling, in the success of which the people were often hardly less interested than the Yankee captains. The *Lelia Byrd* was fitted out at Hamburg by Captain Richard J. Cleveland of Salem, Massachusetts, who had just made a fortune by a four years' voyage or series of commercial adventures in the Pacific, during which he had touched the northern coast of America, but not of California, in partnership with William Shaler, and sailed in November 1801.[14] Shaler

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estas misiones de la Alta Nueva California, natural de la ciudad de Vitoria en la Provincia de Alaba, hijo de la Santa Provincia de Cantabria, é incorporado en el Apostólico Colegio de Misioneros de Propaganda Fide de San Fernando de Mexico.' June 28, 1803, padres ordered to apply the 20 masses as per usage to the dead president. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 73-5. Oct. 27, 1803, bishop of Sonora pays a high tribute to Lasuen's services and character. *Id.*, xi. 100. An old Californian says that Lasuen had very fine polite French manners—his family being of French extraction. *Taylor's Discov. and Founders*, No. 31, ii. 193. 'Le Père Firmin de la Suen, Président des missions de la Nouvelle Californie, est un des hommes les plus estimables que j'aie jamais rencontrés; sa douceur, sa charité, son amour pour les Indiens sont inexprimables.' *La Pérouse, Voy.*, ii. 300. Malaspina praises Lasuen as of real apostolic presence and spirit, and of no common instruction and manners. *Navarrete, Viages Apóc.*, 315. 'This personage was about 72 years of age (1792), whose gentle manners, united to a most venerable and placid countenance, indicated that tranquillized state of mind, that fitted him in an eminent degree for presiding over so benevolent an institution.' *Vancouver's Voy.*, ii. 34. Further complimentary notice. *Id.*, ii. 471-2. Vancouver, in the president's honor, gave his name to Pt Fermin and Pt Lasuen, still so called on modern maps. Lasuen's handwriting and autograph, in *S. Antonio, Doc. Sueltos*, MS., 26.

[13] June 30, 1803, Tapis to governor, Lasuen having died, the presidency devolves on me by virtue of patent of Jan. 26, 1798. *Arch. Sta B.*, viii. 177. Sept. 20, 1803, viceroy to governor, of similar purport. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 91; ix. 27. Sept. 26th, guardian to Tapis, cheering him to his task, which he had sought through humility to avoid. He must be guided by the acts of his predecessors. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 46-50. Appointment of Tapis as vicario foraneo announced August 3, 1804. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 41. In July 1809 Tapis was reëlected president of the missions. *Sta Clara Parroquia*, MS., 23; *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 83-6; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 297. Tapis received in 1804 his appointment as vicario foraneo y castrense. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 99-101; xii. 331; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 21; ix. 107; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 333.

[14] April 1, 1801, papers of the *Lelia Byrd*, 74 tons (but 175 tons according to Cleveland) under Capt. Forsyth, with crew of nine, signed Colonial Secretary Jefferson at Norfolk, Va. Indorsed at Hamburg by American Consul,

was master, and Cleveland second in command. The vessel was loaded with a great variety of merchandise, which it was hoped to sell profitably on the west coast of America, no matter how, when, or where. After doubling Cape Horn, and meeting with some rather interesting adventures in May 1802, at Valparaiso, where they found the American ship *Hazard*, Captain Rowan, the navigators reached San Blas in July. Here and at the Tres Marías they waited over six months, and by adroit manœuvring, sending one of their number to Mexico, and as it appears by collusion with the commissary, they succeeded not only in selling goods to the amount of $10,000 and obtaining what supplies they needed, but also bought 1,600 otter-skins just arrived from California at prices which assured the success of the trip. An amusing feature of this and other similar narratives is the cool frankness with which the Americans and English present the evasion of all Spanish commercial and revenue regulations as an action altogether praiseworthy, and the efforts of the officials to enforce those regulations as correspondingly reprehensible.

Sailing from San Blas, January 25, 1803, after careening and 'boot-topping' the vessel at the Tres Marías, our adventurers sailed in February for San Diego where they were given to understand there was a lot of otter-skins that might be obtained advantageously. On the way they found eleven naked Indians to be the only inhabitants of San Clemente Island. On the evening of March 17th, the *Lelia Byrd* passed the fort at Point Guijarros without being hailed, and anchored in San Diego harbor. Next day Commandant Rodriguez with an escort of twelve men came on board to comply with the formalities required by superior instructions, with which the reader is already familiar. He took a memorandum of the

Oct. 22, 1801. Wm. Shaler in command. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 252. Count Rouissillon, a distinguished Pole, sailed with Cleveland and Shaler, and was interested in the profits, but he left the vessel at San Blas.

provisions which the visitors pretended to need, and promised to supply them next day.[15] At the same time he indicated the necessity under the laws of an immediate departure, and returned to shore leaving Sergeant Joaquin Arce with five men as a guard, and giving the Americans permission to land without visiting the presidio. Cleveland ridicules Rodriguez for his exceeding vanity, his absurd display of a little brief authority, and the characteristic pomp with which this arrant coxcomb performed his duties. I cannot deny that Don Manuel may have been somewhat pompous in manner, but the head and front of his offending in the eyes of the Yankees was his interference with their schemes of contraband trade. From Arce it was learned that Rodriguez had about a thousand skins, several hundred of which he had confiscated recently from the *Alexander*, Captain Brown. Shaler made every effort to buy the skins, but in vain, because, as Cleveland puts it, Rodriguez "dared not indulge his desire of selling them to us." A visit was made to the shore, including an inspection of the battery at the point.

On March 21st Rodriguez came on board, received his pay for supplies, and took his leave after wishing the visitors a pleasant voyage. Preparations were completed for departure in great disappointment; but it was determined to make a final attempt to obtain the skins. It was known that the soldiers had small quantities which they would gladly dispose of if they could do so without detection. Two boats were accordingly sent under cover of night to different parts of the bay shore. One returned with a few otter-skins; but the other was seized by the watchful commandant, the mate and two men being bound and left on the beach under a guard of three men. Next morning Cleveland went ashore with four men, each armed with a brace of pistols, rescued the captives, and brought them off.[16] Sails were set at once and the somewhat hazardous attempt was made of running out past the guns of the fort. The hoisting of a flag and the firing of a blank-cartridge from the battery had no effect, and when a nine-pound ball came across her bows the *Lelia* still kept on her course, with the Spanish soldiers on board forced to occupy the most exposed and conspicuous positions. As she passed the fort two broadsides from her six three-pounders were discharged at the battery; while many of the shots from on shore took effect in the rigging, and several struck the hull, one of them making an ugly hole between wind and water.[17] Then the terrified Arce and his companions were put on shore, and in their joy at escape shouted, as Cleveland tells us, *Vivan los Americanos!*

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[15] Three cattle, nine *arrobas* of flour, one and a half *fanegas* of salt, and 24 chickens were the supplies asked for and received, according to the Spanish record in the archives.

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[16] But in a letter of April from S. Quintin—*Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iii. 205–7—Cleveland simply says the men were released on his representations. He also fired a gun as a signal of departure. Otherwise the letter agrees with his printed narrative.

[17] Except in the last sentence I have followed substantially, with a few substitutions and corrections of Spanish names, Cleveland's own version of the affair. *Cleveland's Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises. Cambridge, 1842*, i. 210–21. It is a most interesting and well written book. This was Cleveland's only visit to California, but he gives a few items of information respecting subsequent visits of his associates. Another version is that of Rodriguez in his report to the governor dated April 10th. *Rodriguez, Lo Acaecido con Tripulantes de la Fragata 'Lelia Bird,' con motivo de Compra de Nútrias, 1803*, MS.

About the fight the two narratives do not exactly agree. Cleveland, in book and letter, says the vessel endured a steady cannonade for three quarters of an hour without firing a shot, and only fired after receiving her damages, silencing the battery with two broadsides. Rodriguez says that suspicious of contraband trade he made a round in the evening, surprised the Americans of one boat trading with Cárlos Rosa at La Barraca, arrested the three, and went on to the battery where he seized some goods left in payment for 40 otter-skins. Next morning when Cleveland came ashore to see what had become of the men, one of the guard, Antonio Guillen—he was the husband of the famous old lady of San Gabriel, Eulalia Perez, who died in 1878 at a fabulous old age—came also, escaped, and hastened to warn the corporal in command of the battery that the Americans were going to sail without landing the guard. The corporal made ready his guns, and when the *Lelia* started raised his flag, fired a blank cartridge, and then a shot across her bows, as Cleveland says. Then another shot was fired which struck the hull but did no damage. This may have been the effective shot. Thereupon Sergt. Arce shouted not to fire as they would be put ashore, and the firing ceased. But when the vessel came opposite the fort on her way out she reopened the fire. The battery followed suit and did some damage, but stopped firing as soon as the vessel did, no harm being done to the fort or its defenders. It is of course impossible to reconcile these discrepancies. Rodriguez, an able and honorable man, engaged in the performance of his duty, and making a clear, straightforward report, is *prima facie* entitled to credence as against a disappointed and baffled smuggler.

The *Byrd* hastened to San Quintin for repairs, arriving on the 24th. Of her adventures in the south something is said elsewhere.[18] At San Quintin the adventurers met Brown with the *Alexander;* had and enjoyed much pleasant social intercourse with the Dominican friars, who were eager but not well provided for barter. They talked over the great battle of San Diego, in which, as they were glad to hear, no one had been hurt. They sailed for the Hawaiian Islands at the end of May. In China the skins were sold. Thus far the venture was a success, though subsequent events developed serious losses. Shaler made another trip in the *Lelia Byrd,* while Cleveland returned as a passenger to Boston on the *Alert.*[19]

At San Diego the corporal in command of the battery, José Velasquez, was subsequently put under arrest by Rodriguez for his action in the event just recorded, that is on commercial and not on military grounds. The bone of contention was the goods received in exchange for skins and confiscated. Velasquez argued that there had been between his men and the *Lelia* merely a mutual exchange of gifts, and not trade at all. Of the result we know only that the confiscated goods were sold at auction for $212, and that the proceeds seem to have been divided among the party that effected the capture.[20]

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[18] See *Hist. North Mex. States,* vol. ii., this series.

[19] Cleveland's narrative was reprinted in the *Sacramento Union* of March 4, 1861. See *Hayes' Mission Book,* i. 181-7. May 1, 1803, Arrillaga has heard of the arrival of the *Lelia Byrd. Prov. Rec.,* MS., xii. 20, 40. Sept. 7, 1803, viceroy to governor, has heard of the affair, which he seems to locate at San Francisco instead of San Diego, and is inclined to regret that the battery's fire did no more harm. He urges vigilance as usual. *Prov. St. Pap.,* MS., xviii. 307. May 1803, Corporal Ruiz, of S. Vicente, to Gov., announces arrival of the two American vessels on pretence of repairs, one of them having come out of a fight at San Diego 'muy mal parado.' Ruiz did not know of the fight or he would not have allowed the vessel to anchor. Many padres went on board. He encloses a note from the captain, Shaler, making complaint against the commandant of San Diego. *Arch. Arzob.,* MS., ii. 27. In *Prov. Rec.,* MS., ix. 20-1, Capt. Shaler is named. No other name given by the Spaniards.

As we have seen, Cleveland heard of the *Alexander* at San Diego and subsequently met her at San Quintin. She arrived at San Diego February 26, 1803,[21] Captain Brown demanding permission to remain for a time that his men might be cured of scurvy. This was accorded for eight days by Rodriguez, the sick were allowed to land at a distance from the fort to prevent contagion, and fresh provisions were also supplied. There may have been scurvy on board, but Brown's chief object was to carry on a contraband trade for otter-skins. In this he succeeded pretty well until on the night of March 3d Rodriguez sent on board an officer who seized four hundred and ninety-one skins and deposited them in the government warehouse. Brown was then ordered to depart immediately and did so, but anchored on the 7th at Todos Santos on pretence of needing wood.[22]

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[20] April 9, 10, 1803, Velasquez to governor, in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 261-6. The writer corroborates substantially Rodriguez' account of the fight. June 19, 20, 1806, commandant of S. Diego to Gov., announcing sale of goods, and naming four men deserving to share the proceeds. *Id.*, xix. 156-7. There are indications that the 40 otter-skins as well as the goods given for them were confiscated, that is that the Americans had to retire before receiving them.

[21] July 19, 1802, passport signed by Juan Stoughton, Spanish consul for 'some of the New England States' at Boston, in favor of the *fragata expedicionaria Alexander*, Capt. Juan Brown, owners, Henrique Bassy & Co. and José Taylor of Boston. Aid to be rendered should she touch in any of the king's dominions. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 243. The custom-house records of Boston show that the *Alexander* was first cleared for the N. W. coasts in 1797 under Capt. Dodge. *Boston in the N. W.*, MS., 76.

[22] Rodriguez to governor, March 10, 1803. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 243-5. April 21st, Arrillaga has heard of the affair and reported it to the viceroy. The padre of San Luis Rey has written and asked for the return of 170 of the skins which his Indians had put on board; but this he refused, as such trade is unlawful. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii, 19, 20. Aug. 17th and Sept. 16th, the V. R. has heard of the affair and urges renewed vigilance. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 393, 308. From records of 1806 it appears that the confiscated skins rotted before they could be legally disposed of and were thrown into the sea. *Id.*, xix. 145-6. Velasquez charged that Rodriguez accepted gifts from Brown and brought them off concealed in his clothing. *Id.*, xviii. 265-6. Cleveland, who as we have seen was disappointed at his failure to buy the confiscated skins, puts the transactions with Brown in a dark light. He learned from Arce that the commandant 'without first demanding their surrender, boarded the ship with an armed force, made a search, and took away all the skins they could find, together with some merchandise.' 'Had Brown negotiated with the Commandant first, it is most probable he would

After his meeting with Shaler and Cleveland he left San Quintin in April for the Northwest Coast to apply for relief and obtain a contingent of trade wherever he could impose on the Spaniards for their own benefit and his. We next hear of him at San Juan Capistrano, still in search of provisions for his crew, but whether he was successful or not is not recorded.[23]

In May the *Alexander* appeared at San Francisco—the second American vessel to enter the Golden Gate—where she remained seven days, and where the request for provisions and wood and water was of course granted, the captain's tactics and past actions not being officially known here. She sailed ostensibly for Bodega.[24] On August 11th, however, she came back with a consort, claiming to be in great distress by reason of hardships arising from Indian hostilities on the northern coasts. But the commandant turned a deaf ear to Brown's pitiful, and possibly true, tale, reminding him that only four months before he had obtained provisions enough to support his crew of sixteen men for at least eight months, and ordering him to sail forthwith, as he did next day.[25] The *Alexander* seems to have proceeded directly to Monterey, where better luck awaited her, since she obtained

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have obtained the whole quantity, and at the same time have avoided the humilating predicament of having his ship taken possession of by the rabble.' He subsequently at San Quintin learned from Brown more details, which he does not give, 'of the rough manner in which he had been treated by the commandant at San Diego, which confirmed us in the propriety of the measures we had pursued to avoid a similar treatment.' 'We had escaped similar dangers and were among a people remarkable for treachery and hostility to strangers'! *Cleveland's Nar.*, i. 212–13, 216–17.

[23] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 21.

[24] July 15, 1803, Arrillaga to Com. of San Francisco. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 249. Brief mention of this visit in connection with a later one, in *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., i. 84–7. In 1804 Macario Castro gave some testimony about trade with a ship at San Francisco in May, which I suppose may refer to this occasion. He saw plenty of people and plenty of foreign goods but knows nothing about any trade. He has no particular reason to suspect the commandant. The habilitado knows something about goods bought. José María said he had $500 and he came back with goods. Others are named who took a hand in the game. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 403–5.

[25] Aug. 26th, Argüello to Arrillaga in *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon*, MS., i. 84–5.

supplies and repaired her topmast and then was able to run away in the night without paying her bills.[26]

The vessel alluded to as having entered San Francisco Bay with the *Alexander* on August 11th, is called by the Spaniards the *Aser,* Thomas Raben. I suppose her to have been the *Hazard,* James Rowan, which, as the reader will remember, was met by Cleveland at Valparaiso the year before.[27] There was no reason to refuse Rowan's request for aid, especially after he had sent in a written statement of damages received in the north, and Argüello had gone on board to satisfy himself that the statement was true, finding the ship badly riddled with bullets and much in need of water and wood.[28] A stay of four days was therefore granted for refitting, on the express condition that there should be no intercourse with garrison or citizens. Argüello was impelled to be very cautious in this case, not only because of strict orders from Mexico,[29] but because of the *Hazard's* fifty men and twenty-two guns of nine and twelve pounds calibre, besides twenty swivel-guns, and finally because all his cavalrymen but two were absent in the San José region. The Americans, however, behaved admirably, though the vessel remained twice as long as the allotted time on account of fogs and unfavorable winds. She sailed on the 19th, having paid for her supplies in cash.[30]

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[26] Aug. 18, 1803, Lieut. Font to Argüello. Aug. 19th, reply. Argüello will try to arrest Brown if he comes to San Francisco. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 248. There is a reference also to her having anchored at Monterey on Sept. 3d; probably an error. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 184.

[27] In an article *Americans at Sea,* in *Niles' Register*, xviii. 418, the 'Hazard is said to have sailed (from Boston) Sept. 1799, under Swift, master, and Smith, mate, returning May 6, 1802; sailed again under same officers Sept. 1802, returning May 6, 1805; and sailed again under Smith, master, July 22, 1805, returning June 23, 1808. This authority is not, however, reliable.

[28] On Rowan's northern experience see *Hist. Northwest Coast*, i., this series. He brought to California an account not only of his own disasters, but those of the *Boston* at Nootka.

[29] June 13, 1803, Arrillaga sends to the commandants orders issued by the viceroy on April 14, with royal order of Aug. 10, 1802, which called for redoubled precautious and strict compliance with the old regulations in view of the constantly increasing efforts of foreigners to carry on illicit trade in the Pacific. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., ii. 59.

[30] Argüello's report in *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon*, MS., i. 84–7. The arrival of the *Alexander* and *Hazard* on this occasion has been noted by

Rowan subsequently made his appearance at Santa Bárbara in September, and succeeded in obtaining additional supplies; but at San Juan Capistrano, where he went next with the same pretext, he obtained nothing. Here he is said to have left a woman, who was sent to San Blas, and who was the cause of some irregularities on board the transport.[31]

It is not unlikely that the American captain succeeded at one port or another in exchanging surreptitiously a portion of his cargo for otter-skins, though the records contain nothing definite on the subject. Meanwhile the strictest orders came from Mexico, for it was feared not only that officials might be remiss and that contraband trade might be carried on, but also that in case of war some hostile vessel might enter the Californian ports under pretence of being an American trader in distress.[32] Notwithstanding the precautionary measures ordered it was deemed wise to reduce the military guard of California by withdrawing the company of Catalan volunteers, now numbering seventy officers and men, under the command of Font. There is no correspondence extant to show the motive for this step at such a time, without any special attempt to replace the company. It is known, however, that infantry troops had not been deemed useful in this province. A portion of the

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several writers, as Tuthill, *Hist. Cal.*, 118; Randolph, *Oration*, 310; Cronise, *Nat. Wealth of Cal.*, 36–7; but they have generally erred in calling this the first instead of the third arrival of American vessels at S. Francisco; in preserving the name *Aser;* and in changing the date of arrival from the 11th to the 1st.

[31] Dec. 23, 1883, viceroy to governor, in reply to report of Oct. 15th. The vessel is called the *Anser*, Capt. Rowen. *St. Pap.*, *Sac.*, MS., v. 83–4. Oct. 1st, Gov. to Com. of Sta Bárbara, calling the vessel *Aser*, Capt. Rowen, 26 guns and 32 men. *Prov. Rec.*, xi. 97. Oct. 3d, Gov. to Rodriguez, is informed of the arrival, probably at San Juan. *Id.*, xii. 23. Arrival of the *Anzet*. *Id.*, ix. 29.

[32] Governor to commandants with viceroy's instructions. Nov. 8th and Dec. 23d. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 284, 320; *St. Pap.*, *Sac.*, MS., v. 84; vi. 113. In the instructions of Viceroy Marquina to his successor Iturrigaray, in 1803, the frequent arrival of American vessels—to be well received according to treaty provisions—is noted, and fear is expressed that among these vessels carrying the American flag there may be some Englishmen engaged in smuggling(!). *Virreyes, Instrucciones*, 181.

company sailed in the autumn on the *Princesa* and *Activo*, the transports of the year; the rest probably departed the next year.[33] Thus close the annals of 1803.

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[33] Departure of a detachment with their families. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 32. Vague reference to approaching departure dated March 18, 1803. *Id.*, x. 18. The last invoice of supplies sent from Mexico for the company was April 30, 1803, after which there was a balance due it of $10,341. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxx. 34. The old practice of sending one transport to the north and the other to the south with the *memorias* seems to have been abandoned in these years. The *Princesa* and *Activo* in company arrived at Monterey in Sept., were at Sta Bárbara from Sept. 29th to Oct. 22d, and subsequently touched at S. Diego. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 98-9, 184-5; xii. 24. Two other Spanish vessels touched on the coast this year. On June 16th the sloop *Horcasitas* anchored at San Diego, her business not being recorded. On July 25th the ship *Concepcion* arrived at Sta Bárbara from Manila. She was commanded by Francisco Párraga, and left seven sick men. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 97, 194; ix. 28; *St. Pap.*, *Sac.*, MS., vi. 112; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 310.

CHAPTER II.

RECORD OF EVENTS—ARRILLAGA'S RULE.

1804–1806.

Nueva California a Separate Province—Arrillaga Political and Military Governor—The 'Lelia Byrd' and 'Hazard' on the Coast—The First Californian Narrative in the United States—Captain O'Cain—Russian Contracts—Precautions against Foreigners—Arrillaga and Tapis on Missions—Founding of Santa Inés—Padre Romualdo Gutierrez—An Increase of Military Force—Militia Artillery Company—Fears of Anglo-Americans—Proposed Mission on Santa Bárbara Islands—Indian Hostilities at San José Mission—Arrillaga on Provincial Needs—An Armed Cruiser—The 'Peacock' and the 'Reisos'—Captive Sailors—Winship's Voyage—Campbell's Voyage—The Guardian's Mission Regulations.

The division of the Californias into two distinct provinces, a matter under serious consideration since 1796,[1] was finally effected in 1804, by a royal order in which the official names of the new provinces were fixed as Antigua and Nueva California. The boundaries were left as before between the Dominican and Franciscan missions, and Arrillaga was made political and military governor of Nueva California at a salary of four thousand a year. A temporary governor was to be named for Antigua California and Arrillaga was to continue in command till such a governor was named. The viceroy sent this order to Loreto August 29th, and its receipt was acknowledged by Arrillaga the 16th of November, which date may therefore be regarded as that when his proprietary rule began. It was not deemed best to name immediately a ruler for the peninsula, over which Arrillaga was requested still to exercise authority, though he might proceed directly to Monterey.[2] He did not, however, come north until the next year, sailing from Loreto for San Luis Bay up the gulf on August 19, 1805, and arriving at Monterey January 20, 1806.[3]

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[1] See *Hist. Cal.*, i. chap. xxviii., this series. The viceroy Marquina urged the matter in 1800 to the king, who however desired further information. *Virreyes, Instrucciones*, 201. April 4, 1802, the viceroy asks for the president's opinion, which was given July 21st, and was favorable to the change. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 429–32.

Both the *Lelia Byrd* and the *Hazard* were on the coast again in 1804. The former was still under command of her old captain, William Shaler, and brought a cargo which had been completed in China by buying out another American vessel. This was not a successful trip nor do we know much about it. Cleveland, who, though he had returned to Boston, was half owner in the venture, tells us that Shaler arrived safely on the coast, and after a few weeks, during which he disposed of but a small portion of his cargo and that largely on credit to the friars, the *Byrd* grounded on a shoal, sprung a leak, and was with difficulty sufficiently repaired for a risky voyage back to the Hawaiian Islands.[4] According to another author, whom I suppose to have been Shaler himself, the *Lelia* from Canton arrived off the Columbia River

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[2] Aug. 29, 1804, viceroy to Arrillaga with royal order of March 26th. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 175–7, 369. Arrillaga's acknowledgment, Nov. 16th. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 21; ix. 58. Proclaimed at Sta Bárbara Dec. 9th. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 39. By a communication of Arrillaga to the viceroy Dec. 20th, it appears that he was required to comply with certain formalities before the cámara de Indias before he could exercise the powers of political governor. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 58–60. March 7, 1805, the V. R. states that Arrillaga must solicit the title of political governor through an agent before the council of Indies. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 65–6. These requirements are as unintelligible to me as they seem to have been to the governor. Also on March 7, 1805, Arrillaga was permitted, in view of the great distance from Mexico, to tender his oath of office before the eldest officer in his vicinity, who would act as comisionado for the viceroy. *Id.*, xix. 46. The boundary between the two new provinces was the place called Barrabas, or the stream and ranchería of Rosario. See communications of 1806–7 on this subject. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 204, 208; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 95; x. 2; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxix. 6.

[3] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 80; xix. 76; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xxxvii. 2; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 73; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 186. In 1807 Arrillaga complained of the dull, uneventful life in California. *Doc. Hist Cal.*, MS., iv. 171. See also *Hist. North Mex. States*, i., on the change of government.

[4] *Cleveland's Narrative*, i. 238–9, 244–5.

May 1st, proceeding down the coast and anchoring in Trinidad Bay, California, on the 11th. Adventures here, where the Americans remained a week making repairs and obtaining wood and water, are fully related. The natives, though kindly treated, were troublesome, so much so that a party of four were confined on board the ship and in repulsing an attack several were killed. The second mate also had a leg broken by a falling tree. Of the voyage down the coast from Trinidad we have the following only: "On the 23d we arrived on the coast of California, where I got abundant supplies of provisions, and began a trade with the missionaries and inhabitants for furs. We continued on the coast of California until the 8th of July, when we sailed for the gulf of that name."[5]

After a trip to Guaymas and down the coast to Guatemala Shaler returned northward, and on February "arrived without any remarkable occurrence on the coast of California, where we got plentiful supplies of provisions as usual, and were not unsuccessful in our collection of furs." He visited Santa Catalina Island, found a desirable harbor, and again anchored there in May, naming the harbor, of which he believed himself the first explorer, after a former partner Port Rouissillon. The Indian inhabitants of the island, one hundred and fifty in number, were very friendly. The ship was found to be in an unseaworthy condition, but by six weeks of hard work, attended with many mishaps, and by a free and somewhat novel use of oakum, lime, and tallow, she was made ready, and sailed early in June. Shaler anchored in San Pedro

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[5] Aug. 11, 1804, Arrillaga writes to the commandants of Sta Bárbara and San Diego that he is informed of the arrival at San Buenaventura on July 5th, and at San Juan Capistrano, seeking provisions, of the American ship *Alexander*, Capt. Wm. Shaler, 8 guns and 24 men. This must be an error of the Spaniards so far as the name of the ship is concerned. Shaler may have given his vessel a false name on account of her previous troubles at San Diego; but he would hardly have chosen so deservedly unpopular a name as that of the '*Alexander*.' See *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 102; xii. 30. Sept. 30, 1804, Castro to governor, thinks the vessel at San Francisco in May may have been the *Alexander*. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 405. These are the only allusions in the archives to Shaler's visit of 1804.

Bay where he obtained supplies for twelve months, including many hogs and sheep; then he ran down the coast, collecting furs on the way; and July 30th sailed from Cape San Lúcas for the Sandwich Islands, where he arrived in August.[6]

Captain Shaler's narrative, published in 1808, was the first extended account of California printed in the United States. The author gives a good general description of the province, its people, institutions, and prospects, which, however, does not demand extended notice here, because it was evidently made up more largely from the observations of La Pérouse and Vancouver than from those of the American trader. Moreover it is clear that such parts of Shaler's remarks as result from his own experience apply as a rule to the peninsula rather than to Alta California. "The climate," he says, "seems particularly favorable to horses and mules, as they retain their strength and vigor till past thirty years." The sea-otter of the Santa Bárbara Channel were better than on any other part of the coast; and the natives were a distinct and superior race. For several years past the author thinks American traders had left twenty-five thousand dollars annually on the coast in exchange for furs in spite of the government and to the great advantage of the people. "Under a good government the Californias would soon rise to ease and affluence." The Dominicans were "a much politer order of men" than the Franciscans. Each mission, pueblo, presidio, and port is briefly described, and the author's opinion is given that California would be an easy and desirable prey to some foreign nation,[7] leaving it to be naturally inferred that he would be glad to see it fall into the hands of his own nation, and thus entitling himself perhaps to the credit of having been the first to suggest American annexation. Shaler was an intelligent and able man, possessing considerable experience in literary, linguistic, and diplomatic matters.

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[6] July 29, 1805, Gov. to viceroy, notice of the *Wm. Shaler* repairing at Sta Catalina. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 74. The archives contain nothing further of this visit of 1805, unless it be referred to in a letter of the governor thanking Padre Ciprés of San Luis Obispo for his cold reception of the vessel anchored there. If all padres pursued this course fewer vessels would come. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 22.

[7] *Shaler, Journal of a Voyage between China and the North-western Coast of America, made in 1804*, in *American Register*, iii. 137-75. The author says: 'The Spaniards have, at a great expense and considerable industry, removed

Having thus gone somewhat beyond the year 1804 in order to follow the fortunes of the *Lelia Byrd*, I may go still further out of chronological order to conclude the subject. The ship was exchanged with the king of the Hawaiian Islands for a schooner, which was named for the queen the *Tamana* and sent back to California under John T. Hudson, probably in 1805–6, to sell the rest of the *Lelia's* cargo. Hudson spent five or six months on the coast of California, trading with the friars and natives but not daring to enter any of the principal ports. He was successful neither in disposing of any large amount of goods, nor in collecting pay for those furnished by Shaler on credit to the missionaries, only four out of twenty of whom redeemed their notes. When his patience and supplies were exhausted he returned to Honolulu.[8]

Returning again to the events of 1804 I find that the *Hazard* arrived at San Francisco January 30th from the Hawaiian Islands, disabled and in great distress, having experienced heavy gales and lost two officers and three men, besides her boats and a mast.

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every obstacle out of the way of an invading enemy; they have stocked the country with such multitudes of cattle, horses, and other useful animals, that they have no longer the power to remove or destroy them; they have taught the Indians many of the useful arts, and accustomed them to agriculture and civilization; and they have spread a number of defenceless inhabitants over the country, whom they never could induce to act as enemies to those who should treat them well, by securing to them the enjoyments of liberty, property, and a free trade, which would almost instantaneously quadruple the value of their actual possessions; in a word they have done everything that could be done to render California an object worthy the attention of the great maritime powers; they have placed it in a situation to want nothing but a good government to rise rapidly to wealth and importance...It would be as easy to keep California in spite of the Spaniards, as it would be to wrest it from them in the first instance.' *Journal*, 160–1. Shaler was, according to Cleveland, the author of *Sketches in Algiers*, and for many years consul-general of the U. S. to the Barbary powers.

[8] *Cleveland's Nar.*, i. 246–7; ii. 2; *Shaler's Jour.*, 171. There is no reference in the archives to Hudson's voyage.

Again her wants were proved real by an inspection and generously supplied. About the end of February Rowan sailed apparently for the Northwest Coast, just after the arrival of an order from the governor to detain him.[9] In September, however, the *Hazard* reappeared on the southern coast, at San Buenaventura and San Juan Capistrano, asking for provisions, which, if we may credit the official reports, were refused.[10]

Another visit of an American vessel in 1803-4 was that of the *O'Cain*, Captain Joseph O'Cain,[11] inaugurating a new system of commercial adventure on the coast. O'Cain had been mate on the *Enterprise*, touching at San Diego in 1801, and was also supposed by Arrillaga to have sailed in the San Blas transports.[12] The vessel was owned in part by Abiel and Jonathan Winship, the latter being on board, and she sailed from Boston January 23, 1803,[13] arriving at Sitka probably in September. Here he succeeded in persuading Baránof, chief manager of the Russian American colonies, to furnish a company of Aleuts with their bidarkas under the direction of Shvetzof, and to send him southward to take otters on shares. Sailing from Kadiak in October 1803, he is said to have done some trading and hunting on the coast of Alta California, but there is no definite record of his movements except that he touched at San Diego in January 1804. Here he was refused provisions, having no passport. A negro named John Brown deserted, to be subsequently sent to San Blas, and then O'Cain sailed southward.[14] His chief adventures were at San Quintin in Lower California, as related elsewhere,[15] where he remained several months, and then returned to Kadiak in June with 1,100 otter-skins to be shared with the Russians, to say nothing of several hundreds of skins which he is charged with having sold to the friars at low rates for ready money, thus defrauding his partners in the north.[16] Meanwhile complaints respecting the irregular proceedings of the Yankee traders and their abuse of hospitality were sent to Mexico, and orders more pronounced came from the viceroy for the commandants, against some of whom there was apparently a suspicion of complicity with the smugglers. Together with these orders came a demand for the withdrawal of the artillery detachment, which was sent to the governor for his opinion, and received from Arrillaga a rather weak protest, which nevertheless was efficacious for a time.[17]

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[9] Correspondence between Rowan, Argüello, and Sergeant Peralta, in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 373, 376-9; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxiv. 4; *St. Pap.*, *Sac.*, MS., v. 70.

[10] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 330, 361; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 103. The *Princesa* and *Activo* brought the *memorias* again this year, arriving at Monterey in August, and leaving S. Diego in Nov. *Id.*, xi. 192; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 332, 372.

[11] The name is written O'Kain by Cleveland. *Narrative*, i. 221. O'Kenn and O'Keene are among other variations. The vessel is called by the Russians the '*Eclipse*' and the '*Boston*.'

[12] *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 75-6. Arrillaga to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 47-50.

[13] *Boston in the N. W.*, MS., 11. The writer of this manuscript had in his possession many of the log-books of the voyages to the Northwest Coast, but could find no diary of this. He mentions, however, a letter of Abiel Winship containing advice and instructions to his brother about to embark for the first time on a long and perilous voyage.

In his first general report for 1803-4, President Tapis complained that the missions were exposed to attack on all sides, the small guards being wholly inadequate to cope with either gentiles or neophytes in case of revolt. The guard is usually reduced to two or three men, one of whom is generally sick, one in charge of the horses, and one absent on royal service. Who then is to defend the mission or escort the missionary? Fugitives are increasing and the only remedy is an immediate increase of military force. This subject was presented to the viceroy in a report of Guardian Pangua in September 1804, in which the writer presented in a strong light the threatened dangers, not only to missions and friars, but to commerce and every interest of Spain, sure to result from an attempt to protect so large a territory with so small a force.[18]

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[14] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 27-30; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 364, 368.

[15] See *Hist. North Mex. States*, ii., this series.

[16] *Khlébnikof*, *Zapizki*, 8; *Tikhménef*, *Istor. Obosranie*, app. 272-5.

[17] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 35; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 406; *Arch. Arzob.*, ii. 39. The demand for a withdrawal of the artillery came from Col. Pedro Laguna. Arrillaga admitted that the batteries were in a bad condition, owing to the storms of winter; that the artillerymen, now that the volunteers had gone, were in great isolation, unable to leave the batteries except for rations and then on foot unless they could borrow a horse; and that the province was indeed in a bad condition, with nothing left but flight for the inhabitants in case of invasion or Indian revolt. Still he thought the men not altogether useless since the guns had to be taken care of. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 38-40.

Arrillaga also made in 1804 a full and interesting report on the missions and their management. Part of the document is missing, and the exact circumstances under which it was written are not known; but it would seem to be in answer to charges of cruelty and mismanagement against the friars, similar to those made formerly by Father Concepcion; indeed, it is not unlikely that it was a reply to those very charges. The paper is a straightforward and business-like one, written by a man of good judgment and long experience. The substance of it is that the mission system, if not perfect, was a good one; the friars were in the main sensible and honest men, and the natives were as a rule well treated. Slight defects and excesses were sufficiently guarded against by Franciscan and ecclesiastical regulations, while secular interference on account of a few isolated complaints against individuals was not advisable.[19] It was in this year that Tapis received from the bishop of Sonora the appointment of vicar.

The number of missions was increased in 1804 to nineteen by the founding of Santa Inés. Explorations for a site in this region had been begun in 1795 and completed in 1798 by Ortega, Tapís, and Goycoechea.[20] The site selected was one called by the natives Alajulapu,[21] and the order that a mission should be founded there was dated in February 1803.[22] The name Santa Inés—virgin and martyr, Saint Agnes in English, often incorrectly written Santa Ynez or Inez, martyred in Rome in the fourth century at the age of thirteen—seems also to have been selected by Viceroy Iturrigaray. A sergeant and nine men having been assigned as a guard[23] and duly instructed by the commandant of Santa Bárbara, on September 17, 1804, the mission was founded with the usual ceremonies. Commandant Carrillo was present, and large numbers of neophytes came from Santa Bárbara and Purísima, some of them to remain. President Tapis preached on the occasion, and was aided in the ceremonies by fathers Ciprés, Calzada, and Gutierrez; and finally a beginning of mission work was made by the baptism of twenty-seven children and the en-rolling of many catechumens, including three chieftains.[24]

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[18] *Tapis, Informe Bienal de Misiones, 1804*, MS., 75–8. Sept. 22, 1804, *Pangua, Carta al Virey sobre peligros que amenazan la California*, MS. The writer recapitulates past discussions and orders which have never been carried out. Feb. 3, 1803, the viceroy in view of complaints of insufficient escoltas has resolved to give each mission all the force it 'absolutely needs' from the troops lately sent(?). *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 285. This would be more intelligible if the date were 1805, as very likely it should be. 1804, orders to vary the different guards according to circumstances, but never to reduce the mission escolta below six men. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 25–7. March 1, 1805, Tapis to Gov. on necessity of increased force to retake fugitives. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 30–5.

[19] *Arrillaga, Informe que dirigió al Virey sobre el estado de Indios, Misiones, y Misioneros de Alta California en lo espiritual y temporal, 1804*, MS. Dated Loreto Nov. 10, 1804. The beginning is missing.

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[20] *Ortega, Diario que forma, 1795*, MS. Dated June 17th–28th. Ortega went northward from Sta Bárbara with three men, and on June 18th found a fertile well watered spot on the Santa Rosa River, where there were eight rancherías of friendly Indians. *Tapis, Expedicion á Calahuasa, para Reconocimiento de sitios, 1798*, MS. The expedition began Oct. 17th, and the report is dated Oct. 23d, at Sta Bárbara. Besides Calahuasa, there are named Portezuelo de Mescaltitlan, Ranchería de Teguepo, Zanja de Cota, Cañada de Sotonocnni, Anajue, Ahuaslayee, Elcmana, Sanchu or Santa Rosa, Aguitsumú, Asnisihue, Stucu, Huilicqui, Casil or Nueva, Susuchi or Quemada. The site deemed best was Alajulapu about two and a half leagues north-west of Calahuasa. Also called Majalapu. *Goycoechea, Diario de Exploracion, 1798*, MS. Dated Oct. 21st, and the same in substance as that of Tapis. *Cota, Diario de Exploracion, 1798*, MS., is the record of a subsequent examination of the same territory made Oct. 23d–7th. Dec. 31, 1798, Gov. to viceroy, recommending the site at Lajalupe with 1,500 friendly Indians. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 113–14. Oct. 11, 1798, Gov. to Goycoechea ordering the explorations to be made. *Id.*, iv. 107.

[21] Also written Lajalupe, Majulapa, Majalapu, Alajulapa, and Lajulap. The meaning of the word was *rincon*, or corner.

[22] Feb. 2, 1803, viceroy to Gov., he has ordered the payment of the customary $1,000. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 285. June 30, 1803, Tapis to Gov., says there are 1,000 or 1,100 natives near the proposed site, gives instances of hostilities among the rancherías, and asks that a larger escolta than usual be granted at first. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., viii. 177–82.

[23] *Carrillo, Instruccion que observará el comandante de Escolta en la fundacion de la Mision de Santa Ynés, 1804*, MS.

The missionary founders of Santa Inés were José Antonio Calzada and José Romualdo Gutierrez. The latter left California in 1806[25] and was succeeded by Luis Gil y Taboada. Gil was replaced in 1810 by Francisco Javier de Uría, who had been at the mission as supernumerary since 1808. By the end of the first year Santa Inés had 225 neophytes, but over half of them came from the adjoining missions already baptized. In 1810 the number was 628, baptisms having been 546 and deaths 245, so that it would seem that still other accessions must have been received from abroad. Live-stock in 1810 numbered 3,200 cattle, 420 horses, 61 mules, 11 asses, and 2,300 sheep. Crops varied from 900 bushels in 1807 to 4,500 bushels in 1810. In 1805, and probably throughout the decade, Santa Inés had but a poor church, though it was already roofed with tiles.[26]

Local annals in 1804 present nothing worthy of special mention here, unless it may be the fact that an earthquake did some damage to church walls at San José and San Gabriel.

Representations on the defenceless condition of California, coming from various quarters as already indicated, produced a comparatively prompt effect in Mexico; for in April 1805 the viceroy decreed an increase of force to the extent of three captains, nineteen non-commissioned officers, and sixty-five privates to be added to the presidial companies at an annual cost to the treasury of $23,915. No new troops were to be sent from abroad, but the increase was to be effected by promotion and enlistment within the province. It was accomplished without difficulty before the end of the year, and during the next year Argüello, Carrillo, and Goycoechea were commissioned as captains, though the last named was absent from the province.[27]

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[24] *Sta Inés, Lib. de Mision*, MS., 3, 4, containing certificate of foundation by Tapis. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., viii. 151–5; certificate of Lieutenant Carrillo in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 359–60. Also mention of foundation in *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 21; ix. 57; xi. 103; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 45–6.

[25] Gutierrez came to California, as I have seen it stated in some record, in August 1804, though Tapis in announcing his departure implies that he came in 1802. He served at Santa Inés from September 17, 1804, to July 1806, when he was transferred to San Buenaventura in the hope of regaining his health; but he became worse rather than better, obtained license to retire in September, and sailed for San Blas in November. His malady according to the surgeon's certificate was an *afecto hystérico*, and there is a not very well founded tradition that the padre spent much time hunting for a viper of a peculiar kind recommended by the natives as a remedy. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 51–2; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 76–7; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 104; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 113; *Sta Inés. Lib de Mision*, MS.

[26] *Prov. St. Pap., Ben Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 40.

Also in 1805 another defensive measure was adopted, and Alférez José Roca was sent back to California to organize a militia artillery company of seventy men in accordance with Arrillaga's proposition of the preceding year.[28] Roca arrived at Monterey in September. Arrillaga, then on his way to the capital, sent orders for coöperation, and the selection and enrolment of men, chiefly in the pueblos, began immediately. The organization was probably completed before the middle of the next year, at which time instructions were issued for militia management, though we have but few details respecting this company during the decade.[29] The artillerymen were mounted and

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[27] April 1, 1805, viceroy's decree for an increase of force to take the place of the Catalan volunteers, on the basis proposed by Arrillaga March 21, 1803. Decree sent to California, with orders to governor for appointments and recruiting, on April 3d. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 47–9. Cost of the increase. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, lxxxvii. 58. The increase approved by the king on March 22, 1807. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 201–2.

[28] Jan. 19, 1805, instructions to Roca from the commandant of artillery at Vera Cruz. Roca was to act in harmony with the governor, and raise eight corporals and 62 privates. The corporals must be able to read and write, besides knowing well the residence of each private so as to assemble the company quickly in case of danger. The men must reside as near as possible to head towns; arrangements must be made for two hours' instruction every Sunday, and after completing the organization Roca was to return to Mexico. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxvii. 59–60. Nov. 21, 1804, governor to V. R. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 56.

[29] Sept. 25, 1805, Arrillaga at San Vicente to Roca. Is informed of his arrival. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 200–1. Same date, Arrillaga to commandants. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 61. Nov. 21st, Guerra to comisionado of San José, asks for lists of men fit for duty. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 78. Number of suitable men in Monterey jurisdiction 30. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiv. 26. Feb. 17, 1806, Gov. to S. José comisionado. Aid to be given to Roca. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 90. April 1, 1806, Roca

Alférez Roca seems to have remained in command instead of returning to Mexico as ordered at first.

While no American traders or other foreign craft, with the exception of the *Lelia Byrd*, as already noted, appeared on the coast this year,[30] a lively fear of Yankee schemes was experienced in Mexico, and various precautions were discussed besides the military reënforcements just recorded. Early in the year there came and was circulated in California a royal order closing all the ports in Spanish dominions to all but national mail vessels until further orders, with reprisals in the mean time against the English.[31] An Italian priest who landed at Monterey from Manila was sent as soon as possible to Mexico en route for Italy in accordance with general orders against all foreigners.[32] Arrillaga had asked for an armed vessel to protect the coast and pursue smugglers, and the matter was discussed at San Blas in September, by the board of war. There was no difference of opinion as to the importance of sending a vessel; but some officers

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will send an artilleryman to instruct the militia of Angeles every Sunday. The gun from San Gabriel to be sent thither, or perhaps the men going to the mission to say mass may better take their drill there. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 170. July 12, 1806, Arrillaga's instructions to the militia of San José. Men must not be hindered from attending to private business, but must on leaving town acquaint the corporal with their whereabouts; not exempt from obedience to parents or judges, or from community work, except when in actual service or drill. *Id.*, xix. 106-8; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 84. Distribution in 1809; commandant Roca at Soledad; 23 men at San José; 29 at Angeles; 3 at San Diego; 2 at Branciforte; 2 at Monterey; 6 at Sta Bárbara; 1 at Buenavista Rancho; 2 at El Refugio; 1 at S. Rafael Rancho; and one at Sta Gertrudis. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xl. 17-20. Aug. 25, 1809, full list of about 75 names. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xl. 17-19. Similar list of 1816. *Id.*, xlviii. 11, 12. 1810, company in great need of arms. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 120.

[30] The Spanish transports of the year were again the *Princesa* and *Activo* which brought five padres to Monterey Aug. 30th, and anchored at S. Blas on return, Nov. 21st. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 34; xi. 200; ix. 69. According to the *Gaceta de Mex.*, xii. 475, these vessels brought down quite a large amount of furs, hides, wool, fish, flour, and vinegar. The *Concepcion* from the Philippines sailed from Monterey Jan. 3d, leaving Surgeon Manuel Torres and an Italian priest, Francisco Farnesio, ill. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 195.

[31] Jan. 12, 1805, viceroy to Gov. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 45. April 8, 1805, reply. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 65-6. The cause of this order was the seizure of four Spanish vessels from South America by an English fleet in time of peace. The order had no practical effect in California, as no English vessel appeared; yet the movements of the transports do not seem to have been interrupted.

[32] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 47.

thought she should cruise continually up and down the coast, while others favored a station at Monterey whence she might take advantage of the favorable wind to swoop down on the smugglers further south at short notice. The decision was in favor of the latter plan, and the *Princesa* was recommended for the service, being strong, fast, and copper-bottomed. The proposal found favor in viceregal eyes and a corresponding decree was issued in the following March.[33]

There were misgivings in Spain and Mexico and California about the designs of the Anglo-Americans. The viceroy notified the governor of those ambitious designs as shown in the pretensions of Minister Monroe at the court of Madrid; and Arrillaga in reply sent a rumor obtained from O'Cain that the United States would have free trade with New Spain even by force, and that a Philadelphian was asking congress for 40,000 men with whom to take the country, relying also on the growing popular discontent. Similar rumors had come from other sources as early as 1799.[34] Captain Goycoechea, lately appointed governor of Baja California, complains in December of this year that "the Anglo-Americans within the past few years have not only begun to frequent the waters surrounding our possessions in quest of fish, pearls, and furs, but, confident that there is nobody to restrain them, they come with arrogant boldness to anchor in our very harbors, and to act with the same liberty as if they were Spaniards. These arrivals, which are becoming very frequent and about which your excellency must be well informed, should convince you that quite possibly this proud nation, constantly increasing its strength, may one day venture to measure it with Spain, and acquiring such knowledge of our seas and coasts may make California the object of its attack, knowing by the visits referred to what the province contains."[35]

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[33] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 87–99.

[34] Sept. 22, 1805, viceroy to Gov. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 73; Jan. 2, 1806, reply. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 70–1.

In the report from which I have just quoted Goycoechea furnished much information about California's resources, prospects, and needs, though his views did not differ materially from those expressed by others in former years. He declared that there were mines which might be profitably worked, in both Californias; that teachers were needed, since children were growing up in pitiful ignorance, and he favored the sending of idle families, and especially of children from the Mexican cities. The scheme which he urged most zealously, however, for the advancement of both provincial and royal interests, was the transfer of the San Blas department with its dock-yards and other adjuncts to a more healthful and convenient site in the north. His preference was in favor of San Quintin just below San Diego; though had his opinion been called for before he became governor of Lower California, I doubt not he would have preferred San Francisco or some other northern port. The proposition was referred, as the custom was, to various tribunals and officials for additional investigations.

Tapis desired to found a new mission on Limú or Santa Catalina Island, with a view to convert the naked and superstitious, though friendly, natives, who were not disposed to join a mission on the mainland, yet caused the friars trouble by their intercourse with the Channel neophytes. In his general report for 1804 Tapis broached the subject, ingeniously suggesting that an island establishment would be a most effective means of checking contraband trade. Arrillaga approved the plan in 1805, especially as a preventive of smuggling; but a little later in his next biennial report the president confessed that as the *sarampion*, or measles, had carried off over two hundred natives on the two islands, and as a recent investigation had shown a lack of good lands and of water, the expediency of founding a mission was doubtful.[36]

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[35] *Goycoechea, Medios para el Fomento de las California, 1805*, MS., with report of the fiscal. Dated Dec. 7th. Tuthill's remark 'These Anglo-Americans will become troublesome,' said a long-headed governor of California in 1805, *Hist. Cal.*, 124, may be a reference to Goycoechea's remarks, which I have translated as literally as a Biscayan's Spanish can be translated; or it may be a passage from Arrillaga which has escaped my notice.

Indian hostilities for many years had been rare and petty in their nature. This year an affair occurred of comparative importance. Padre Cueva of San José Mission having occasion to visit some sick neophytes in a ranchería ten or fifteen miles distant in the eastern hills, was escorted by Majordomo Ignacio Higuera and two soldiers, besides being accompanied by a few neophyte attendants. This was on the 15th of January. Arriving at the ranchería to which his visit was directed, the natives—possibly those of another ranchería on his way back, for the record is not clear in its details—instead of receiving him kindly, discharged a cloud of arrows. Higuera was killed, Cueva was struck in the face, one of the soldiers was badly wounded, and three neophytes were killed as were all the horses. The pursuit was checked apparently by the fall of a gentile, and the survivors were enabled to reach the mission.[37] As soon as news of the disaster reached San Francisco, Sergeant Peralta was despatched with eighteen men, increased to thirty-four from the settlers at San José, against the hostile gentiles. The natives had abandoned their ranchería, but were overtaken, making but slight resistance, and before the 24th, eleven of their number were killed and thirty were captured, mostly women.[38] Peralta made another raid in February, but no remnant of hostility was found, many fugitives returned voluntarily to their missions, and some gentile chieftains from distant rancherías such as Pescadero on the Rio San Francisco, or San Joaquin, came in to assure the Spaniards that they had taken no part in the outbreak.[39] Later, in May and June, there was thought to be a plot to attack and burn Santa Clara. Several Christian natives were arrested as accomplices, but Alférez Luis Argüello after scouring the sierra in all directions and bringing in twenty-two natives convinced himself that there was no hostile intention; and indeed the neophytes finally admitted that they had originated the threats and rumors merely to escape floggings.[40]

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[36] *Tapis, Informe Bienal de Misiones, 1803–4, 1805–6*, MS. In the first report he says Limú abounds with timber, water, and soil. There are ten rancherías on the island. the three largest of which Cajatsa, Ashuagel, and Liam have 124, 145, and 122 adults respectively. The men are naked, live on fish, and are eager for a mission. The natives of Huina (Santa Rosa) Island—where there are seven rancherías, the largest with 120 adults, but no facilities for a mission—are willing to move to Limú. March 1, 1805, Tapis to Arrillaga, containing the same in substance as the preceding. *Arch. St. B.*, MS., vi. 28–30. May 7th, Arrillaga to Tapis with approval. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 22. Reference to the subject also in *Arch. St. B.*, MS., vi. 28–30.

[37] Jan. 16, 1805, comisionado of S. José to com. of S. Francisco. The first ranchería was aided by two others. Arrows continued to fly all the afternoon. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 34–5. Jan. 31st, Argüello to Gov., the hostile ranchería was one of the Asisines. *Id.*, xix. 36. Tapis, *Informe General de Misiones, 1803–4*, MS., 77, says that a neophyte treacherously guided Cueva to the wrong ranchería. March 11th, governor to viceroy, the padre had visited the Asisines ranchería and was attacked on his return by another six leagues distant. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 63–4. The hostile natives called Luecheas. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 36–7. Feb. 20th, an investigation at Sta Clara by Peralta. *Id.*, xix. 29. Amador calls the natives Loechas and says they lived 14 leagues east of the mission. He says, doubtless erroneously, that the survivors defended themselves all night in a cave. *Memorias*, MS., 14, 15.

On his arrival at the capital in the beginning of 1806, one of Arrillaga's first measures was to issue instructions in which he indicated his determination to prevent the prevalent contraband trade. He declared that the laws of the Indies and the orders of himself and his predecessors had been shamefully disregarded by officials, and that no further abuses would be tolerated. Clearly Arrillaga understood the nature of the evil and its remedy. Americans could not as a rule be captured or their vessels detained, though this was to be done if possible; but by prompt action and close vigilance on the arrival of a vessel the people might be prevented from all intercourse with the strangers, who without such intercourse would have no motive to come or remain, since their demands for supplies were for the most part mere pretence. Therefore on the arrival of a vessel the news must be sent to the nearest presidio; no supplies must be given, and strict guard was to be established on the shore. No citizen was to be allowed to leave his place of residence while the vessel remained; suspicious persons were to be arrested; commandants of guards and comisionados of pueblos must be responsible for all in their jurisdiction, and were given power to arrest without legal formality, and officials neglectful of their duties were threatened with suspension.[41] There is reason to believe that Arrillaga was at first honest in his determination to break up smuggling and trade with foreigners, and perhaps he continued firm so far as Americans were concerned; but it will be seen elsewhere that he made some concessions before the year was past, in the case of the Russians.

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[38] *Peralta, Diario de una Expedicion contra Gentiles, 1805*, MS., dated S. Francisco, Jan. 30th. Jan. 31st, Argüello to Gov., announcing Peralta's success. He complains of Cueva's rashness. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 36–7. Amador says that the natives were found at a rancheria on the San Joaquin called Pitemis. *Memorias*, MS., 14, 15.

[39] Feb. 28, 1805, Argüello to governor, in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 39–40.

[40] May 20, 1805, Luis Argüello to José Argüello. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 30. May 30th, Argüello to Gov. *Id.*, xix. 42. June 25th, same to same with report of the campaign. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiii. 15, 16. The suspected Indians were Seunenes and Bolbones.

In July Arrillaga made a somewhat extended report to the viceroy on the condition of California, representing in a not very encouraging light the various institutions and industries. Indeed this ruler was never known to be enthusiastic or hopeful on any topic. In this report he gave his opinion on Goycoechea's plan of transferring the San Blas department to San Quintin. He saw no advantage in the place suggested except the excellence of its harbor, there being a lack of wood, water, fertile lands, and surrounding population. Moreover San Quintin was so situated with respect to prevailing winds that a vessel could not be quickly sent to the upper coast. A station in Alta California would be better, but in his opinion the transfer was not advisable. In place of this measure he suggested that two vessels be stationed permanently in some of the northern ports, the crews bringing their families to California and being encouraged to engage in various industries when not on active service.[42] Meanwhile the *Princesa* had been sent up for a season's cruise on the coast in quest of smugglers, and had entered upon the performance of her duties in June.[43] Arrillaga also pronounced the presidio buildings to be in a bad condition, and urged the viceroy to have them repaired and properly supplied with artillery for protection from foreigners before he should give much attention to new settlements. Iturrigaray promised to send an inspecting officer; meanwhile none but cheap, though solid, structures were to be erected.[44]

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[41] Feb. 8, 1806, Arrillaga to commandants. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 113-16. Aug. 6th, strict instructions of Argüello at S. Francisco to his successor about intercourse with foreigners. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxvii. 17. Arrillaga's complaints of Yankee infringements of the laws. *Langsdorff's Voy.*, 185. Com. of S. Francisco to fire his artillery at canoes in the bay. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 269.

Several American vessels were on the coast this year, though information about their movements is incomplete. Such is naturally the case in these times, since of most trading voyages no diary is extant and I am forced to rely on incidental mention in letters of the epoch and on fragmentary records in the archives, where wild work is generally made with American names. The *Peacock*, Captain Kimball, was the first arrival. She anchored off San Juan Capistrano on April 4th, and sent four men ashore in a boat to ask for provisions. The jealous corporal of the mission guard, mindful of Arrillaga's recent orders, not only refused supplies, but took the four men prisoners, sending them to San Diego. The *Peacock,* having recovered her boat, sailed on the 9th; anchored off San Diego, sending a letter ashore on the 10th; and was last seen at Cármen near San Miguel on the lower coast on the 19th. A vessel supposed to have been the same had already done some trading with the padre of San Miguel late in February and early in March, and had subsequently anchored in San Pedro Bay and sent to San Gabriel for provisions, March 19th, before coming to San Juan.

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[42] *Arrillaga, Relacion sobre el Estado que guardan los Presidios y Pueblos de California, 1806*, MS. Dated Monterey, July 15th.

[43] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 84; ix. 78; xi. 111; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 162. The *Princesa* brought up four friars, arriving at Monterey June 23d. The supplies were brought this year by the *Concepcion*, which arrived in August. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 267; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 101.

[44] July 18, 1806, Arrillaga to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 90-1. Dec. 17th, viceroy to Gov. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 102. For the governor's general instructions on presidio management, Indian policy, discipline, and military routine, see *Arrillaga, Preceptos generales para Comandantes, 1806*, MS. Dated S. Diego, Dec. 22d.

The letter above alluded to informed the mate, one of the captives, that the vessel would linger for a while on the coast to take him on board if he could effect his escape. Accordingly when a rumor came that a vessel had been seen off San Juan, the prisoners broke jail on the night of June 23d, took the boat of the presidio, and started out to sea; but they came back next day when they had failed to find their vessel, and after a while were sent down to San Blas.[45]

In June or July appeared another American craft on the coast called by the Spaniards the *Reizos,* and supposed by them to be under Captain O'Cain. There is much confusion in the matter, and it is difficult to say definitely whether this was the *Peacock* back again, the *O'Cain*, of which I shall presently speak, or really a distinct ship called the *Reizos,* or by some name of similar sound. This mysterious vessel anchored off San Diego on June 25th, but was refused supplies and opportunity for repairs. Then she went down to Todos Santos, where she obtained water in spite of opposition, and captured three men sent to watch her movements. The captain then attempted to use his captives to force a release of the *Peacock* prisoners, making loud threats of destroying San Diego presidio and fort, and thus forcing Rodriguez to concentrate reënforcements to the extent of four or five men and to throw up hasty fortifications; but no battle occurred, and on July 9th the last of the captive soldiers was released at San Quintin.[46]

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[45] May 4, 1806, Com. of San Diego to Gov. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 174–6. The names of the prisoners were: Tom Kilven, mate; ———, a Frenchman, boatswain; Blas Limcamk and Blas Yame, sailors from Boston. Rezánof, who was at San Francisco when the Gov. received the report, names the Frenchman Jean Pierre, and the mate Thomas Kilvain. Letter of June 17, 1806, in *Tikhménef*, *Istor. Obosranie*, app. 273. The captives represented the *Peacock* as of 108 tons, 8 guns, and 14 men. She left Boston in September 1805, and arrived at the Sandwich Islands on Feb. 12th according to Rezánof. She had a cargo of stores to be traded for furs in the north. The captain's name is called by the Spaniards Olivens Kimvell, and he is even said to have been a brother-in-law of Capt. O'Cain. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 153–5. May 19, 1806, Gov. to Com., acknowledging report of the affair. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 46. June 23d–4th, Rodriguez to Gov. Escape of the prisoners. *Id.*, xix. 136–8, 148. The *Peacock* in Baja California. *Id.*, xix. 146–7, 155, 181.

One of the released captives, a corporal, reported that there was another vessel hunting otters by the aid of northern Indians and canoes in the vicinity of Santo Tomás Island, with which vessel his captors had been in communication, and which they had now probably rejoined. This reference was perhaps to the *O'Cain*, since that vessel was again on the coast under a new commander, Jonathan Winship. With his brother Nathan as mate, Winship sailed from Boston in October 1805 with thirty men including officers. Touching at the Sandwich Islands, he was welcomed at New Archangel in April 1806 by Chief Director Baránof, who was willing enough to make a new contract for otter-hunting in the south. On or about May 23d with a hundred Aleut hunters, four Russians, twelve women, and fifty bidarkas, the *O'Cain* set sail for the south, and on June 10th anchored just north of Trinidad Bay, where Washington Sound, now Big Lagoon, was discovered, named, and partially explored.

Winship remained in and near Trinidad Bay for twelve days. Fish were very plentiful, and many skins were obtained both by trade and by hunting; but the natives were numerous and hostile, all operations had to be conducted under the ship's guns, field-pieces had to be landed to protect the camp on the bay shore, and once a fight occurred in which a savage was killed. Consequently it was deemed best to quit this region on June 22d, and having sighted the Farallones on the way south, the adventurers reached Cedros Island on June 29th. Parties of hunters were distributed on the different islands, while the ship cruised from one to another with supplies and water, spending also some time at Todos Santos and San Quintin, where a profitable trade was carried on with the missionaries. After two or three months Winship, leaving his hunters till his return, sailed by way of the Hawaiian Islands for Kadiak, where he arrived on November 9th, with skins valued at $60,000, and was soon ready for a new trip in completion of his contract. Not mentioning the second trip, which I shall describe in another chapter, the Russian authorities state that Winship returned in September with 5,000 otter-skins for sharing. He had quarrelled at Cedros Islands with the chief hunter, Slobodchikof, and the latter, purchasing an American schooner, possibly Hudson's *Tamana* mentioned in a previous chapter, renamed the *Nikolai*, had returned home by way of the Hawaiian Islands, arriving in August. Thus it will be seen there is much confusion about the voyage, although one of my authorities is founded upon the log-book of the *O'Cain*.[47]

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[46] July 5, 16, 25, 1806, reports of Rodriguez to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 129-30, 134-6, 141-3. The *Reisos*, or *Zeissos*, Capt. José Poenicar, with 35 men and 18 guns, a whaler, had left Nemtguia, U. S., in January. There was a report that O'Cain was the captain.

Yet another American hunting-voyage under Russian auspices was that of Captain Campbell with twelve bidarkas under Tarakánof. His contract was made in October 1806; he was to begin operations at

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[47] *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 13–20; *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 9, 10, 137; *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 107–8; *Tikhménef*, *Istor. Obosranie*, i. 183. If the *O'Cain* was the vessel called by the Spaniards the *Reizos*, as the dates would indicate, it is very strange that her log contains nothing about the capture of the soldiers; and if she was not, it is equally strange that nothing is said of the other vessels which she must have met. The log is silent about the quarrel with the head hunter, and the Russians say nothing of the *O'Cain's* second trip. Khlébnikof says that Bodega as well as Trinidad was visited. Tikhménef tells us that Winship was forbidden by Baránof to hunt on the California coast 'without special permission of the Spanish government.' It is certain, however, that no such permission was asked for or obtained.

Trinidad Bay, and not to go "too near" the Spanish settlements; and he returned in the following August with 1,230 otter-skins.[48]

On the 1st of October 1806 Guardian José Gasol issued an important series of regulations for the guidance of the California friars.[49] Most of the sixteen articles relate to details of ecclesiastical, missionary, and private life, and need not be presented here even in résumé. It may be noted, however, that this document gave rise to the custom of keeping in each mission a book of *patentes*, or communications from superior Franciscan authorities;[50] and that it also required an annual meeting of the friars of the different districts at San Francisco, San Cárlos, San Luis

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[48] *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 9.

[49] *Gasol, Letras Patentes del Padre Guardian, 1806*, MS. I translate the heading and preliminary remarks as an interesting sample of documents of this class. 'Fr. José Gasol, of the Regular Observance of Our Holy Father Saint Francis, Evangelical Preacher, Ex-Reader of sacred Theology, Padre of the Province of the Holy Evangel of Mexico, and Guardian of the College of San Fernando of the same city—to the Reverend Father President and other Religious of the said College, serving in the missions of Monterey, San Diego, Santa Bárbara, and others founded, or which may be founded, in New California under charge and direction of the said college—Grace in Our Lord Jesus Christ which is the true grace.

'The hour has at last come which I so much desired, Reverend Fathers and dearest Brothers in Jesus Christ, to open to Your Reverences my breast and manifest to you the sentiments of zeal and vigilance with which my heart is penetrated not only for those sons of our beloved College who live within its cells, but also for those who outside of it exercise the functions of our apostolic ministry. To both alike should extend my paternal solicitude; and Your Reverences yourselves, if, on account of being so far from your college, you should see yourselves deprived of the exhortations, counsels, and corrections conducive to spiritual consolation, might with reason complain of my negligence. In order, then, that you may have not the slightest reason for complaint, nor for accusing me in the presence of the Lord of remissness in speaking, advising, and correcting whatever is worthy of advice or correction, I have resolved (with the consent of the Venerable Discretory) to direct to Your Reverences these *letras patentes* for the purpose of establishing some points which all must observe in order that by means of this religious conformity there may be preserved among you the peace for which so zealously strove the founders of those missions, sons of this Apostolic College—and that there may be an end of the clamors which, by reason of some infractions by certain ministers, have reached not only me and my predecessors but the Viceroyalty of this Capital.' Then follow 16 articles of the instruction proper.

[50] Most of these *Libros de Patentes* have been preserved. They make up the collection I have designated, *Archivo del Obispado*, in possession of the bishop of Los Angeles. I have also the original for San José Mission. These books should really be identical for all the missions, but the padres were sometimes neglectful and several books have to be searched in order to find all the documents.

Obispo, Santa Bárbara, San Gabriel, and San Diego, for mutual religious services, consultation, and consolation—or rather the meeting was required by the guardian, and President Tapis in an adjoined circular named the places of meeting.[51]

Two topics also require mention as connected with secular interests. Gasol enjoined the friars most strictly that no information respecting mission affairs was to be furnished to the viceroy or to any official of the secular government except through the medium of the college, thus showing that the old spirit of antagonism was by no means dead. The current topic of contraband trade was also taken up, and the guardian says: "in order to avert the reprimand which the college would have to suffer from the viceroy if it should come to his knowledge that any one of your reverences was trading with the foreigners, I expressly order that no one either directly or indirectly trade with them." Evidently the good prelate had in mind not so much the sin of smuggling, if indeed it were a sin, as the danger of being caught. The uniform testimony of the traders is that the missionaries were their best customers.

Local events in 1806 were the injuries done to the presidio chapel at Santa Bárbara at first by an earthquake in March and later by a gale in May; the ravages of the measles at San Francisco from April to June during which time two hundred and thirty-six neophytes died; some new boundary disputes at San José; a destructive fire at San Miguel in August; and the consecration of two new mission churches, one at San Juan Capistrano, and the other at San Fernando. Two topics of this year's annals demand each a separate chapter: one that of inland exploration, the other the beginning of intercourse between Californians and Russians.

[51] *Archivo del Obispado*, MS., 6, 7.

CHAPTER III.

INLAND EXPLORATIONS.

1806–1810.

Preliminary Résumé of Inland Exploration—Fages, Crespí, Anza, Font, and Garcés—A Tierra Incógnita—Discoveries by Indian-Hunters—Arrillaga's Efforts—Vague Allusions—The River San Joaquin Named—Expedition of Maitorena and Sanchez from San Diego—Ruiz and Zalvidea from Santa Bárbara—Tulare and Buenavista—Moraga and Muñoz from Monterey—Mariposa—Merced River—Tuolumne—Kings River—Sites for New Missions—Later Explorations—Diaries of Viader—Names of Rancherías.

The Spanish occupation of California was limited to a narrow strip of territory along the coast from San Francisco to San Diego. Soledad, their most inland establishment, was not over thirty miles from the sea. The vast interior was a *tierra incógnita*, frequently spoken of as such in official documents. The extreme south, the modern county of San Diego, was much better known than the inland regions north. In 1774 Juan Bautista de Anza came from the Colorado River to San Gabriel diagonally across the country from south-east to north-west by a route practically the same as that now followed by the Southern Pacific Railroad. In 1775–6 Anza brought a colony to California by the same route. In connection with this expedition Father Francisco Garcés made some extensive and important explorations a little further north. He went up the Colorado to the Mojave region, and crossed westward by the thirty-fifth parallel and Mojave River to San Gabriel; then proceeding northward he traversed the since famous mountain passes into the great Tulare Valley, nearly reaching the latitude of Tulare Lake; and finally he passed out of the valley eastward and returned along the thirty-fifth parallel to the Colorado. Garcés had thus explored what is now Kern and San Bernardino counties, but though his diary was preserved in Mexico, and the results of his exploration were preserved in Font's map, yet these results, never well known, were soon completely forgotten in California. In 1781 Rivera's colony was brought from the Colorado by Gonzalez and Argüello over Anza's old route, and during this and the following year that route was many times followed backward and forward in connection with the disastrous events at the Colorado River missions. In one of these expeditions Pedro Fages took a more direct route farther south from the Gila across the mountains to San Diego. Finally Fages and Velazquez made some explorations on the San Diego inland frontier in 1783–5. Thus as I have remarked this southern district, or San Diego County, was tolerably well known.

In the north it will be remembered that in 1772 Fages and Crespí explored the country now constituting Alameda and Contra Costa counties as far as the mouth of the great rivers, getting from the hills a broad view over the inland valleys. In 1776 Anza and Font reëxamined the same territory, and added nothing but confusion to the knowledge previously gained, though in returning they passed to the east of Monte del Diablo, and thus their survey embraced a larger circuit than that of their predecessors. This same year, while the naval officers explored the bay by water, going up either Petaluma or Sonoma creek, Moraga crossed the hills from the southern head of the bay eastward to the great river, which he ascended for three days, crossed, and penetrated one day's march into the great plain beyond. In later years the Spaniards made at least one trip from San Francisco to Bodega; and the soldiers, raiding for runaway neophytes, often penetrated the borders of the interior valleys, and still oftener looked down upon them from the summits of the coast range.

Thus at the beginning of the present century, respecting the great interior of their Californian possessions the Spaniards possessed a knowledge, gained partly from vague traditions of the early explorations now nearly forgotten, but chiefly from later reports of Indian-hunting sergeants which were very barren of geographical detail, hardly more complete than might have been gained by a view from two or three coast-range summits, consisting mainly in the general facts that beyond this range were broad tulares, valleys bounded in their turn on the east by a lofty and often snow-capped sierra. In 1806 Arrillaga, probably acting under orders from Mexico though no such orders are extant so far as my researches show, made an earnest and somewhat successful effort to have the eastern country explored, with a view to the establishment of new missions in the interior in case suitable sites should be discovered. To the results of this exploration as far as known, though the records that I have been able to find are meagre, I devote this short chapter. It is a topic that might easily be disposed of in a few paragraphs; but it is also one which I deem of especial importance, respecting which every scrap of available material should be carefully preserved.

In the preceding chapter I have noticed certain expeditions in pursuit of natives from the region of Mission San José, one of which perhaps reached the San Joaquin at the Pescadero ranchería.[1] In 1804 Father Martin made a visit to the valley of the tulares, reaching a ranchería of Bubal named La Salve, but accomplishing nothing; and in 1805 it is stated that an expedition reached and named the Rio de los Santos Reyes, still called Kings River.[2] At some recent time before the autumn of 1806 a party sent out to find a route to Bodega, reached a river which was named Rio de la Pasion, apparently identical with the Calaveras River, though that was certainly on a very remarkable route to Bodega.[3] Langsdorff understood that though the Spaniards had followed the left bank of the San Joaquin for miles from its mouth on horseback they had never crossed it for want of boats. San Francisco seems to have been the only name he heard applied to that river. "Every year," says this author, "military expeditions are sent out to obtain a more exact knowledge of the interior of the country, with a view, if possible, of establishing by degrees a land communication between Santa Fé and the north-west coast of America. While I was at the mission of St Joseph April 1806 thirteen soldiers, with a sergeant and corporal, arrived there on their return from one of these expeditions. These people asserted that they had penetrated between eighty and ninety leagues into the country, and had arrived in the neighborhood of a high and widely extended chain of hills, covered with eternal snow; this chain is known to the Spaniards under the name of the Sierra Nevada." Soldiers supposed to have come from New Mexico were reported by the natives to have come to the country. Another expedition under Luis Argüello and Padre Uría was being prepared at San Francisco. It was to include Cadet Santiago Argüello, a corporal, and twenty-five men.[4]

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[1] Chapter ii. of this volume.

[2] *Martin, Visita á los Gentiles Tulareños, 1804*, MS. In a later report of 1815. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iv. 27.

The expedition of April alluded to by Langsdorff is also vaguely mentioned without details in the Spanish diary of another expedition as having made quite extensive explorations in what is now Tulare

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[3] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iv. 18, to be explained in a later diary.

[4] *Langsdorff's Voyages and Travels*, ii. 203–7. The author makes a somewhat amusing though not unnatural error when he names the ensign Afferez as one of the members of the proposed expedition, *alférez*, as the reader knows, being the Spanish for 'ensign.' Beechey, *Voyage*, ii. 5, tells us that at the time of Langsdorff's visit Luis Argüello and Uría explored the Sacramento for 70–80 leagues, and prepared to found a settlement for the conversion of the natives; but it failed.

County, giving the names San Gabriel, San Miguel, and San Pedro to three rivers, the two former being branches of the same river. This party or another is said to have started from Mission San Miguel in April for a trip of seventeen days.[5] As to the other proposed expedition of which Langsdorff speaks, there are some indications that it never started, though possibly it may have been the one which discovered and named Rio de la Pasion. Finally it is incidentally stated that the Rio San Joaquin had been discovered and named, at a date not given, before September 1806, by Alférèz Gabriel Moraga.[6] We know of course that the river had long ago been visited by Don Gabriel's father as well as by others; but there is no apparent reason to doubt that the son had given the name recently, as I know no instance in which it was used before 1806. So much for vague references; let us now glance at records which are slightly more definite.

On May 9, 1806, Arrillaga issued orders to the commandant of San Diego for an expedition to be sent out from that presidio. The instructions indicate that it was not expected perhaps to find mission sites in this southern region, but rather to obtain as much information as possible about the Indians and their rancherías, to form friendly compacts with the gentiles for the return of fugitives, and to arrest all the runaways that could be found in a search of twenty or thirty days.

On June 20th Alférez Maitorena, Father Sanchez, Sergeant Pico, twenty soldiers, and three interpreters started from San Diego, to begin their exploration at the sierra running from San Luis Rey towards San Miguel. Having visited all the rancherías for twenty-five or thirty leagues, and captured only two fugitives, the party returned on the 14th of July. Sanchez doubtless kept a diary, as the sergeant was also ordered to do, but neither document is to be found.[7]

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[5] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iv. 31–2; xii. 81–2.
[6] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iv. 5.

May 20th the governor issued instructions similar to the preceding, for an expedition to be under Alférez Luis Argüello. The territory to be explored, as vaguely indicated, seems to have been the same as that intrusted to Maitorena—that is the country from the sierra inland between San Luis and San Miguel; but Argüello was not to visit the Colorado ranchería of San Quirino.[8] Nothing more is known of this expedition, and I think it was never carried out. An expedition was however despatched from Santa Bárbara on July 19th, in accordance with Arrillaga's orders of the 10th of July. Father Zalvidea was one of the party and his diary I reproduce substantially, so far as names, dates, distances, and courses are concerned, in a note.[9] The writer alludes

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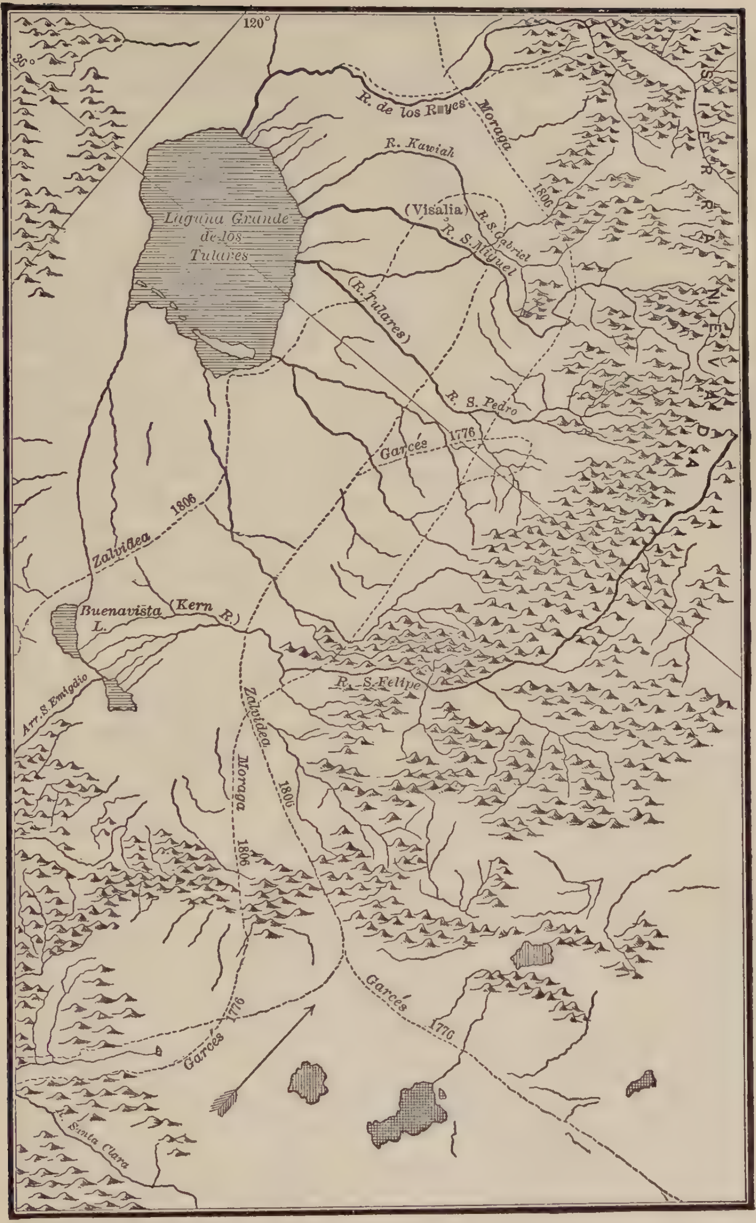
[7] June 18, 1806, commandant to governor, acknowledging receipt of instructions of May 19th. June 20th, announcement of start. July 25th, announcement of return. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 125–6, 183–7.

[8] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 37–40. Possibly this was the same expedition referred to by Langsdorff as in preparation a little earlier.

[9] *Zalvidea, Diario de una Expedicion, Tierra adentro, 1806*, MS. July 19th, went from Sta Bárbara to Sta Inés. July 20th, north, 3 leagues to Jonatas ranchería; 3 l. to Saca; 5 l. to Olomosoug. July 21st, north, 4 l. to Gecp, through broken hills. July 22d, north over the sierra, 2 l. to Talihuilimit on the plain; north-east 6 l. to Lisahua near an arroyo on an arid nitrous soil without wood or pasture. July 23d, east 4 l. to Cuia, near 3 small springs; 4 l. south to Siguecin; and back to Lisahua. July 24th, east 4 l. past a *salina* to Sgene; 7 l. east to Malapoa, or Napolea. July 25th, 8 l. north to Buenavista on the shore of a lagoon which is 8 leagues long and 5 leagues wide (this seems too large for Buenavista or Kern lakes or both, and too small for Tulare Lake, but was probably the latter), 3 branches of a great river. Balsas were used on the lake by the Indians; 2 l. no course given. July 26th, till noon, east along shore of lake; afternoon, north over a broad plain, no distance given, plenty of tules; to Sisupistu at the point of the lake. July 27th, 4 l. east across arid plains; 2 l. into a cañada, to a site called Tupai. July 28th, 30th, spent in exploring the region of the camp, which is very minutely but confusedly described, as affording several streams, some tolerably good land, oak-covered hills, swamps, and broad plains with some grass with a yellow flower; low hills form a semicircle about 7 l. from the Punta de la Laguna; and near by is a pine-covered mountain range. Tacui is the only ranchería mentioned. July 31st, 4 l. north over the plain. Aug. 1st, 5 l. north to Ranchería de los Rios, or Yaguelamé. Here were 2 of the 3 branches into which a great river from the sierra divides itself, and which 3 l. distant through a forest of poplars reunite to form the Laguna Grande de los Tulares already described. Nothing but bare hills to be seen in the north, in which direction 2 days' journey distant live the Pelones in 13 rancherías. Aug. 2d, 3 l. south; report that the Colorado River Indians from the ranchería called Majagua come here often in a 10 days' journey over a country without



MAP OF THE TULARE VALLEY.

several times to the lieutenant in command, who was probably Francisco Ruiz. The route followed was first north from Santa Inés, and then eastwardly into the great plain. The name Buenavista was applied to a ranchería on the banks of the Laguna Grande de los Tulares. I am unable by the aid of maps to follow the exact route and identify the different streams mentioned; but in what seems to have been the Visalia region Zalvidea found an excellent site for a mission, most of the country traversed being arid, alkaline, and unfit for mission purposes. They seem not to have gone further north than the southern boundary of Fresno County; and then proceeding southward, they passed through Tejon or Tehachipi pass out of the valley; followed the eastern foothills of the San Gabriel range until they turned west and crossed the mountains to San Gabriel on the 14th of August. The natives had been uniformly friendly and willing to receive missionaries, several submitting to baptism at the hands of Zalvidea.

September 4th Arrillaga notified Commandant de la Guerra of Monterey that instead of two expeditions—one from Monterey and the other from San Francisco as had apparently been the intention—one only need be despatched under Alférez Moraga, with Marcelino Ciprés as chaplain.[10] Moraga's party of twenty-five

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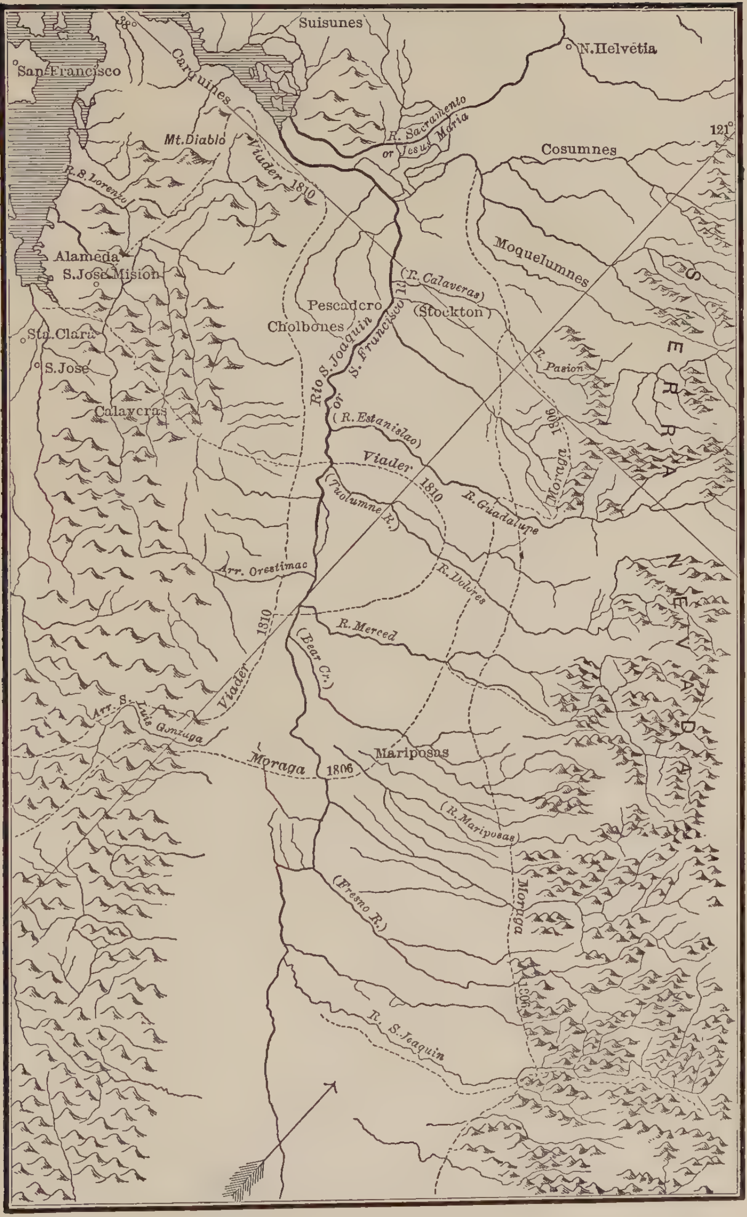
water. Aug. 3d, south to Punta de la Laguna, and one league more. Aug. 4th, 4 l. south into the cajon where two soldiers were killed some years ago. It is 5 l. from Punta de la Laguna; 5 l. from Buenavista; and 7 l. from Ranchería de los Rios. A ranchería of Taslupi mentioned. The stream of the cajon contained some saltpetre. Aug. 5th, fruitless search over the mountains for a watering-place the lieutenant had seen before, and return to camp. Aug. 6th, east through the cajon. Aug. 7th, visit to ranchería of Castegue. Aug. 8th, 4 l. east to a spring; 7 l. into a broad valley. Aug. 9th, 9 l. east through the valley, no water; 2 l. to a spring. Aug. 10th, all day over hills adjoining the sierra of San Gabriel; 6 l. in afternoon. Aug. 11th, 7 l. east to Atongai; 1.5 l. to a *ciénega;* 2.5 l. to Guapiabit. Aug. 12th, resting. Aug. 13th, 4 l. west to Moscopiabit; 4 l. to an abandoned ranchería; 2 l. to a stream said to flow into the Rio Santa Ana. Aug. 14th, 6 l. west to Guapiana; and to San Gabriel.

[10] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 117–18. The com. of San Francisco was to have a sergeant, corporal, and eight men ready to march whenever Guerra should call for them. As Ruiz had marched from the Laguna de San Buenaventura to San Gabriel without noting anything of importance, Moraga must keep to the eastward, or to the other side of the river which the other party



Map of the San Joaquin Valley.

men finally started from San Juan Bautista the 21st of September. Instead of Ciprés, Pedro Muñoz served as chaplain, and kept a full diary of the trip.[11] I reproduce the diary in substance as I have that of Zalvidea, although there are parts of it which I can not follow accurately, and although my condensation of such parts will very likely prevent their interpretation by others better acquainted with the regions explored, about which in a general way there is no uncertainty.

had not been able to cross. This I find well nigh unintelligible. Oct. 2d, Guerra notified the governor that Moraga had started for S. Juan Bautista with 15 men to join the 10 from San Francisco. *Id.*, xix. 118–19.

[11] *Muñoz, Diario de la Expedicion hecha por Don Gabriel Moraga, Alférez de la Compañía de San Francisco, á los Nuevos Descubrimientos del Tular, 1806*, MS. Started from S. Juan Bautista Sept. 21st, and went 1.5 leagues somewhat easterly, across a 'famous plain' to the Arroyo de los Huzaymas. Sept. 22d, 8 l. over a bad way to the edge of the Tular plain, to a place named before by an expedition from S. Francisco, San Luis Gonzaga, where there is a good spring (still called San Luis Cr.?). Sept. 23d, 6 or 8 l. east to a place before discovered and called Santa Rita on an arroyo, with 'many tules in all this continent' and much black willow on the stream. Sept. 24th, sought for a large ranchería in the south and then went 2 l. east to explore the great river already discovered by Moraga and by him named San Joaquin; returned to Sta Rita. Sept. 25th, moved the camp to the banks of the S. Joaquin; much good land toward the south, but some alkali; plenty of beaver and salmon. Sept. 26th, visited the ranchería of Nupchenche, chief Choley, across the river; 250 souls. Sept. 27th, crossed the river; one league north through thick tules; 2 l. over alkali lands to an arroyo with some oaks and willows, place called Mariposas (Bear Cr., name Mariposa still retained in this region) from the multitude of butterflies, one of which gave a soldier much trouble by getting in his ear. Sept. 28th, Sunday, one division stayed in camp; the alférez went north and the sergeant N. E., and both discovered a 'famous river' with many timid gentiles. Sept. 29th, 3 l. N. to the river which was named Nuestra Señora de la Merced (still called Merced River, though it was possibly Bear Cr., in order to locate Tahualamne on what is now Tuolumne River); a very favorable place for a mission; 2 rancherías, but abandoned. Sept. 30th, a party went N. W. and discovered a river similar to the Merced, but with steep banks. Another party went up the Merced and found many Indians. Oct. 1st, marched N. W. 7 or 8 l. to the river named Dolores from the time of discovery (the Tuolumne River). Oct. 2d, 1 l. to dry bed of a stream; 2 l. to a very large oak grove or forest; 1.5 l. to another river 'like the former in magnitude and Christian waters,' with immense quantities of wild grape-vines, named N^{ra} S^{ra} de Guadalupe (the Stanislaus River). Oct. 3d, 6 l. E. up the river to a ranchería of Taulamne or Tahualamne (Tuolumne?) situated on inaccessible rocks. Oct. 4th, 6 l. N. W. to the dry bed of a stream, with much ash and grape-vine, called San Francisco; 9 l. to a large river already discovered by an expedition seeking a route to Bodega and named Rio de la Pasion (it would seem that this must have been the Calaveras River in the vicinity of Stockton); back to Rio Guadalupe. Oct. 5th, Hostile demonstrations of the Indians, whose fears could not be removed. Oct. 6th, back to Rio Dolores, one party keeping along the foothills. Oct. 7th, back to Rio Merced; Indians somewhat less timid. Oct. 8th, visit to ranchería of Latelate of 200 souls; another called Lachno near it. Oct. 9th, 8 l. E. to a

Moraga took a course somewhat north of east from San Juan, crossed the San Joaquin near the present boundary between Merced and Fresno, and turned northward. The name Mariposas was applied to the creek or slough still so called or to another near by; and the first large stream crossed, deemed the best place in all the northern region for a mission, was

dry creek over a rough and rocky way. Oct. 10th, 2 l. E. to a dry creek with oaks and willows, called Santo Domingo; 5 l. E. to a river-bed, place named Tecolote. Oct. 11th, 4 l. E. to dry creek named Santa Ana; 4 l. E. over a better country to the Rio de S. Joaquin (their course for several days had probably been considerably south of east, and they were now perhaps in the vicinity of Millerton). October 12th, rest. Oct. 13th, explorations on the S. Joaquin. One party went down the river, and found nothing but bad land; the other went up stream into the mountains, finding plenty of pine and redwood, and having an interesting interview with the old chief Sujoyucomu at the ranchería of Pizcache. He said that a band of soldiers like these came from across the sierra (from New Mexico) 20 years ago and killed many of the Indians. Across the sierra northward was the sea, 10 days' journey distant, and he himself had been there! He said that a great river rose in the middle of the mountains, one branch of which flowed down the opposite side of the range, and the other was the S. Joaquin. Oct. 14th, 5 l. E. to the Rio de los Santos Reyes, discovered in 1805, an excellent place for a mission (apparently Kings River, the translation of the name being still retained). Oct. 15th, detained by rain. Oct. 16th to 18th, explorations up and down the river. Up the stream was found a ranchería under Achagua called Ayquiche, where they heard of 6 other rancherías and received confirmation of the story about the soldiers from New Mexico. Down the river were 3 rancherías of 400 souls, all anxious for a mission. Oct. 19th, moved 3 or 4 l. to a watering-place and ranchería under Gucayte, with 600 souls. Oct. 20th, 2.5 l. eastwardly to Cohochs ranchería; then to a fine river discovered by another expedition in April of this year and called San Gabriel, with another branch called San Miguel. This region covered with oaks, has 3,000 souls eager for conversion, and is the best place seen for a mission. (It must be the Visalia region though details are very confusing.) Oct. 21st, explored 7 l. eastward to the Rio San Pedro, discovered by the other expedition and now dry; back to the ranchería of 600 souls, called Telame. Oct. 22d to 24th, all the sites of the Roblar having been explored, waited for supplies from Mission S. Miguel. Oct. 25th, 2 l. E.; 2 l. W. to Rio S. Gabriel (unintelligible). Oct. 26th, 4 l. along the roblar where flows the Rio S. Pedro; and 4 l. up the roblar eastward, apparently on the river. Oct 27th, 1 l. up the river to Coyehete; 1 l. E. to arroyo of San Cayetano; 4 l. E. to another large arroyo; through a cañada to a dry creek, in search of a large river discovered by an expedition from Sta Bárbara this year (that of Zalvidea). Oct. 28th, 3 l. to the river sought, and down the river; found traces of the other expedition; a very bad country. Oct. 29th, 3 l. down the river. Oct. 30th, rest. Oct. 31st, south to a pass in the sierra. Nov. 1st, through the pass. Nov. 2d, over a hard mountain way to the rancho of Mission S. Fernando. The number baptized on the trip was 141. There follows a list of rancherías visited by this expedition and that made in April. The names are: Nupchenche, 250; Chineguis, 250; Yunate, 250; Chamuasi, 250; Latelate, 200; Lachuo, 200; Pizcache, 200; Aycayche, 60; Ecsaa, 100; Chiaja, 100; Xayuase, 100; Capatan, 12; Hualo Vual, 400; Tunctache, 250; Notonto (1st), 300; Notonto (2d), 100; Telame (1st), 600; Telame (2d), 200; Uholasí, 100; Eaguea, 300; Cohochs, 100; Choynoque, 300; Cutucho, 400; Tahualamne, 200; Coyehete, 400.

named Merced. Subsequently the explorers on a generally north-western course in a distance of twenty-five or thirty leagues crossed successively the rivers named Dolores, Guadalupe, and San Francisco, a dry bed, until they reached the large river called by a previous expedition Rio de la Pasion. If the first river was, as I suppose, the one still called Merced, the distance might possibly have brought the travellers to the Sacramento at Richland or Freeport; but this would require some of the intermediate streams to be disposed of as dry river-beds, and there is nothing in the narrative to indicate that the Pasion was so very large a river as the Sacramento. On the other hand, if we take the rivers in their order we may naturally identify the Dolores and Guadalupe with the Tuolumne and Stanislaus and suppose that Moraga reached the Calaveras.[12] A ranchería of Tahualamne, doubtless the origin of Tuolumne, was found on the second river above the Merced. The natives in the north were uniformly timid, in one instance even hostile, and though on most of the rivers they were followed far up into the hills it was only in a few instances that friendly intercourse could be established; yet such natives as were consulted professed a willingness to become Christians. Above the Rio de la Pasion there was a total change in language which prevented all intercourse.

The explorers turned about on the 4th of October and returned to the Merced, one party generally keeping to the hills and another in the plain. Thence keeping to the east, or more probably to the south-east, they reached the San Joaquin in a march of twenty leagues or more, camping perhaps in the vicinity of Millerton. The river was explored for some distance up and down; rumors were heard of visits of soldiers from New Mexico twenty years ago; and then a march of five leagues brought them to the Rio de los Santos Reyes, Kings River, discovered in 1805. The rivers San Gabriel and San Miguel explored on the 20th were apparently branches of Kawiah Creek near Visalia, the region being pronounced by this as by preceding parties excellently adapted to mission purposes. The Rio de San Pedro was perhaps the Tulare River; and the next large stream, not named, Kern River. The 1st of November Moraga and his party went through what was probably the Tejon Pass; and next day crossed the southern mountains to San Fernando Mission.

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[12] Diego Olivera, a soldier who claimed to have accompanied this expedition, said they explored the whole country from the head of the San Joaquin up north along the Sacramento and Sierra Nevada. From their camp on the Sacramento many trips were made up into the snow mountains. Moraga made a long report to the viceroy. This was the most extensive exploration of this region, though Olivera went with several others. He says that Moraga had 60 men. Olivera in *Taylor's Discov. and Founders*, No. 26, ii. The same or a similar narrative was published as the *King's Old Soldiers in California—Their Expeditions in the Interior*, in the *S. F. Bulletin, May 28, 1864*. These narratives always exhibit, and very naturally, a degree of exaggeration.

Finally in his mission report President Tapis states that four presidial expeditions accompanied by friars have been made within the year. The gentiles have everywhere manifested a desire to become Christians and receive missionaries. Twenty-four rancherías have been found with 5,300 inhabitants, of whom 192 have been baptized by the exploring friars. Only four or five good sites for missions have been found, all of them lying between the parallels of San Miguel and San Francisco. These prospective establishments will require a new presidio for their protection, because of their remoteness and of the numerous gentiles who dwell beyond the regions lately explored.[13]

The rest of this decade, so far as the topic of this chapter is concerned, may be briefly disposed of. An old soldier reports an expedition of Moraga with twenty-five men to the San Joaquin and the Sierra beyond in 1807. No cimarrones were captured, many horses were lost, and the party returned by way of Yerba Buena.[14] In October 1809 a sergeant and fifteen men spent twenty days in a tour of inspection among the rancherías, no particulars being preserved of the trip.[15] While it may be deemed very probable that several of these minor expeditions to the edge of the great valleys were made in these years without having left any definite record, it is by no means likely that explorations were pushed into any new territory. In 1810 Alférez Moraga with Father Viader made two expeditions to the San Joaquin, with a view among other things to find mission sites; and though they did not even reach the limits of previous explorations, Viader's diaries merit preservation by reason of the Indian names of rancherías and tribes.[16]

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[13] *Tapis, Informe Bienal de Misiones, 1805-6*, MS., 81-2.

[14] García, in *Taylor's Discov. and Founders*, No. 25, ii.

The first trip was made in August. Cadet Estrada was one of the party of eleven, and the route was northward from San José Mission to the mouth of the San Joaquin, up that river as near as the mire would permit for eighty or ninety miles, and thence across the mountains to San Juan Bautista. They killed many bears and deer, caught plenty of salmon and trout, and had some petty diplomatic intercourse with the gentiles; but they found in all the region traversed no spot deemed suitable in every respect for a mission. The second tour was made in October.[17]

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[15] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 249.

[16] *Viader, Diario ó Noticia del Viage que acabo de hacer por mandato del Sr Gobernador y Padre Presidente, con el objeto de buscar parages ó Sitios para fundar Misiones, Agosto 1810*, MS. August 15th, left Mission San José and went six leagues N. to a spring in San José Valley. 16th, 6 l. N. to source of Nogales Cr.; 6 l. N. to mouth of same stream in sloughs extending N. E. 17th, explorations of the plains about the mouths of the great rivers in the lands of the Tarquines (Carquines?), no facilities for a mission for lack of water. 18th, 7 l. E. over range of mountains to the Rio de San Joaquin, or as it is also called Rio de los Tulares, in the land of the Tulpunes; 2 l. E. 19th, 10 l. S. E. along edge of the tules to a lagoon in an oak grove, at or near the ranchería of Pescadero in the country of the Cholbones. 20th, 3 l. S. E. past Aupimis to opposite Tomchom; 2.5 l. to Cuyens. 21st, 3 l. past a dry creek, to Maijem; 2 l. to Bozenats. 22d, 3 l. S. E. to Tationes and Apaglamenes; 3 l. to some lagoons (all these rancherías were on the other side of the river, and the travellers simply arrived opposite them. Most of the names were those of the chiefs). 23d, 4 l. to a lagoon. 24th, turned west and in 10 l. reached San Luis Gonzaga. 25th, explorations. 26th, S. W. over the mountains, 9 l. to Ausaymas Cr. 27th, 5 l. S. W. to San Juan Bautista.

[17] *Viader, Diario de una Entrada al Rio de San Joaquin, Octobre 1810*, MS. October 19th and 21st, from San José Mission N. E. and E. N. E. to ranchería of the Cholbones, or Pescadero, on the San Joaquin. 22d, Corporal Pico sent home with captives. Up river S. E. 2 l. to opposite to Tugites. 23d,

Moraga had a company of twenty-three soldiers and fifty armed neophytes, by which force thirty Indians were captured on the San Joaquin and sent back to the missions under a guard. Subsequently the party crossed the river between the Merced and Tuolumne to make a new examination of the country. The Merced region, although the best seen, did not seem so favorable for a mission as it had been reported in 1806. Moraga also visited Bodega in September, discovering and exploring to some extent a fertile valley in that region, to which, however, he gave no name.[18]

4 l. up river S. E., meeting some Cuyens, to Mayemes; 2 l. to ford, and crossed near Taualames. 24th, tried to reach the Rio Dolores 2 or 3 l. N. W. from camp; 6 l. S. S. E. up river past the Apelamenes, or Tationes, to Rio Merced. 25th, reforded the San Joaquin 1 l. above the Merced; 3.5 l. down the river to Orestimac Arroyo opposite the Apelamenes; 2 l. to opposite Taualames; 3 l. west to Arroyo of Corpus Christi. 26th, 6 l. W. across the hills to El Toro; 6 l. to springs and little plain of San Guillermo. 27th, 6 l. W. to ranchería of the Paleños; 5 l. to Mission Santa Clara. It is to be noted that Viader's original diary in my possession and that copied from the archives of Santa Bárbara do not exactly agree in some details.

[18] *Moraga, Diario de su Expedicion al Puerto de Bodega, 1810*, MS. On the way north the 'Estero of San Juan Francisco' is mentioned, on which was a ranchería under Captain Yolo; and on the return the 'Punta del Plan de San Francisco Solano' is named. *Grijalva, Explicacion del Registro que hicimos desde San Diego*, MS., is a diary without date of an exploration for mission sites in the region of S. Diego, certainly before 1806 and perhaps long before 1800. Grijalva was not the writer, but the commander.

CHAPTER IV.

RUSSIAN RELATIONS—VISIT OF REZÁNOF AND LANGSDORFF.

1806–1810.

Preliminary Résumé of Russian American Annals—Spanish Movements and Policy—English and American Intervention—Russo-American Contracts—O'Cain—Rezánof's Visit to San Francisco—Authorities on the Voyage—Russian Motives—A Starving Colony—The 'Juno' and her Cargo—Diplomacy—An Honest Governor—Trading Friars—Deserters—Rumors of War—Critical State of Affairs—Love and Romance—Doña Concepcion Argüello—Rezánof's Departure and Death—Langsdorff's Observations—Swift and Eyers on the Coast—The 'Derby' and the 'Mercury'—Plans for Commerce and a Settlement—Kuskof at Bodega—Voyage of the Winships—Russian Schemes.

One of the chief motives as avowed by the Spaniards for the occupation of San Diego and Monterey by the expedition of 1769 had been the fear of Russian advance, or encroachment as they regarded it, from the north. The Russians were indeed destined to play a not unimportant part in the later history of California. On them she was to depend for years for her foreign trade; they were to furnish her in spite of herself with many things that she required. They were to plant themselves on her border, if not within her territory, and were to serve and annoy her at the same time. It was in 1806 that the Russians of the far north first came into actual contact with the Spanish residents of California, and in this chapter I shall trace the resulting relations down to the end of the decade.

In a later volume of this series devoted to the history of Alaska I shall present a complete record of

Russian policy and achievement in north-western America, including of course a vast amount of material bearing indirectly on the motives and results of Russian intercourse with the southern provinces; therefore the brief presentment of a few salient points of Alaskan annals will suffice for my present purpose. The first discovery of the American coast by the subjects of the Tsar was by Bering in 1741. The first permanent establishment on the coast islands was effected in 1745, and from that time voyages of exploration were frequent and progress in settlement was constant, if not very rapid, down to and beyond 1769, when the Spanish advance northward began. News of the Russian discoveries was forwarded from St Petersburg *via* Madrid to Mexico, and the same motive which had hastened the Spanish occupation of Monterey now prompted the sending of an expedition to learn what the Russians were doing in the far north, that measures might be adopted to check any dangerous advance of that nation. Perez was sent up the coast in 1774 as we have seen, and other voyagers visited the northern latitudes a little later. They found the Russians established indeed on the coast, but so far north that their presence on the continent seems to have excited no special uneasiness, even in the minds of a nation which it has been the fashion to regard as extravagantly grasping and absurdly ambitious in her pretensions to the ownership of all north-western territory.

In fact since the old ideas of contiguity to India and the Spice Islands, with rich intervening realms, had been dissipated, the Spaniards had no desire for possessions in the extreme north. They were the discoverers and first explorers of the coast up to 56° at least, and they naturally, according to the spirit of the time, deemed themselves its owners, and were inclined as a matter of course to protest against encroachments of other nations; but these protests so far as Russia was concerned were very rare and faint.

From 1770 to 1795 the *ignis fatuus* of interoceanic communication by water, of the strait of Anian, was still faintly glimmering before Spanish eyes. While it was yet deemed possible that the strait of Fuca or the Columbia might afford either communication with the Atlantic or access to New Mexico, it was clearly important to keep those channels for trade and military operations out of the control of any foreign power. It was also important to secure a broad unoccupied northern frontier beyond the highest Spanish establishment, and this necessitated a careful search for any good harbor that might exist between San Francisco and the Columbia. Before, however, these problems were solved foreign powers took possession of the intermediate territory which was the prospective basis of dispute; Russia was thrown out of the controversy altogether, and the Spaniards had to deal so far as boundaries were concerned with the English and Americans only. With the complications which followed I am not concerned at this stage of the narrative, as in them the Russians had no part, except that at rare intervals when Spain and Russia happened to be at loggerheads on account of their various alliances, precautionary orders against the northwestern otter-hunters found their way from Madrid to Mexico and thence to California. I may remark here, however, that the interference of foreign powers on the coast was much more damaging to Russian than to Spanish interests, for if the two original occupants had been left to extend their dominion naturally north and south till they met, it is almost certain that Russia would have obtained the lion's share, gradually occupying the coast line down to the Columbia, or to Trinidad and Humboldt bays; while it is very likely that Spain would never have permanently advanced beyond San Francisco or Bodega.[1]

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[1] *Revilla Gigedo, Informe de 12 de Abril, 1793*, is perhaps the best statement extant respecting the Spanish policy of these times. The feeling of the Spaniards about the extension of Russian dominion in the far north, that

The first Russian operators on the Alaskan coasts were of mixed race and termed Russians, as the Californians were termed Spaniards, though perhaps somewhat less properly. They were Kamchatkan and Siberian *promyshleniks*, a kind of fur-hunting and trading privateers, under government control only in being required to pay tribute on the products of their enterprises. They were as cruel, brutal, and avaricious as they were adventurous and brave. Banded in small parties, they fitted out their little *shitiki*, or sewn vessels, formed of planks lashed to timbers and caulked with moss, and fearlessly navigated any stormy and unknown water. Decimated by starvation, shipwreck, scurvy, and violent death at the hands of each other and of savages, they were never discouraged, and for years they had matters pretty much their own way. The history of this period is a chronicle of crime, oppression, and bloodshed such as the pen recoils from recording. We read of women ravished by hundreds from their homes, casting themselves into the sea to escape their ferocious captors; of wholesale massacres; of slavery, tyranny, and outrage; of fearful retribution by desperate natives; of drunken brawls, plots and counterplots, and hideous punishments. In short all the horrors and wrongs that had been enacted two hundred years before under the hot sun of Mexico were going on here under the bleak sky of what was soon to be Russian America.

The promyshlenik reign of terror lasted until about 1785 when the traders seeing the advantage of working together began to unite in larger companies, and to obtain by imperial ukazes exclusive privileges of monopoly. The old rivalries and feuds were, however, by no means abated, but rather assumed more formi-

is north of Nootka, was learned by Baránof in 1791 by an interview with some members of Malaspina's expedition. *Tikhménef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 37. Viceroy Azanza favored the keeping-up of a naval force to protect California especially against the Russians 'who have always showed a desire to establish themselves in that country.' *Virreyes, Instrucciones*, 188, 192. Precautionary orders in time of war. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., ix. 54; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 5; ix. 7.

dable proportions. Claims to exclusive rights by certain companies in certain districts led to serious conflicts. Amid these conflicts the natives fared badly, especially the docile Aleuts. True, kind treatment was required by orders from St Petersburg; but as the Russian proverb has it, "Heaven is high and the Tsar is afar off." The fiercer tribes of the mainland suffered less, thanks to their own valor and strategy—or treachery as the chroniclers are fond of calling it. The Russian yoke had no charms for them, as many a hotly contested fight and many a bloody massacre of their oppressors testified.

The chaos of rival companies was at length reduced to unity and order by consolidation in 1797, resulting in the organization in 1799 of the gigantic monopoly that was destined to rule these shores for so many years, the Russian American Company. Lesser companies were fused into this or abolished; and as it was under imperial protection, and counted among its shareholders the imperial family, it is no marvel that it flourished and was all-powerful, something more than a commercial company or a colony, a practically independent department of the Russian empire. The lot of the Aleuts, always a hard one, was somewhat improved under the company's rule. True they were practically slaves and animals, but as such they had a value and were entitled to a degree of protection. The natives of the mainland retained their independence and were now free from oppression, their trade and their services as hunters being in demand. Population in the colony increased slowly, being far behind the Spanish population in the Californian establishment. Furs were abundant and valuable, and the business of the company was immensely profitable from the beginning. The only drawback to prosperity was the barrenness of the country and the extreme difficulty of obtaining a food supply. Transportation overland through Siberia was slow and difficult. The voyage by water round Cape Horn could be made only at long intervals, and the fur-hunters, notwithstanding the company's wealth, were often threatened with famine. The American colony was under the immediate rule of Alexander Baránof as chief director of the company's affairs.

Spaniards and Russians in America had thus far seen but little of each other, but the time was at hand when they were to become more intimate. English and American traders in northern waters came often into contact with the Russians, who were always glad to buy any part of their cargo which could be eaten, and who doubtless listened eagerly to their reports of California wheat and corn. In 1802 peace was concluded between Russia and Spain, and was duly celebrated in the American colonies of both nations. In 1803 the American captain, O'Cain, after selling Baránof goods to the value of ten thousand roubles, persuaded him to furnish a company of Aleuts with their bidarkas, to go to California and hunt otters on shares. Baránof was reluctant to encourage any foreign interference in the fur-trade; but he had heard wonderful stories of the abundance of otters in the south, and while he knew that the Americans could accomplish but little without the Aleuts, he was also aware that the Aleuts could not be sent so far without the protection of a large vessel; moreover it was important to acquire reliable information about California. The result was that O'Cain carried his point, and that Shoetzof, a shrewd official, was sent along to make observations. This enterprise, which was most profitable, and two others made under similar contracts, have been described in a former chapter, and yet others will be noticed in their chronological order.

We shall find these Yankee contractors having things very much their own way in California for a decade or more, by the aid of the skilful Aleuts, and of the goods they carried for barter by which the connivance of the friars was generally secured, and sometimes that of the officials. The hunters became bolder and bolder, until we shall find them taking otter in San Francisco Bay under the very noses of the exasperated Spanish authorities, who, without so much as a boat in their magnificent harbor, could do nothing but look on, though they occasionally caught an incautious Aleut. Though nearly ten thousand skins were obtained in this manner as the company's share, though the terms of the contracts were equally favorable to American and Russian, and though Baránof made such contracts only with men in whose integrity he had especial confidence, yet the foreigners eventually put the company to much trouble and loss by occasional sharp practice, by exacting exorbitant prices for their furs which they threatened to carry to another market and thus create a competition, and by exciting the animosity of the Spanish authorities. This contract system seems to have been abandoned about 1815, and there is some reason to believe that it would have been more advantageous for the company had they always paid cash for such goods as they needed and kept the fur-trade exclusively in their own hands.

In September 1805 an event occurred which was to have considerable influence on future relations with California. This was the arrival at Sitka of the Russian Chamberlain Nikolai Petrovich Rezánof, in the capacity of imperial inspector of the north-eastern establishments, being also plenipotentiary of the Russian American Company. With still another mission as ambassador extraordinary to the court of Japan Rezánof had left Russia two years before with the expedition of Krusenstern and Lisiansky, who on the *Neva* and *Nadeshda* made the first Russian voyage round the world.[2] Of this famous voyage there is nothing to be said here as neither of the vessels reached California. Rezánof had left the *Nadeshda* at Petropavlovsk in June, and accompanied by Dr Langsdorff, surgeon and naturalist, had crossed over to the Aleutian Islands and thence came down to New Archangel on the island of Sitka.

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[2] *Krusenstern, Voyage round the World, in the years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806, by order of His Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, on board the ships Nadeshda and Neva, under the command of Captain A. J. Von Krusenstern of the Imperial Navy. Translated from the original German.* London, 1813.

Rezánof's object was to investigate the condition and management of the colonies, make what improvements he could, and suggest in a full report such reforms as might be conducive to future prosperity. Though no fault was found with Baránof's administration, yet the chamberlain found opportunity enough for his good offices, and seems to have worked with much zeal and no little success to ameliorate the condition of the emperor's subjects in America.[3] But there was one evil at Sitka which it was found very

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4to. 2 vols. Krusenstern was commander-in-chief from a naval point of view, though in some respects subordinate to Rezánof; sailed on the *Nadeshda* round Cape Horn to Kamchatka, and thence to Japan and back; and after leaving Rezánof, returned down the China coast and round Cape Good Hope, arriving at Cronstadt in August 1806.

Lisiansky, A Voyage round the World, in the years 1803, 1804, 1805, and *1806; performed by order of His Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, Emperor of Russia, in the ship Neva, by Urey Lisiansky, Captain in the Russian Navy.* London, 1814. 4to. The author commanded the *Neva*, which separated from her consort at the Sandwich Islands, visited the north-west coast of America above the latitude of California, and rejoined the *Nadeshda* on the China coast.

Langsdorff, Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World, during the years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, and 1807. By G. H. von Langsdorff, Aulic Counsellor to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, Consul-General at the Brazils, Knight of the Order of St Anne, and Member of various Academies and learned Societies. Illustrated by Engravings from original drawings. London, 1813. 4to. 2 vols. Dr Langsdorff was one of the naturalists on board the *Nadeshda*, appointed just before the sailing of the expedition at his own intercession and that of Rezánof. He left his vessel in Kamchatka, and after his visit to Alaska and California, of which I shall have more to say, returned to St Petersburg overland.

[3] Greenhow, *Hist. Or.*, 273-4, describes Rezánof as 'a singularly ridiculous and incompetent person' who 'after the failure of his embassy to Japan,' went to California and 'spent some time in trifling at San Francisco.' This criticism though coming from so intelligent and able a writer, I regard as almost unfounded and most unjust. Rezánof's faults, even as portrayed by his foes, were not in the direction of incompetence and trifling. The Russian authorities, with no interest in perverting the truth in this matter, agree that he was a man of unusual capacity, intelligence, and humanity, and that the colonies derived great benefit from his visit. This is not the place to discuss his acts in Japan or Alaska; and as to his trifling at San Francisco, the reader will presently see that he accomplished his purpose there under circumstances where success required the utmost prudence and sagacity.

hard to combat. Starvation brooded over the colony owing to the wreck of one vessel and the failure of another to arrive. A pound of bread issued daily to each of the two hundred men on the island would exhaust the supply in a few weeks; fish could not be caught, and the supply of dried fish, sea-lion, and seal-meat was very low; eagles, crows, devil-fish, anything and everything were eaten. Scurvy, the camp-follower of want in those regions, made fearful havoc among the sufferers; a cold rain poured down incessantly; hunger, misery, despair, and death ruled the dismal scene. No wonder Rezánof exclaims, "We live in Sitka only upon the hope of leaving it."

In the midst of all this distress, temporary relief came in the American ship *Juno*, Captain Wolfe, which with all its cargo was purchased by Rezánof for eight thousand dollars.[4] This relief being but temporary and the situation of affairs becoming again critical in the spring, Rezánof was forced to devise new expedients and at length hit upon that of going to California for provisions. Trade with foreigners was forbidden there it is true, but starvation was a harder matter to face than Spanish law as administered on the Pacific. Possibly also a little profitable business in furs might be transacted, "if not with the viceroy's permission, at least in a private manner through the missionaries."[5] The plan once conceived, action was not long deferred. The *Juno* was made ready; a cargo of goods likely to tempt the Californian taste was selected; and on the 8th of March 1806, Rezánof, still accompanied by Dr Langsdorff, put to sea. Of the crew, weakened by the famine at Sitka

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[4] *Rezánof, Zapiski*, 203–4. This letter is dated New Archangel, Nov. 6, 1805. The *Juno*, built at Bristol, Mass., in 1799, was a stanch copper-bottomed and fast vessel of 206 tons. Five American sailors entered the company's service. Most of the rest went to the Hawaiian Islands in the sloop *Ermak*, which Rezánof threw into the bargain with the wish 'God grant that they may not have paid too dear for their rashness' in trusting their lives to such a craft. Langsdorff, *Voyages*, ii. 88, gives the American's name as Dwolf.

[5] 'The missionaries were the chief agents in this contraband trade.' *Tikhménef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 146.

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and reduced rapidly by scurvy, half were soon unable to do duty. Three times at the imminent risk of shipwreck they desperately attempted but in vain to enter the Columbia River. They began to despair of ever reaching California; but the terrible scurvy, sparing none, made it necessary to go forward or die. A change of the moon brought favorable winds, and on the 4th of April the mariners had reached the latitude of San Francisco and were peering with pallid faces through the dense fog-bank for a glimpse of the promised land. The *Juno* anchored outside the heads and next morning, April 5th,[6] ran straight for the harbor with tide and wind, and all sails set. In view of the critical state of affairs on board, Rezánof resolved to run past the fort even at the risk of receiving a few cannon-balls. "What ship?" was the greeting sent to the strangers through the trumpet from the shore. "Russian," was shouted back. "Let go your anchor," thundered the Spaniard. "Si señor; si señor," replied the Russian, and the anchor was dropped—as soon as the *Juno* was safely out of the guns' range.[7]

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[6] Langsdorff has the date April 8th, or the equivalent of March 28th, old style. The Spanish archives do not give the exact date.

[7] The best and most complete authority on this expedition and the attendant negotiations is *Rezánof, Zapiski*, 253–77, being the chamberlain's letter dated New Archangel June 17, 1806, after his return. *Langsdorff's Voyages*, ii. 97–8, 136–221, is the other original authority, very full and containing much more information about California than the other work, being in fact second to that work only in its account of the diplomatic relations and negotiations between Rezánof and the Californian authorities. Notwithstanding certain eccentricities of judgment, some amusing blunders arising from ignorance of the Spanish language, and a singularly unprepossessing face as portrayed on the frontispiece of his book, Langsdorff's narrative is instructive and interesting. I am, however, hardly ready to regard this as 'the most detailed account of the country and its population that had yet been given to the world,' with Stillman in *Overland Monthly*, ii. 258–60. *Tikhménef, Istor. Obosranie*, 144–50, is a very good Russian narrative of the expedition, but the author follows Rezánof very closely. *Potechin, Seleni Ross*, and *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, contain brief résumés of the voyage. Scala, in *Nouv. Annales de Voy.*, cxliv. 380–1, tells perhaps as many absurd lies about the subject as would be possible in a brief space, buffaloes and nuggets of gold figuring in the tale. Mofras, *Exploration*, ii. 1–3; Tuthill, *Hist. Cal.*, 118–19; Elliot, in *Overland Monthly*, iv. 338–9; Cronise, *Natural Wealth*, 37; and other writers mention the subject briefly, taking their information exclusively from Langsdorff. The Spanish archives contain comparatively little about this visit, but I shall have occasion sometimes to refer to documents bearing on the subject.

The Russians were now safe from the guns of San Joaquin Battery, but they were not without misgivings respecting their reception. The king of Spain to be sure had promised to instruct the California authorities to render every civility and aid to Krusenstern's expedition, but had these instructions arrived? And if so, would the little *Juno* and her disabled crew fulfil the pomp-loving Spaniards' expectations of a Russian squadron? If courteously received, would they be able to get the supplies so much needed from San Francisco, not a port of entry, in violation of law? True an appeal to humanity might induce the Spaniards to succor the distressed colony; but it would never do to let them know of the weak and miserable condition of the Russian settlements. Twenty armed men came down to the shore escorting Alférez Luis Argüello, commandant in his father's absence, and Father Uría; Langsdorff and Lieutenant Davídof went ashore for an interview, which was conducted in Latin between the naturalist and the friar; and all was well so far, for the king's orders respecting Krusenstern's fleet had been received,[8] and the visitors were entitled at least to a supply of fresh provisions for their present urgent needs. Rezánof and his officers were invited to dine at the presidio where they were entertained by Señora Argüello and her family with the aid of two friars. Don Luis it is true asked for an explanation of the *Juno's* appearance instead of the *Nadeshda* and *Neva*, and of the coming of the ambassador extraordinary in so informal a manner, this information being intended for transmission to the governor at Monterey. Rezánof had expected the question and he adroitly answered to the satisfaction of his host, in a manner more in accordance with his designs than with the exact truth, and always without reference to the true motive of his visit.[9] A courier was despatched to the governor.

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[8] July 27, 1803, orders to aid the expedition of Krusentrer should it arrive on the coast. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 34.

[9] Rezánof's story was in substance that Krusenstern's squadron had returned

Next day the visitors were entertained at the mission, but they said nothing of trade, though the friars were apparently inclined to broach that subject; nor of their urgent need, because it was understood that the Boston traders were wont to dilate to the Spaniards on the wretched condition of the Russian colony; but on the contrary Rezánof gave presents of more or less value to nearly everybody at the presidio and mission. His gifts gradually drew in padres from abroad to share the stranger's bounty; the cargo was thus artfully displayed; and the temptation became so irresistible that at last the friars voluntarily proposed to barter a cargo of bread-stuffs,[10] the very thing the Russians most desired. But the governor's consent had to be gained, and the chamberlain wrote to Arrillaga that he would come overland to Monterey for an interview; but presently Don José Argüello arrived with a letter from Arrillaga in which he said he would spare his visitor so much trouble, as it was his intention to come immediately to San Francisco.[11]

Meanwhile the contrast between sunny California and the dreary Sitka with its storms and starvation introduced discontent into the *Juno's* crew. Life in California—where to eat, to drink, to make love, to smoke, to dance, to ride, to sleep, seemed the whole duty of man—must have seemed to these cold, sea-salted men a pleasant dream. Here all was abun-

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to Russia; that the Tsar had intrusted him with the command of all his American possessions; that he had inspected his dominion during the past year and had wintered at Norfolk Sound; and that finally he had determined to visit California and consult with its governor, as ruler of a neighboring country, concerning mutual interests. This he told with the view of facilitating business by impressing the Spaniards with an idea of his importance as he says in his letter, and 'at any rate I did not exaggerate much,' he adds. With the courier sent to Monterey, Rezánof sent a letter to the governor expressing thanks for his courteous reception and announcing his purpose to come to Monterey for a personal interview as soon as repairs on the *Juno* should be completed.

[10] This is Rezánof's version. Langsdorff says the proposition was first made, when the padres seemed ready for it, by the Russians.

[11] April 4 (error), 1806, Arrillaga to Rezánof, in *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 82–3. 'I recognized in this,' says Rezánof, 'the suspicious nature of the Spanish government, which everywhere prevents foreigners from acquainting themselves with the interior of the country, and observing the insignificance of its forces.'

dance and indolence, in the north hardship and want; here fair women, there hideous squaws; this was a lotus-eating life worth living for, that a struggle for an existence not worth having. Three Americans and a Prussian asked to remain; Rezánof promised to speak to Argüello about it; and when permission, after what was probably not a very earnest plea, was refused, the men were sent to an island in the bay to be kept until the vessel should be ready to sail. Two Russian sailors, however, managed to escape.[12]

Arrillaga arrived on or about April 18th and received the Russians with the same courtesy that had been shown by his subordinates. His ability to converse in the French language rendered subsequent intercourse much easier than it had been, though Rezánof under certain favorable circumstances to be noted later had made rapid progress in his Spanish. Not a day was allowed to pass before the subject of trade was brought up, but in this matter the governor proved to be inconveniently wary and honest. In the ensuing interviews and discussions he gradually drew out of the Russian plenipotentiary, after not a few diplomatic lies on the part of the latter, the substantial truth that the *Juno* had brought a cargo of goods to trade for bread-stuffs, though the wily Rezánof would not say quite so much literally, still keeping secret his urgent need, putting it all on the basis of mutual benefit from trade, and professing that while his commissary had a few goods he would like to sell, his own object was merely to collect samples of California products to be distributed among the northern establishments in order to ascertain their adaptability to that market! Arrillaga asked for some explanation of O'Cain's trip in 1803. "They hunted otter all winter," said the mystified governor, "but where they hid themselves was more than we could find out." Rezánof, far from admitting that the Russians had anything to do with that expedition, fell in with the humor of the governor, who was very bitter against the "Bostonian smugglers and robbers," and he proceeded to dilate upon the tricky nature of the Yankees and the swindles they had perpetrated upon the Russians.[13]

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[12] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 77; *Tikhménef, Istor. Obsoranie*, i. 144. Sept. 10, 1806, Arrillaga orders the embarcation of Russian prisoners (probably the two deserters), on the *Concepcion* for San Blas. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 194. A rough note in the archives gives the force on the *Juno* as Son Excellence de Chambellan et Chevalier Nicolás de Rezanoff, Capt. Nicolás de Khorstoff, Lieut. Gabriel de Davidoff, Geo. de Langsdorff, Dr et Naturaliste, Pilotes Illiyn et Andreef; and 43 men. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 105.

Argument, persuasion, and flattery were alike unavailing. Arrillaga admitted the convenience of trade for the people of California, but he would not violate the laws, nor his oath of office. The utmost concession he would make, after the Russian had exhausted his eloquence, was to permit the purchase of grain for cash. This was by no means satisfactory, as the governor doubtless well knew, since the *Juno* could carry but a very small amount of grain in addition to her cargo of goods. Rezánof urged that when cash had been paid for the grain, and the proper report had been sent to the viceroy, surely the friars might use their money as they pleased, even if they chose to buy a few things from the *Juno*. "No. No," replied the honest old ruler, "that would be the same thing; and after living sixty years without reproach I cannot take such a trick on my conscience." Neither did the hint that the holy fathers were willing enough to take it on theirs, produce the desired effect. The prospect was decidedly bad, and none the better from the reports that were at this time prevalent in California of probable, perhaps actual, war between Spain and Russia. The enthusiasm of even the friars began to abate, and they were not unwilling to admit that they hoped on the arrival of a Spanish cruiser to get the *Juno* and her cargo for nothing; yet there was also a fear, confessed with equal frankness, that Russian war-ships might come before the cruiser. Rezánof made light of the warlike rumors, though he redoubled vigilance on board his vessel. He had yet one card to play before the game was lost or won.[14]

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[13] *Rezánof, Zapiski*, 274–5. Letter of June 29, 1806. *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 75–7.

From the first Rezánof had paid daily visits to the commandant's house, and was kindly received by all members of the Argüello family. "Among the lovely sisters of the commandant," writes he, "Doña Concepcion has the name of being the beauty of California, and your Excellency will agree with me when I say that we were sufficiently rewarded for our sufferings, and passed the time very pleasantly." How Doña Concepcion's black eyes won the heart of the imperial chamberlain has often been told in prose and verse; it is the famous romance of Spanish times in California. I have no wish to spoil so good a story, though history like murder will out, and it must be confessed that this celebrated courtship had a very solid substratum or superstructure of ambition and diplomacy.[15] The Californian beauty was ambitious and disposed, even at the early age of fifteen, to be discontented in the land of her birth, which in their joking discussions she was wont to depreciate. "A good soil, a warm climate, plenty of grain and cattle," she said, "but nothing else." What wonder that court life at St Petersburg, as pictured by the distinguished and handsome stranger,[16] was fascinating, or that this child, weary of the sun-basking indolence of those about her, and fretting under the dull monotony of life at a frontier garrison, allowed her heart to follow her ambition and reciprocated the advances of one who, though ambassador and chamberlain, was also alas! a heretic!

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[14] Rezánof's men heard the rumors and declared their intention to desert on the first opportunity. Arrillaga is said to have secretly transferred a portion of the Monterey garrison to Santa Clara with a view to have the force near in case of trouble. The archives, however, have no record of this precaution.

[15] 'The bright eyes of Donna Conception had made a deep impression upon his heart; and he conceived that a nuptial union with the daughter of the Commandant at St. Francisco would be a vast step gained towards promoting the political objects he had so much at heart. He had therefore nearly come to a resolution to sacrifice himself by this marriage to the welfare, as he hoped, of the two countries.' *Langsdorff's Voyages*, ii. 183.

[16] Rezánof, though no longer youthful, and a widower, was of fine presence and had a remarkably attractive face, if we may judge by his portrait in *Tikhménef, Istor. Obosranie*, ii.

It was not, however, until all other expedients had failed, that Rezánof pressed his suit so far as to propose marriage,[17] and herein lies the evidence that rather unpleasantly merges the lover into the diplomate. Doña Concepcion consented; so did her parents; and so did the friars reluctantly, on condition that the betrothal should be kept secret and be subject to the pope's approval. On his return to St Petersburg, as Langsdorff tells us, Rezánof proposed to go to Madrid as envoy extraordinary of the Russian court, to remove all misunderstanding between the two powers. Thence he would return by way of Mexico to San Francisco to claim his bride. Doña Concepcion had before been very useful as a 'devoted friend' in keeping the chamberlain acquainted with the state of feeling on commercial topics, and the pretty spy's occupation was gone; but as Rezánof was now counted as one of the family, the father and brother kept no secrets from him. "From this time," he writes, "I managed this port of his Catholic Majesty as my interests required. The governor was very much astonished to see Don José intrust me with the most private affairs of his household, and to find himself all at once, so to speak, my guest."

Now was the time to make a final effort for permission to dispose of the *Juno's* cargo. With the new alliance in favor of the project failure was impossible. Arrillaga, with all his official integrity, barely able to resist the friars, the people, and his own inclinations, could no more resist Don José Argüello, his friend of thirty years standing, than Don José could be deaf to the entreaties of his daughter, the spoiled darling of his family, or than Doña Concepcion could fail to look at all projects of trade through the eyes of her Russian lover. As soon as Arrillaga had yielded, a somewhat complicated plan was devised, by which cash was to appear as the medium of purchase on both sides. That is, the governor, on a petition being presented to him by the inhabitants setting forth their need of the goods, was to buy the *Juno's* cargo for money from the Russian commissary, Rezánof's name not appearing in the transaction except to certify that the commissary had a right to sell the goods. The commissary was to use the money thus acquired to buy grain and other provisions from the friars; and the latter could subsequently return the governor his coin for the goods they needed.[18] Accordingly grain was brought in rapidly from all directions, and the *Juno* was soon loaded. The question of mutual trade in the future was discussed, and Arrillaga spoke strongly in favor of it, but he declared he could promise nothing in the matter without higher authority.[19]

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[17] 'Seeing that my situation was not improving, expecting every day that some misunderstanding would arise, and having but little confidence in my own people, I resolved to change my politeness for a serious tone. Finally I imperceptibly created in her an impatience to hear something serious from me on the subject, which caused me to ask for her hand, to which she consented. My proposal created consternation in her parents, who had been reared in fanaticism; the difference in religion and the prospective separation from their daughter made it a terrible blow for them. They ran to the missionaries, who did not know what to do; they hustled poor Concepcion to church, confessed her, and urged her to refuse me, but her resoluteness finally overcame them all. The holy fathers appealed to the decision of the throne of Rome, and if I could not accomplish my nuptials, I had at least the preliminary act performed, the marriage contract drawn up, and forced them to betroth us.'

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[18] Such is Rezánof's own version of the arrangement, and if not quite accurate in every respect, there are no means of correcting it, for naturally it is not explained in the Spanish records. April 20, 1806, Rezánof to Arrillaga, asks permission to buy for cash 200 fanegas of wheat, barley, beans, and pease, 100 arrobas of flour, 50 arr. of salt, 300 arr. of butter, and 300 arr. of tallow. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Mont.*, MS., i. 37. May 16th, Argüello reports that he has supplied the *Juno* with the articles named above to the value of $5,002. Merchandise received in exchange, $4,903. *Id.*, i. 38. May 28th, Arrillaga to viceroy, forwards some Russian despatches; mentions Rezánof's voyage in general terms; speaks with favor of Rezánof's proposal for trade between the Russian and Spanish establishments; and of non-intercourse with English and American vessels; and finally states that $4,000 worth of stores have been sold for money and implements. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 75–6. Arrillaga had previously announced Rezánof's arrival in his letter of April 19th, to which the viceroy replies July 29th that he awaits account of the *Juno's* objects and passports. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 100. Sept. 15, 1806, viceroy acknowledges receipt of the passports and of despatches from Rezánof and others, all of which he will forward to Spain. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxvii. 5. Communication of the directors of the company dated St Petersburg, March 15, 1810, referring to Rezánof's visit, reception, and to commercial negotiations on which the governor promised to report to the viceroy. *Id.*, xix. 271–2. Khlébnikof says the supplies obtained were 671 fanegas of wheat, 117 oats, 140 pease and beans, with a little flour, mustard, and salt valued at $5,587. *Baránof*, *Shizneopissanie*, 105; Langsdorff, *Voyages*, ii. 215, says they got 4,294 measures of corn, with a large quantity of flour, pease, beans, and maize, together with a few casks of salted meat, and a small provision of salt, soap, tallow, and some other articles, all amounting to $24,000.

Having accomplished his object Rezánof delayed his departure as little as possible. On May 21st, or as Tikhménef says, on the 19th, he sailed out past the fort, firing and receiving a salute as he went. After a stormy and tedious voyage he arrived at Sitka on June 19th and learned that during his absence the scurvy had raged dreadfully, but thanks to the appearance of the herrings, was now much abated.

In describing Rezánof's visit I have called attention almost exclusively to the topic of Russo-Spanish relations; but in doing so I have also presented all that need be said of it, except certain local and personal observations of Langsdorff, which may be more conveniently noticed in another chapter; and the same writer's general observations on the country with its people and institutions, which were by no means very extensive or important. As a naturalist he names some species of animals, birds, and fishes, which came under his notice, but as he says, his opportunities for scientific investigation were limited. As a surgeon he notes the wholly inadequate measures adopted in the Spanish establishments for the treatment of the sick; the lack of physicians and medicines; the ignorance of the friars and the indifference of the neophytes respecting all curative processes; the remarkable fecundity and ease of childbirth among the Spanish women; the almost universal prevalence of syphilitic affections; and the temporary ravages of the measles. There was no attempt to gather historical material, though some ideas of inland geography were collected as they existed vaguely in the Spanish mind. Indian manners and customs were studied somewhat closely at San Francisco and Mission San José, the natives of the latter place being vastly superior to those of the former. Of the character and zeal of the missionaries Langsdorff speaks highly. He believes the neophytes' condition to be better than that of the gentiles, attributing their tendency to run away to national character rather than to ill-treatment. To their inferiority as a race he also attributes the success of the Spaniards in keeping in subjection so large a number with so small a force. The mission system is quite accurately described. This author has less to say than other visitors, of the Spanish poverty, shiftlessness, and lack of all progressive and precautionary characteristics, though the failure to use boats in San Francisco Bay struck him as very remarkable; neither is he so enthusiastic in praise of California's natural advantages and prospects for a glorious future as have been some travellers before him and many since.[20]

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[19] It is to be noted that notwithstanding Rezánof's enthusiasm, Langsdorff did not regard the establishment of commercial relations as practicable or profitable even if permitted by the Spanish court. The obstacles in his opinion were the difficulties of communication; the difficulty in obtaining articles suited for the California trade, the articles most desired there being also scarce in the north; and the high price of corn in California compared with that at Cronstadt. True the otter-hunting might be profitable, but the author did not believe the Spaniards would ever permit it. A Russian colony in the south was, he believed, the only practicable way of taking advantage of California's fertility. *Voyages*, ii. 184–6.

It is necessary to add the unhappy ending of the romance which played so prominent a part in the narrative just presented. Having crossed over to Kamchatka Rezánof started in September from Okhotsk for an overland trip to St Petersburg. Let us hope that he was true to his Californian love, that his purpose was strong to claim his bride, that his promised diplomatic sacrifice of himself in matrimony was yet a sweet dream as he was whirled over Siberian snows, that no adverse influence was in wait at the imperial court to shake his purpose, for his constancy was never to experience a final test. His constitution had been weakened by the hardships of the preceding year, and he was unable to endure his long winter journey. He was seized with a violent fever and was carried into a Yakout hut. Recovering, he pressed on for twelve days, when exhaustion caused him to fall from his horse. The combined effects of the fall and the fever kept him for some time bedridden at Yakutsk, whence he started too soon, but succumbed at Krasnoyarsk, where he died on March 1, 1807.[21]

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[20] 'Friendship and harmony reigned in the whole behaviour of these worthy kind-hearted people.' 'None of these missionaries can acquire any property, so that the idea of enriching themselves can never divert their thoughts from their religious avocations.' 'The monks conduct themselves in general with so much prudence, kindness, and paternal care, towards their converts, that peace, happiness, and obedience universally prevail among them.' 'I was present at the time of delivering out the soup, and it appeared to me incomprehensible how any one could three times a day eat so large a portion of such nourishing food.' 'One cannot sufficiently admire the zeal and activity which carries the friars through so arduous a task, or forbear wishing the most complete success to their undertaking.' 'None of the men that we saw (Indians at San Francisco) were above five feet high; they were ill-proportioned, and had such a dull heavy negligent appearance, that we all agreed we had never seen a less pleasing specimen of the human race.' 'I believe them wholly incapable of forming among themselves any regular and combined plan for their own emancipation.' 'As the padres have more men and women under their care than they could keep constantly employed the whole year, if labour were too much facilitated, they are afraid of making them idle by the introduction of mills.' *Langsdorff's Voyages*, ii. 153-71.

Doña Concepcion Argüello, the sincerity of whose affection for the Russian chamberlain there is no reason to doubt, did not learn of her lover's death for several years. Yet she was constant to his memory, refused to listen to words of love from other suitors, and finally, when it became evident that her betrothed was either dead or false, she took the robes of a *beata*, and dedicated her life to deeds of charity. Probably she accompanied her parents to Lower California in 1815 from Santa Bárbara; at least she was at Loreto in 1818. Next year she returned to Santa Bárbara; but subsequently rejoined her parents at Guadalajara. Here her mother died in 1829, a year or two after her father's death, and then Doña Concepcion came back once more to California, where she lived in the Guerra family, busied in caring for the sick, and in other good works. Here Simpson met her in 1842, and it was from him that she is said to have learned the particular cause and circumstances of her lover's death.[22] When the Dominicans founded their convent of St Catherine at Benicia, Doña Concepcion entered that establishment, and there she died in 1857 at the age of sixty-seven. She enjoyed the respect and veneration of all who knew her, and there were few families who could not remember some act of kindness at her hands.[23]

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[21] *Tikhménef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 162.

After Rezánof's return to Sitka there seems to have been no intercourse between the Russian settlements and California for some time, unless we may so regard the otter-hunting expeditions of Americans made under contract with Baránof, on terms similar to those formerly obtained by O'Cain, Winship, and Campbell. In 1807 Swift in the *Derby*, with twenty-five bidarkas and fifty Aleuts, hunted on the coast with results which are not known.[24] Jonathan Winship likewise came down from Kadiak in the *O'Cain* with fifty native hunters, making a very profitable hunt, especially in Lower California.[25] George Eyres in the *Mercury* in 1808–9 brought back 1,040 skins as the company's share, though he lost some men by desertion.[26] The considerable profits of these and preceding expeditions made Baránof think of sending out one on the sole account of the company. The procuring of furs was not, however, his only motive as will be seen.

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[22] *Simpson's Narrative*, i. 377-9.

[23] Born at San Francisco and baptized on Feb. 26, 1790. *San Francisco, Lib. de Mision*, MS., 25-6. Commandant Zúñiga, of San Diego, acted as godfather, through Manuel Boronda, who had a power of attorney for the purpose. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 102-13; Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 40-1; and Romero, *Memorias*, MS., 9, all speak of the lady in terms of the highest respect, dwelling on her many acts of charity and religion, her ministrations to the sick, her teaching of children, both Indian and Spanish; her habit of carrying always a bottle of holy water, her visits to the different missions and presidios, and her persistent rejection in the early days of all offers of marriage. Gov. Alvarado believed that by a mysterious warning she saved his life at Santa Bárbara in 1838. No writer, however, says anything of her having ever left California, which fact I learn from her own correspondence preserved in the family archives of Don José de la Guerra y Noriega. April 20, 1818, she writes from Loreto to her brother. She is evidently in considerable trouble from the ardor with which one Don Santiago, James Wilcox Smith presses his suit for her hand, and the reports current on the subject among her friends in California. She denies having given Don Santiago any encouragement that she would marry him, though she admits it did once occur to her that, as he promised to change his religion, by consenting she might save his soul; but she had reflected that if his conversion was sincere he had no need of her. Whatever interest she had shown in him has been from gratitude for favors to her family. She is anxious that the matter be explained to José de la Guerra and Pablo Sola. *Guerra, Doc., Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 131-2. Oct. 16, 1819, she writes at Sta Bárbara to Guerra, that she is in a despondent mood; declares her intention to live here until her death, which she believes to be near, and begs the pardon of every member of the household for the trouble she has caused. Jan. 30, 1820, she writes again from Guadalajara about her mother's desire to return to California, though wholly unable to make the journey. *Id.*, vi. 133-4.

[24] *Tikhménef, Istor. Obozranie*, i. 171; *Prov. Rec.*, viii. 89.

Rezánof had come back from the south with two dominant ideas. One was the establishment on a permanent basis of trade with California; the other was the acquisition by the company of some portion of the New Albion coast, where an agricultural and trading establishment might be formed to serve as a supply-dépôt for the northern settlements. It is noticeable that his original plan was to introduce Chinamen into California as agricultural laborers for the colony.[27] With regard to commerce, the company on receipt of Rezánof's reports sent a petition to the emperor setting forth the great advantages to be derived, and requesting imperial intercession with the Spanish government. The Russian minister at Madrid was instructed to open negotiations, but owing to political changes in Spain the matter dropped out of sight for a time;[28] or at least Spain gave no reply.

Concerning the New Albion settlement it was doubtless deemed unnecessary to apply at first to the government, because the emperor had already authorized the company to establish Russian sovereignty as far south as was possible without infringing on the rights of other nations, and it was easy to ignore any claim of Spain to the country north of San Francisco Bay. Rezánof, however, had higher aims than the mere occupation of an unsettled region. He hoped to found settlements at the mouth of the Columbia, thence to extend Russian power gradually southward, and eventually to wrest from Spain a large part of Alta California.[29] These schemes the chamberlain confided to the chief director, and succeeded in inspiring Baránof with a portion of his own enthusiasm. Thus it was that when the latter resolved to despatch a hunting expedition to southern waters, he also intended it to keep a sharp lookout for a favorable site for the projected settlement.

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[25] *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 20–7. From the log-book. Not mentioned by Russians or in Spanish records. More details will be given in the next chapter.

[26] *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 112; *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 9; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 97–8; xii. 73.

[27] Letter of June 1806, in *Tikhménef, Istor. Obos.*, ii. app. 267.

[28] *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 3, 4; *Tikhménef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 204.

The important mission was intrusted to a well tried officer of the company named Kuskof. Two vessels were fitted out. The *Nikolai*, Master Balygin, with Tarakánof as store-keeper, sailed for the Columbia in October 1808, but was wrecked. Most of the men were captured by the Indians; but Tarakánof with a few hunters was rescued by an American ship two years later. Kuskof sailed on the *Kadiak*, master Petrof, October 26, 1808, and first touched at Trinidad Bay. Finding neither otter nor natives here he continued his voyage to Bodega Bay, where he arrived January 8, 1809. I append the original Spanish map made at the discovery of the bay by Bodega y Cuadra in 1775.[30] Here the *Kadiak* remained at anchor until the 29th of August. The adjoining region was somewhat carefully explored; friendly relations were established with the natives by the distribution of gifts;

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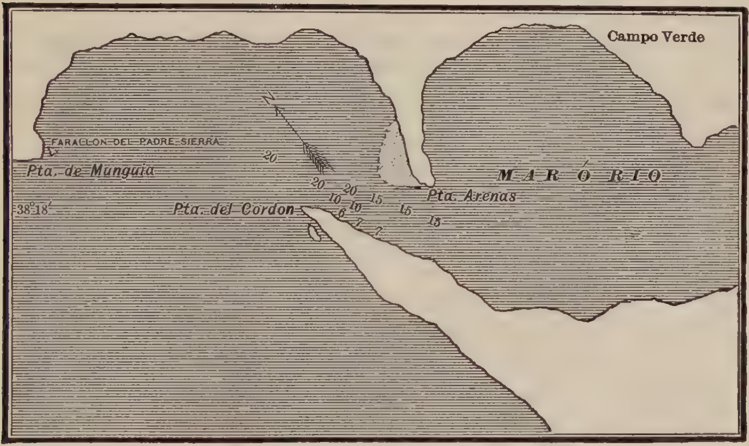
[29] In a letter to the company dated New Archangel, Feb. 15, 1806, and marked 'secret,' Rezánof, after recommending a settlement on the Columbia and an approach thence to San Francisco Bay, 'which forms the boundary of California,' he goes on to say: 'If we can only obtain the means for the beginning of this plan, I think I may say that at the Columbia we could attract a population from various parts, and in the course of ten years we should become strong enough to make use of any favorable turn in European politics to include the coast of California in the Russian possessions...The Spaniards are very weak in these countries, and if in 1798 when war was declared by Spain our company had had a force corresponding to its proportions, it would have been very easy to seize a piece of California from 34° to Santa Bárbara...and to appropriate this territory forever since the geographical position of Mexico would have prevented her from sending any assistance overland.' *Rezánof, Zapiski*, 233–4.

[30] *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben.*, MS., i. 21. This map should have appeared in vol. 1.

some temporary buildings were erected; over 2,000 otter-skins were secured; and five or six men, Russians and Americans, deserted. The return voyage was tedious, but Sitka was reached in October.[31] The Spaniards did not long remain ignorant of Kuskof's presence at Bodega. The deserters made straight for the settlements, told all they knew, and were gathered into jail for their pains. The Aleuts also were seen hunting on the bay of San Francisco, whither they had carried their bidarkas overland, and where several of their number were captured.[32]

Kuskof after his long stay was able to render a very full report. He had found a tolerable harbor, a fine



BODEGA BAY IN 1775.

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[31] *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 10, 137; *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 110–11; *Potechin, Selenie Ross.*, 5; *Tikhménef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 207–8. The harbor is called Roumiantzof Bay in the last-mentioned work.

[32] Feb. 9, 1809, Arrillaga to commandant of San Francisco, the natives report large Russian ships at Bodega, the crews of which have erected buildings. A captured Indian says he belongs to the *Neva*. Canoes fishing on the bay. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 286. Feb. 16th, commandant to governor, among the natives who came from the other side on Feb. 14th are two American deserters from the ship at Bodega. They are of the four confined by Rezánof on an island during his visit. The vessel is the *Coniach*, Capt. Goosebfh, with 40 Russians and 150 Indians including 20 women. Fifty canoes have been crossed from Huymenes Bay to Pt Bonetes. The strangers must have had much trade with the Indians to judge from the effects seen. Yesterday three Russians came to San José and were sent to the presidio. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 266–8. March 31st, Arrillaga reports these facts to the viceroy; two wounded captives.

building site, tillable lands, a mild climate, abundance of fish and fur-bearing animals, and, above all, a region unoccupied by any European power. Accordingly the emperor was again petitioned to induce Spain to open the California trade; and the imperial permission was also asked for a settlement on the coast of New Albion, with assurance of the highest protection in case of opposition by the Americans. Nothing was said of Spanish opposition, since it was best not to admit even indirectly that the Spaniards had anything to say in the matter. His majesty did not see fit to enter into any negotiations with the court of Madrid, but adopted the simpler plan of informing the company that with regard to commerce they might arrange the matter as best they could, while as to the settlement they were at liberty to found it on their own account, relying on the highest protection when "occasion should require it."[33]

Upon receiving this encouragement the general administration instructed Baránof to send a ship to California with a cargo of suitable goods; and at the same time forwarded to him a written proclamation addressed by the company to the inhabitants of California. This proclamation, though dated March 15, 1810, did not reach California for several years; for although Kuskof attempted a new expedition to Bodega, he was unsuccessful and was obliged to return from Queen Charlotte Island where his hunters were attacked by the Indians.[34] Meanwhile Jonathan Winship made an otter-catching contract at the end of 1809, and sailing in the *O'Cain* in 1810-11 he brought back over 5,400 otter-skins to share from the California coast. His brother, Nathan Winship of the *Albatross*, also made a contract in October 1810 and brought back 1,120 skins.[35] I have more to say of these voyages in their chronological order.

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[33] *Tikhménef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 204-7; *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 167.

[34] *Tikhménef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 208.

[35] *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 9, 10; *Baránof, Shiznecpissanie*, 129-30; *Albatross' Log-book*, MS.

CHAPTER V.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE OF EVENTS.

1807-1810.

Precautions—A Spanish Cruiser—The 'Derby' and the 'O'Cain,' Captains Swift and Winship—Holy Oil—A Strange Flag—Warnings against the French—The 'Dromo'—The 'Mercury,' Capt. Eyres—American Deserters—Troubles in Spain—Fernando VII. Recognized in California—Contribution for War against Napoleon—President Tapis Reëlected—Drought of 1809—Neophyte Laborers—Indian Troubles in 1810—Moraga's Battle at Suisun—Revolt at San Gabriel—Otter-hunters—The Winship Brothers—The 'O'Cain,' 'Albatross,' 'Isabella,' 'Mercury,' 'Catherine,' 'Amethyst,' and 'Charon,' on the Coast, 1810-12—Smith and Gale—A Transport Captured by Insurgents.

Returning to the chronological order of events and to the year 1807, we find the record of that year by no means an exciting one. The *Princesa*, armed as a cruiser, returned to California to convoy the transport *Activo*, and to guard the coast against foreign craft,[1] but no foe appeared, and there is no naval battle to record. At the suggestion of Arrillaga the *San Cárlos* was ordered north for the next year's cruise, being better fitted for the service than the other vessel.[2] The provincial authorities were warned against the American ship *Eagle* of 1,000 tons, fitting out at New York for some Spanish port in the Pacific; and also against an English squadron seen off Panamá;[3] but the peace of California was not disturbed except by Aleut otter-hunters of the *Derby* and the *O'Cain.*

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[1] The vessels arrived at Monterey in May, and were at San Diego in July. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 98; xii. 54, 60, 270-1. Dec. 10th, they anchored at San Blas, bringing hemp, tallow, lard, hides, deer-skins, otter-skins, wool, salmon, sardines, shoes, bear-skins, oak planks, etc. *Gacetas de Mex.*, xvii. 40.

[2] Aug. 28th, Oct. 6, 1807, viceroy to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 197, 204. A few of the artillerymen seem to have sailed for Mexico this year, to be replaced by others. *Id.*, xix. 206, 217.

Of Swift's visit in the *Derby* we only know through Russian authorities that such a visit was made;[4] but about Jonathan Winship's visit in the *O'Cain* with his brother Nathan as mate, we are better informed, though the Russian records do not mention it, or rather perhaps include it in the mention of the same captain's preceding trip. The *O'Cain* left Kadiak January 16, 1807, with fifty native hunters, and in a month reached the Farallones, the south island being explored at this visit, perhaps for the first time, and seals being found in great numbers. Obtaining supplies from the Spaniards at San Pedro, Winship hunted otter for a time at Santa Catalina Island, where he found forty or fifty Indian residents who had grain and vegetables to sell;[5] on March 6th he was off Todos Santos Bay. For a month the hunt, extensive, adventurous, and successful, was prosecuted on the peninsular coasts and islands, with which both captain and hunters were already familiar; and on April 19th the *O'Cain* sailed again for the north, with one hundred and forty-nine Indian hunters on board, besides twelve women and three Russians. Reaching New Archangel after a stormy voyage, Winship sailed for China in October with a cargo worth $136,000, and in the next June the vessel was back at Boston to prepare for another venture the following year.[6]

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[3] *St. Pap., Sac.*, ix. 71–2; *Prov. Rec.*, ix. 97: *Prov. St. Pap.*, xix. 227. July 1807, no exchange of prisoners with privateers to be allowed, unless two thirds of the crew are English. *Prov. Rec.*, ix. 100.

[4] *Tikhménef, Istor. Obos.*, i. 171.

[5] 'The Spaniards, with a pretended jurisdiction(!), attempted to prohibit other nations from taking fur-bearing animals on their coast; consequently when the ship was at anchor in the ports on the main, it was ostensibly for the purpose of trade with the Spaniards; and the canoe hunters were kept away from the ship, giving the appearance of not being connected with her. The Spaniards would sometimes capture and confiscate a stray canoe with its contents; and the Indians of the missions would occasionally meet with the Kodiaks and have a scrimmage. A number of such are recorded in the log, in which a few were killed and wounded on both sides, the fortune of war generally terminating in favor of the Kodiaks.' *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 22.

Among local happenings of this year there may be noted in the extreme north an Indian fight near Carquines Strait in which twelve or thirteen neophytes were killed by the gentiles; and in the south a quarrel between lieutenants Ruiz and Guerra y Noriega, in which the latter was knocked down, and as a result of which both were reprimanded by governor and viceroy. This was at San Diego.

Missionary events and correspondence were not more sensational than secular doings. The bishop of Sonora made a demand for payment in masses for holy oil furnished through the Dominicans; but Tapis declared that the Franciscans received annually an *arroba* of holy oil from Mexico, consecrated by the archbishop and presented by the dean y cabildo of Mexico. The Dominican president admitted the receipt from the "simple-minded secretary of the bishop" of a few bottles "with corn-cob stoppers," the contents of which had to be eked out with common olive-oil.[7]

In August 1808 a gentile Indian from the Tular region arrived at San Fernando with a flag, not recognized by the friars, which he said had been sent "through a space of ten captains," that is through a cordillera of ten tribes, by a captain whose name the messenger did not know, but who wanted to know if it were true that there were padres and *gente de razon* west of the Sierra. Father Muñoz thought that the

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[6] *Boston in the Northwest*, 20–7, from the log-book of the voyage. There is nothing in the Spanish archives about the visits of either the *Derby* or *O'Cain* this year unless it may be the mention of a vessel at Bodega in May to June. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 89.

[7] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 272–6. Nov. 30, 1807, Tapis announces in a circular that the bishop has granted him for 30 months power to remove the impediments of 3d and 4th degrees of consanguinity. *Id.*, xi. 156. Nov. 23, 1868, Tapis to padres. The procurador has 3,000 masses at one dollar each on his hands to be said in six months. Let each say how many he will take. Let each mission also say a *misa de rogativa* for remedy of evils in Spain until the king returns to his throne. *Id.*, xii. 308–10; x. 273–4.

Indian's reports of a sea in the north might be true, and proposed to write to the mysterious captain. Argüello pronounced the flag English, and found the Indian's tale somewhat contradictory and improbable.[8]

The year was not without its alarms. The governor was instructed to seize any French vessel that might appear, if it were possible, but otherwise the knowledge of war must be kept from the Frenchman so that he might fall into Mexican hands at Acapulco.[9] No French commander ventured to approach the California ports and to assume such risks. A warning came also against the Boston ship *Dromo* coming presumably to engage in contraband trade. She was to be seized and kept, the rudder being removed and the cargo deposited under inventory. The *Dromo* was much nearer capture in some port of Alta California than was the possible French craft; for she actually came to Lower California, where this year and the next she engaged in profitable barter for furs; but she did not reach San Diego.[10] In December five American sailors made their appearance at San José, claiming to have been shipwrecked but in reality deserters, as they confessed later, from a vessel seen on the coast, which was doubtless the *Mercury*, Captain Eyres, which vessel visited the coast in 1808-9 under a Russian contract, touching according to Russian authorities at Trinidad, Bodega, San Francisco, and San Diego.[11] The Spanish vessels of the year were the *Concepcion*, *Princesa*, and *San Cárlos*, the latter armed as a cruiser.[12] The missions were called upon to contribute according to their age to the payment of a deceased síndico's deficit, that no shade of dishonor might rest upon the order or the college;[13] and as we have seen the friars were required to strive earnestly in prayer for the clearing-up of the political atmosphere in Spain. Locally the most important occurrence was a series of violent earthquakes at San Francisco in June and July.

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[8] *Arch. Arzobispado*, MS., ii. 63-5.

[9] Oct. 26, 1808, viceroy to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 238.

[10] *Little's Life on the Ocean.* Baltimore, 1843; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 245-7; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 134-6; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 111.

[11] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 110; xii. 283-4. The Americans were as usual set to work at the presidio to earn their living. They were sent to San Blas next year with two Indians from same vessel, called *Macure* or *Macara. Id.*, viii. 97-8. For Russian authorities see chap. iv. April 26, 1809, Arrillaga to commandant, is informed that 24 *cayucos*, with 40 men and a pilot, belonging to the ship *George* lying at San Pedro, had come to San Juan Capistrano to catch otter and were driven off. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 73.

[12] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 107; xi. 128-9; xii. 68-9, 278, 280; *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 72; *Gaceta de Mex.*, xviii. 92. The *San Cárlos* and *Con-*

The startling events in Spain produced but slight effect in the more distant American provinces. Cárlos IV. abdicated in March 1808 in favor of his son Fernando VII., and in June Napoleon made his brother Joseph king of Spain and the Indies; but in California, as elsewhere in America, Joseph was never recognized. News of the changes, of peace with England, of the so considered war with France came to California at the end of the year, with a call for prayers from the missionaries and for a money contribution from all.[14] On March 5, 1809, Fernando VII. seems to have received the formal allegiance of California so far as it could be rendered by the presidio garrisons and mission guards. The troops at each place being drawn up under arms, the commanding officer read the general order and called out thrice "Viva el Rey Nuestro y Señor Natural Don Fernando!" then he repeated thrice "Castilla por el Señor Don Fernando VII.," and on each occasion all the men responded, "Long live our king and natural lord Fer-

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cepcion were at San Francisco and Monterey in May; the *San Cárlos* and *Princesa* at San Diego in October; and the *San Cárlos* reached San Blas Nov. 1st. The commanders were Ramon de Moya, Agustin Bocalan, and José María Narvaez.

[13] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 157–8. Circular of Tapis dated June 30th. Also in *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 7, 8.

[14] Sept. 6, 1808, viceroy decrees general amnesty on accession of Fernando VII. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 243. Sept. 24th, viceroy sends proclamation of peace between Spain and England. *Id.*, xix. 242. Oct. 12th, V. R. calls for a war contribution. All classes to be appealed to in the name of religion, king, and country. *Id.*, xix. 239. News of war said to have been received at Monterey in October. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 109. Nov. 23d, circular of Tapis to padres. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 274. Nov. 24th, Arrillaga calls upon the padres for prayers. *Prov. Rec.*, xii. 93–4. The viceroy's decree and proclamation of Oct. 3d, 4th, are also alluded to. *San José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 83.

dinand the Seventh!" The same day salutes were fired and church services held. Subsequently on the 10th of August, in accordance with orders from Mexico, Governor Arrillaga before President Tapis, fathers Amorós and Sarría, Surgeon Quijano, and Cadet Estrada at San Cárlos, placing one hand on the bible, the other on the cross of his sword, and kneeling before the crucifix, swore loyalty to Fernando VII. and obedience to the Junta Superior Gobernativa in defence of his country.[15] Meanwhile the missionaries may be supposed to have been zealous in their supplications for divine assistance in behalf of their legitimate sovereign and against the machinations of the Bonapartes; and the work of collecting pecuniary assistance was also advanced, the contribution from the troops amounting to $1,689.[16] Another contribution was made in 1810, but respecting it few details have been preserved.

The presence of Kuskof at Bodega and that of Capt. Ayers on the southern coast in the early part of 1809 have been already noticed.[17] In October three more Americans were arrested at San Gabriel, who may be supposed to have deserted from the *Mercury* in the spring, since there is no record of any other American vessel on the coast this year.[18] The *Princesa* and *San Cárlos* brought the year's supplies, arriving at Monterey and San Francisco in May and

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[15] *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 81. Circular of commandant of Monterey dated Feb. 26, 1809. March 5th, mention of ceremonies. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 111. Oath of the governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 262-3.

[16] Feb. 26, 1809, comandante of Monterey calls for a contribution in his jurisdiction. *San José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 83. San José and Branciforte, $528. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvii. 3. July 3d, viceroy sends thanks for $1,689 from the four presidios. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 250-1. Aug. 1809, governor has ordered chanting of litany after high mass during war. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 116. April 25, 1810, among King Joseph's agents in America is named Santiago Parreño for New Mexico and California. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 303. Aug. 10, 1810, more *donativos* asked for by the audiencia gobernadora. *Id.*, xix. 294. Dec. 31, 1810, soldiers of San Francisco contributed $299. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xliv. 4.

[17] See chap. iv. of this vol.

[18] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 2. March 27th, Indians forbidden to bring sailors from foreign vessels under severe penalty. *Id.*, xi. 131. October, deserters from foreign vessels to be put to work repairing the presidio. *Id.*, ix. 117.

June, and sailing from San Diego in November.[19] In missionary annals of the year I may note the reëlection of President Tapis at the college of San Fernando; and some regulations issued respecting mission libraries and the books of dead friars. Each book was to be plainly marked as being the property of the college, so that in the event of secularization, which was always kept in view by the Franciscans, it might be taken away.[20] Local items include the consecration of new mission churches at San Buenaventura and San José, the beginning of another at San Antonio, and some new trouble about boundaries at Santa Clara. The year 1809 was one of drouth and short crops, even worse than 1807. The loss in yield of barley and corn was less than in that of wheat; and the extreme southern missions suffered as a rule more than those in the north. The total falling-off in all crops was about thirty per cent from the average, and not more than ten per cent from the crops of 1807. These conclusions rest on the mission statistics, since the correspondence of the time shows little beyond the fact that it was a hard year.[21]

There was a proposition in Mexico to admit to new

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[19] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 97; ix. 113, 115; xii. 79. In *Coyner's Lost Trappers*, 144-69, I find an account of the wanderings of two hunters, Workman and Spencer, who crossed the country from the Arkansas to the Colorado, fell in with a caravan from Santa Fé, and accompanied the Spanish traders to Los Angeles, spending the winter of 1809-10 in California. Coyner's narrative as a whole bears marks of having been written in good faith, but he does not claim to have seen any diary of this trip, and he is certainly in error. No such men came to California in 1809, and the trade between Santa Fé and California did not begin until much later. The author has doubtless antedated an occurrence of later years.

[20] On July 8th, Agustin Garijo was elected guardian, Tapis reëlected president, and José Guilez, procurador. Announced on July 26, 1809. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 10; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 195-8. The seal of the college was changed also at the same time. April 23d, Tapis to the padres, making known the regulations respecting books and libraries. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 9, 10.

[21] *Prov. St. Pap*, MS., xix. 237, 252-3; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxix. 6; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 14. In the annual reports of several missions the figures for 1809 are omitted altogether. The correspondence, especially in the north, complains of greater want than the tables would indicate. A writer in the *S. F. Bulletin*, March 19, 1864, obtained an account of this drought from an old resident of Santa Bárbara, who said that scarcely any rain fell, and that both crops and live-stock suffered severely.

Californian foundations the friars from another Franciscan college at Orizaba; but respecting it we know only that the authorities of San Fernando at last resolved not to admit the strangers.[22] An important industrial topic, involving the employment of neophytes as laborers, came up for discussion in 1810, though it seems to have occasioned no very heated controversy. The settlers of Los Angeles, encouraged by the government to engage in the hemp-culture, had obtained from San Juan Capistrano a hundred Indians. Father Suñer for some reason not given recalled the Indians to their mission. The settlers through the alcalde and other prominent men petitioned for an order compelling the service of the laborers, and it was also reported that the president had forbidden such service. Tapis, when the matter was referred to him by the governor, replied in a clear argument which throws much light on the labor question at this epoch. He denies that he has given any orders against the letting-out of the Indians, or that he has any desire to prevent it; but argues also that he has no authority to require Suñer to comply with the settlers' wishes. His argument was first, that by royal order of 1713, newly converted Indians were not to serve private persons except voluntarily, the presumption being that the neophytes would not often work of their own accord in the pueblos. Second, that even where repartimientos were legally permitted Indians must not be taken over ten leagues from their homes. Third, the Indians had a right to spiritual care not given them at the pueblo; and fourth, the making of repartimientos belonged to the governor and not to the president. If Arrillaga chose to assign to each mission a certain number of laborers to be furnished for hemp-culture the president would do all he could to render the measure a success. But still he urged that the missions as well as pueblos were engaged in that branch of industry and needed laborers, and that a little more hard work was by no means likely to injure the settlers and their families.[23]

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[22] Feb. 20, 1811, guardian to Tapis. *Arch. Sta B.*, vi. 218.

The Indians were somewhat more troublesome in 1810 than they had been before, both in the north and south; and Alférez Moraga, preëminently the Indian-fighter of the time, was kept very busy in the Spanish acceptation of the term. In May he was sent with seventeen men to punish the gentiles of the Sespesuya ranchería who lived across the bay from San Francisco, apparently near the strait of Carquines in the region of Suisun, and who for several years had committed depredations, killing sixteen neophytes from San Francisco. The Spaniards crossed the strait in a boat and after a hard fight with one hundred and twenty pagans, captured eighteen of the number, who were released as they were almost sure to die of their wounds. The survivors retired to their huts and made a brave resistance, wounding two corporals and two soldiers. The occupants of two of the three huts were defeated and all killed; but when the other hut was set on fire with a view to drive out the occupants they bravely preferred to perish in the flames. Arrillaga having sent an account of this brilliant affair to Mexico, and the viceroy having transmitted it to Spain, there came back a royal order expressing the satisfaction of the council of regency, in the king's name, at the glorious action of May 22, 1810. By the terms of this order Moraga was promoted to a brevet lieutenancy. Corporals Herrera and Francisco Soto, wounded, were made sergeants; the wounded soldiers, Antonio Briones and Ventura Zúñiga, were given a slight increase of pay, while the others who shared in the action were rewarded with the thanks of the nation.[24]

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[23] *Tapis, Parecer sobre Repartimientos de Indios Trabajadòres, 1810,* MS. Dated Oct. 5th, at San Francisco.

[24] June 28, 1810, Arrillaga's report to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 122-3. Nov. 12, 1811, viceroy to gov., enclosing royal order of Aug. 19th. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 314. June 26, 1812, governor to Com. Estudillo, transmitting viceroy's communication. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 222-3. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 151-5, in describing a fight in the same region by José Sanchez in

Moraga's two expeditions to the San Joaquin Valley and another to Bodega from August to October of this year have already been mentioned in a chapter on inland exploration. During the second exploration to the San Joaquin, sixteen Christian Indians were recovered and eighteen gentiles captured by a sudden attack on a ranchería, to say nothing of fifty women taken and set free—all without bloodshed.[25] In November there was trouble at San Gabriel, where an attack was deemed imminent, and Moraga was ordered south. Though the archives contain several communications on the subject, it is impossible to learn exactly what took place; but the danger, whatever it may have been, was averted through Moraga's efforts and those of the company of militia artillery at Los Angeles.[26]

Other local events of 1810 include nothing more important than a slight misunderstanding between Los Angeles and the padres of San Gabriel, caused by the action of the latter in cutting off the pueblo's water-supply and in neglecting their spiritual attendance on the settlers.

I have already mentioned briefly the otter-hunting voyages made under Russian contracts by the Winship

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1817 against the Suisunes under chief Malaca, states that the Indians set fire to the huts and *temescales* in which they had taken refuge, and perished in the flames. It is possible that the author has confounded two different battles. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 69–70, makes the date 1817, but puts Gabriel Moraga in command, and says that Samyetoy, afterward known as Solano, was captured on this occasion.

[25] *Viader, Diario ó Noticia*, MS.; *Id.*, *Diario de una Entrada*, MS. See chapter iii. of this volume.

[26] Nov. 12, 1810, Sergt. Cota with 18 men to go every 15 days in pursuit of fugitive Indians of San Gabriel and San Fernando. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 8. Nov. 27th, Moraga to go to San Gabriel and investigate the causes of disorders and the rising of Martinez, who with 50 men holds that place. *Id.*, xi. 9. Dec. 31st, 21 Christian Indians and 12 gentiles in prison for complicity in the revolt. *Id.*, xi. 16. Before June 1811 Moraga captured all the leaders and proceeded so wisely that 400 gentiles were converted. *Zalvidea*, in *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 175. The hostile Indians were the Amajabas (Mojaves), and came within two leagues, but retired on hearing the mission was defended, killing one neophyte on the way. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 271. The rebels intended to attack both San Gabriel and Angeles. Names of the artillerymen and settlers who served during the crises from Oct. 28, 1800, to Jan. 4, 1811. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 327–8.

brothers, William Davis, and George Eyres on the *O'Cain*, *Albatross*, *Isabella*, and *Mercury*. The log-book of the *Albatross*, Captain Nathan Winship, presents many interesting particulars respecting the operations of all the fleet on the California coast in 1810–11.[27] The journal was written by the captain's clerk, William A. Gale, afterward prominent in the California hide trade. William Smith was chief mate, and the crew consisted of twenty-two men. Winship went with instructions from a Boston company to form a settlement on the Columbia River, and sailed in July 1809. Doubling Cape Horn, and touching at the Hawaiian Islands, the *Albatross* entered the Columbia in May 1810. The attempt to found a settlement was not successful, but the details do not belong here. In the north was met the *Mercury*, Eyres, master, from California, and on July 19th the vessels parted, Winship sailing south, and anchoring near the south Farallones at the end of July. Here were two gangs of sealers, one belonging to the *Mercury* and the other to the *Isabella*. Seven men were left there in charge of Gale. The *Albatross* continued southward; touched at the Santa Bárbara Islands, where were found few seals, but many sea-otters, which in the absence of Aleuts apparently could not be caught, and left another gang of sealers on Cedros Island. Returning northward she arrived at Norfolk Sound October 22, 1810.

Repairs were here made and a contract entered into with Baránof for thirty bidarkas and fifty Kadiak hunters,[28] with which reënforcement the Yankee captain sailed on the 16th of November. At Drake Bay at the end of November he found the *O'Cain*, the *Isabella*, and the *Mercury*. Early in December communication was had with the party on the Farallones who had already taken 30,000 seal-skins, and who were now reënforced by six Kanakas. Next the *Albatross* repaired to San Luis Obispo for wood, water, and beef, and a party of hunters took sixty prime otter-skins. At San Quintin the *O'Cain* was rejoined and the two Winship brothers, Nathan and Jonathan, carried on a profitable business during the rest of the year, keeping parties of hunters on different islands, and also obtaining furs from the peninsular missionaries.

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[27] *Albatross, Log-book of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast in 1809–12, kept by Wm. Gale*, MS. The substance only of the journal is given with occasional quotations. See also *Hunt's Merch. Mag.*, xiv. 202.

[28] Contract also mentioned in *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 9, 10; and *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 129–30.

Though it will carry us beyond the limits of the decade, it is best to conclude this narrative here. On April 1, 1811, the *Albatross* sailed for the north, leaving the *O'Cain* to look after affairs on the lower coast, and returned to the Farallones to leave supplies. Then she went to Drake Bay, where she was joined by the *O'Cain* and *Isabella* on the 11th of May. Here the two vessels remained a month, often communicating with the different gangs of hunters by means of boats. In June the *Albatross* went south again, and was occupied in picking up for final departure the hunters and the product of their labors for both ships; and on the 19th she sailed for the north, arriving at the Russian settlements in August. After repairing the ship and discharging his Indians, Winship returned down the coast, and anchored on the 27th of September at the south Farallones. The 2d of October, taking on board all the hunters, except Brown with seven Kanakas, the *Albatross*[29] sailed for the Islands, so loaded with furs that some water-casks had to be broken up and the hemp cables carried on deck. She arrived at Oahu early in November, and was soon joined by the *O'Cain* and *Isabella*, the results of whose trip are not so fully recorded, but which, according to Russian authorities, carried north as the company's share of their 'catch' 2,728 and 1,488 sea-otter skins respectively. The three vessels formed a kind of partnership with the intention of returning to California; but after a voyage to China this plan was abandoned in favor of a sandal-wood contract with the king of the Hawaiian Islands. The *Albatross* accordingly came over to California to take off a party of sealers and close up the business. She was at the Farallones in August, and thence went to Drake Bay, where one Jerry Bancroft was nearly killed by a grizzly bear. Winship was back at the Islands in October, where the journal ends on October 25th, and where the three vessels were blockaded for nearly three years during the war with England.[30] We shall hear of the *Mercury* again.

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[29] An account of all the different kinds of skins obtained for the *Albatross* to this date, Oct. 1, 1811, in the log-book cited, p. 57: Fur seal skins taken by Gale, 1810, 33,740; fur seal skins taken by Gale, 1811, 21,153; fur seal skins taken by Brown, 18,509; total from Farallones, 73,402; total from Lower California, 1,124; total, 74,526. Sea-otter, ship's share, taken by Kadiaks, 561 tails(?), 581; sea-otter, bought, 70 tails(?), 58; total otter, 631 tails(?), 639. Besides 248 beaver, 21 raccoon, 6 wild-cat, 153 land-otter, 4 badger, 5 fox, 58 mink, 8 gray squirrels, 1 skunk, 11 musk-rat, and 137 mole skins. Estimated value of all at Canton prices, $157,397. The Russian authorities (see note 24) agree with the American as to the product, 560 skins being the company's share.

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[30] The proceedings of all these vessels on the coast in 1810-12 have left but little trace in the Spanish archives. February 1810, declarations taken from deserters of the *Mercury*. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 120. Sept. 28, 1810, or Oct. 18th, three deserters sent away on the *Princesa*. None of them were really Americans. *Id.*, xi. 7, 8. Sept. 19, 1810, Com. of San Francisco to governor. Several fishing-canoes seen going toward San José where 24 *cayucos* and a boat are reported. A big vessel at Bodega, and many canoes between Pt Bonete and San Antonio. Sept. 20th, three Russian fisherman captured in the estuaries of San José. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 275-6. Sept. 24, 1810, seven captives taken and five more on Oct. 4th, thought to belong to the Russian ship *Falactan*, all put to work. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xliv. 5; xlviii. 13; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 211-12; ix. 125. Sept. 28, 1810, a small American vessel at Bodega with 60 men. The crew had built three huts on shore. *Moraga, Diario de su Exped., 1810*, MS., 278. Nov. 26, 1810, 13 canoes seen from San Mateo to San Bruno. Some say 20 canoes left the island at Pt San Mateo this morning. Indians report two big vessels between Pt Reyes and San Antonio. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 280-1. Rations supplied in 1810 to seven Russian Indians and four deserters, $616. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xl. Jan. 20, 1811, commandant of San Diego to governor, an American vessel touched at San Juan Capistrano and left on Jan. 3d, forced by wind. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 83. May 30, 1811, Com. of San Francisco to Gov., the otter-fishing canoes still in the bay; as many as 50 seen together. Indians report 130 of them between Pt Bonete and San Antonio. The fishermen had detained the Indians on suspicion of being spies. A number of canoes also toward San Pedro and Pt Pilares. A party sent to surprise them, but without success. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 307-8. July 30, 1811, the *cayucos* have retired from the bay. A corpse found on the Sta Cruz beach. No vessels at Bodega. *Id.*, xix. 309. Dr Taylor tells us that, according to Capt. Cooper's statement, old Capt. Bully (Billy?) Smith went to the Farallones in 1808 with a party of Kadiaks, stayed there two years, and caught

In 1811 Thomas Meek in the *Amethyst* and William Blanchard in the *Catherine* were on the coast under Russian contracts, each carrying back over seven hundred otter-skins for the company, which is all that is known of these expeditions. Whittemore in the *Charon* shared nearly nine hundred skins. He was found at the Farallones by Winship at the time of his last visit in 1812.[31]

The supplies for 1810 were brought by the *Princesa* and *Activo*, arriving at Monterey on July and leaving the coast late in the autumn. The schooner *Mosca* also touched at Monterey in June on her way from Manila to San Blas.[32] Though the Mexican authorities in August instructed Arrillaga to put the Californian forts in a state of defence by purchasing new cannon, there seems at the same time to have been an order for the withdrawal of the artillery detachment. At any rate we find the governor at the end of the year protesting against such withdrawal.[33] When the *Princesa* reached San Blas on her return she found that town in possession of the insurgents, and was herself captured and held for a short time. Thus slightly was California involved in the great revolution in its first year.[34]

130,000 seals besides many otter. He took them to China in the *Albatross*, obtained $2.50 for seal-skins and $30 or $40 for otter; loaded two ships with tea and silk, and sold the cargo in Boston during the high prices of the war of 1812. *Discov. and Founders*, No. 21, i. We have seen that Wm. Smith was first mate of the *Albatross*, and we shall hear of him again, for he afterward lived and died in California.

[31] See reference to Russian authorities in note 24.

[32] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 124; xii. 81-3, 210.

[33] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 293; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 126.

[34] Feb. 20, 1811, guardian to president. *Arch. Sta B.*, vi. 216. The port had already been retaken.

CHAPTER VI.

LOCAL EVENTS AND PROGRESS—SOUTHERN DISTRICTS.

1801–1810.

San Diego Presidio—Officials—José Font—Manuel Rodriguez—Quarrel between Ruiz and Guerra—Raimundo Carrillo—Lujan—Population—Finances—Forts—Visits of American Traders—Pablo Grijalva—San Diego Mission—Irrigation Works—Earthquake—New Church—Statistics—José Panella—San Luis Rey—New Church—José García—Domingo Carranza—San Juan Capistrano—Fire—Church—José Faura—Los Angeles—Ranchos—Pueblo and Mission—San Gabriel—Pedro de San José Estévan—Antonio Cruzado—Isidoro Barcenilla—San Fernando—Nicolás Lázaro—José Antonio Uría—Martin Landaeta—Santa Bárbara Presidio—Captain Goycoechea—Population—Finances—Earthquake and Storm—Criminal Cases—Santa Bárbara Mission—Epidemic—Padre Cortés—San Buenaventura—Santa María—Purísima—Fernandez—Payeras' Report.

We will here take up the thread of local annals where it was dropped in 1800.[1] With a glance at each presidio, mission, and pueblo, throughout the length—it can hardly be said to have had any breadth—of the land, I shall present the meagre narrative of events at each establishment, name the persons, missionary, military, or civil officials who directed the destinies of each, give biographical sketches of prominent men who died or disappeared from the field of their labors in California, condense from voluminous records statistical views of progress, or in a few cases of decadence, tell what gentile souls were saved, what buildings were erected, what crops were harvested, what cattle were branded, and say whatever it is desirable and possible to know of California's twenty-six settlements during the first decade of the nineteenth century.

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[1] See vol. i. chap. xxx.–xxxii., for local record from 1790 to 1800.

I begin as before in the extreme south, at San Diego. Here Lieutenant Font commanded the post till his departure with his volunteer company in 1803;[2] and Manuel Rodriguez was commandant of the company, as of the post after Font's departure, till 1806, when he was promoted to be captain of the San Francisco company. He never went north, however, for before the end of the year he was appointed habilitado general for the Californias to reside in Mexico, and sailed in November to assume the duties of his new and responsible position, which he held until his death, September 28, 1810.[3]

Captain Rodriguez was an intelligent man, a good officer, and a skilful accountant. Cleveland found him to be "an exceedingly vain and pompous man;" in fact "a most arrant coxcomb," and altogether a most disagreeable personage; but the Yankee smuggler's judgment of a man who could be tempted neither to trade himself nor permit trade in violation of the laws may be taken with allowance.

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[2] Of José Font I have not been able to learn anything beyond the fact of his residence in California with the Catalan volunteers. He was, however, promoted to be captain on June 10, 1803, just before his departure from the country. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 291. June 13, 1803, he was present at the laying of the corner-stone of a new church at San Juan Bautista. *S. Juan Bautista, Lib. Mision*, MS., 12, 13.

[3] Manuel Rodriguez first appears in California history April 23, 1794, when from Mexico he applied to Gov. Borica for a cadetship in the company of Loreto or Monterey. He was then 26 years old. A cadet was obliged to live as a gentleman on a soldier's pay; but Rodriguez had the patronage of his relative, Habilitado General Cárcaba, who not only recommended him but offered to make him an allowance of $20 or $25 a month. April 23, 1794, Rodriguez to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xii. 186. He was admitted to the Monterey company and came to California in 1795. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxii. 5. In August 1798, by provisional order of the viceroy he was made alférez of the San Francisco company, and honored with the title of Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad de Caballeros Hijos dalgo. Aug. 14, 1798, governor to commandant of Monterey. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., iv. 254; v. 111. His commission was sent by the viceroy Jan. 4, 1799. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 187. He never served at San Francisco but was habilitado at San Diego from July 1798 till his promotion to the lieutenancy and command of the San Diego company in 1800. Appointment, Feb. 11, 1800; dropped from rolls of San Francisco company, Nov. 30th. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxviii. 15; xxxiii. 12. Commission forwarded by the viceroy July 17, 1801. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 96. For Cleveland's experience at San Diego and his opinion of Rodriguez see chapter i. this volume; also *Cleveland's Nar.*, i. 210–21. He assumed the office of habilitado general in Mexico after Jan. 21, 1807. The exact date of his election in 1806 is not recorded. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 94; *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 37; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 103. May 31, 1810, the governor notifies the viceroy of the election by the officers of California, of José de la Guerra y Noriega, Rodriguez being the opposing candidate. *Prov. Rec.*, ix. 121. Rodriguez was notified by the governor of his appointment as captain of San Francisco June 27, 1806. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 148. Death on Sept. 28, 1810. Finally dropped from rolls at San Francisco Nov. 11, 1815. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 34.

Captain Raimundo Carrillo was named as the successor of Rodriguez, but as he could not leave Santa Bárbara immediately, Alférez Francisco María Ruiz of Santa Bárbara was promoted to be lieutenant, transferred to the San Diego company, and thus became acting commandant at the end of 1806. Lieutenant José de la Guerra y Noriega, similarly promoted, was sent down to be habilitado, a position which during 1806 had been held by Ignacio Martinez. It chanced that Guerra's commission as lieutenant was a few days older than that of Ruiz; therefore the former had to be made commandant of the post. The result was jealousy and bickering between the two officials, not diminished probably by the fact that while Guerra's promotion had been most rapid from the position of cadet, Ruiz had had to work his way up in the usual slow method from the ranks. Nor did the fact that they were related by marriage help matters. The progress of the quarrel in its earlier stages is not recorded; but on March 15, 1807, it reached a climax. Ruiz disregarded an order given by his rival in an insulting tone, whereupon Guerra ordered the soldiers to arrest him and to load their arms to support his authority. Ruiz replied by knocking Don José down and calling upon the troops to say whom they recognized as their superior officer. Guerra drew his sword and rushed upon his foe; but Father Sanchez and others interposed and prevented bloodshed. This affair came to the ears of Arrillaga who ordered Captain José Argüello to investigate; and the report went to Mexico. There it was decided that both officers were much to blame, but as they had cooled down before blood had been spilled, a severe reprimand was deemed a sufficient punishment. The cooling-down process had been hastened by the action of friends who made the hot-blooded lieutenants understand that they were likely to lose their commissions or be thrown out of the line of promotion.[4]

Carrillo arrived and took command late in 1807; but he died in November 1809.[5] Ignacio Corral was appointed commandant in his place; but for some unexplained reason he never came to California.[6]

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[4] *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxviii. 3–6; Feb. 28, 1808. Arrillaga gives a mild version to the viceroy and suggests that Ruiz be retired with the rank of captain, Maitorena being put in his place. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 105–6. José Antonio de Noriega wrote to his cousin José from Mexico a very earnest letter on the risks he was running by his conduct. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 93. After Carrillo took command there seem to have been other troubles not clearly explained, in which Carrillo, Ruiz, Martinez, and Sergt. Pico were more or less involved. Arrillaga through Guerra warned Carrillo to have the quarrels settled privately and to avoid an investigation which was likely to result badly to the parties. *Id.*, iii. 209–12.

[5] José Raimundo Carrillo was the son of Hilario Carrillo and was born at Loreto in 1749. He probably came to California with the first expedition in 1769. According to the *S. Diego, Lib. de Mision*, MS., 9, he was a soldier at San Diego before the middle of 1772; but in his *hoja de servicios*, in *Prov. St. Pap., Presidios*, MS., ii. 11–14, it is stated that he enlisted on May 28, 1773. In 1776 he took part in seven campaigns against hostile chiefs in the San Diego mountains. He was made corporal March 8, 1778, serving for a time in the Monterey company. On April 23, 1781, Corporal Carrillo was married at San Cárlos by Junípero Serra to Tomasa Ignacia, daughter of the soldier Francisco Lugo. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 74. He served as a sergeant at Santa Bárbara for 12 years from May 26, 1783. His first son Cárlos Antonio was baptized at Santa Bárbara Feb. 17, 1784. *Sta Bárbara, Lib. de Mision*, MS., 3. In 1795 he was transferred to Monterey, and on April 27, 1795 was commissioned alférez of the Monterey company, taking the place in August. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., i. 55; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., iv. 22, 191; v. 230. His appointment was approved by the king Nov. 1st. *Carrillo (Dom.), Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 1–9. On the recommendation of Arrillaga he was made a lieutenant Dec. 23, 1800, and became commandant of Monterey from Dec. 8th, to succeed Sal, the king's approval being dated Feb. 10, 1802. *Id.*, 4; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xxi. 48, 56; *Gaceta de Mex.*, x. 240. In August 1802 he was transferred to the command of Santa Bárbara, though still lieutenant of the Monterey company. Here as elsewhere he kept the company accounts as habilitado much of the time. He was present Sept. 17, 1804, at the founding of Santa Inés. *Libro de Mision*, MS., 3. On Oct. 1, 1806, still by recommendation of Arrillaga, Carrillo was promoted to be captain of the San Diego company, royal approval bearing the date of March 22, 1807. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., i. 41–2; *Carrillo (Dom.), Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 4; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 73. He was buried in the presidio chapel by Padre Iturrate on Nov. 10, 1809. *Id.*, ii. 74; *S. Diego, Lib. de Mision*, MS., 92; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xl. 14. His will, given verbally to Don José de la Guerra y Noriega, was sent to the governor on Dec. 19, 1809. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 201. July 13, 1816, the viceroy decides that Doña Tomasa, the widow, was entitled to the *montepio militar*, since her marriage had been with royal permission. *Id.*, xx. 125. It is evident that Carrillo was an intelligent man and an efficient officer; but of his private character we have only Arrillaga's significant remark that he was at times 'masculine,' 'y prueba de ello es de que para curar á su hijo la madre necesita licencia.' His daughter, María Antonia, married José de la Guerra

Ruiz became acting commandant, though he did not obtain his captain's commission till 1821, when he nominally succeeded Corral as full commandant of the company. José Lujan continued as alférez until 1806, when he left the country,[7] and was succeeded by Ignacio Martinez, lately cadet at Santa Bárbara. Acebedo was succeeded by Joaquin Arce as company sergeant before 1804; and after 1805 there were two sergeants, José María Pico being advanced to that position.

The presidial company numbered usually fifty-seven men besides the officers down to 1805, after which date eighteen additional men were recruited, chiefly from the pueblo of Los Angeles and surrounding ranchos; but as the twenty-five Catalan volunteers had departed in 1803, the actual force was rather smaller than larger than in the preceding decade. The invalids of the company varied from fifteen to twenty-four, and a few of these remained on duty at the presidio. There were also four or five artillerymen at the fort; but as in 1806 the viceroy, having relieved San Diego from the care of Mission San Miguel, transferred five men to the Loreto company,[8] the effective force of the presidio was in 1810 about eighty men, twenty-five of whom composed the four mission escorts of San Diego, San Luis, San Juan, and San Gabriel. The

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y Noriega; and his sons Cárlos Antonio, José Antonio, Anastasio, and Domingo, were prominent men, as we shall see, in the later history of the country.

[6] March 10, 1810, Rodriguez to governor, speaks of the appointment of Corral, who was a lieutenant in the Corona regiment, and says the viceroy must be urged to send Corral forward to his post, else he would surely remain in Mexico. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xliv. 1.

[7] Lujan was regarded by Gov. Borica as unfit for his position, being of weak mind and body, and ignorant of military duties. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 174. Idle and disposed to feign sickness. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., v. 273. Pronounced by Arrillaga wholly incompetent to command a presidio. *Id.*, x. 17. June 26, 1806, Lujan writes from San Luis Rey that he would demand a court-martial. He left San Diego for Lower California on Aug. 5th, and on Sept. 21st writes from Velicatá that Rodriguez had insulted him, retarded his promotion, and exiled him. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 121–2, 147. Nothing is known of his subsequent career.

[8] Dec. 23, 1806, viceroy to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 103.

soldiers with their families, not including the invalids who were residents of Angeles nor the guard of San Gabriel, made a total population of about 320 in the district, a gain of 70 since the year 1800. The neophyte Indian population of the jurisdiction had in the mean time increased from 3,000 to 4,300 in round numbers. Of live-stock and agriculture at the presidio no records exist for this decade; there is, however, no evidence that there were any private ranchos within the district, or that any agricultural operations were carried on round San Diego Bay.[9]

Of repairs executed on the presidio buildings, or of complaints respecting repairs needed, usually a most prolific topic of correspondence, we read absolutely nothing during this decade. There appear, however, a few minor items respecting the fort or battery at Point Guijarros, which, like the flatboat which plied between it and the presidio, was kept after a fashion in repair at the expense of the divers hundreds of dollars drawn from the king's exchequer.[10] Shaler and

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[9] Appropriations in Mexico from the royal treasury for San Diego varied from $15,000 to $21,000; invoices of goods from $8,000 to $18,000 per year; the balance in favor of the company from $5,000 to $13,000; the totals of the habilitado's accounts from $34,000 to $56,000; and the yearly inventories of goods in the warehouse from $20,000 to $25,000. Mission supplies to the presidio were $4,000 in 1804; $5,500 in 1806; and $7,700 in 1807, but there are no records for other years. The amount in the *fondo de retencion* held in trust for the soldiers was from $3,000 to $4,000. The amount deducted from pay for the *fondo de inválidos* from 1798 to 1805 was $3,072; that for *montepio* for the same time $212. Net proceeds of sales of live-stock from the rancho del rey were from $300 to $500 per year. The rancho contained 1,185 animals in 1802. The average net revenue from postage after deducting 10 per cent commissions, was $90 per year. Tithes at the presidio, presumably on the cattle of the rancho del rey, averaged $30; but for the whole district they seem to have exceeded $400. Papal bulls for the few years recorded brought $75 per year. The tobacco revenue at San Diego was more important, yielding on an average $1,764 per year. Net yield of the presidial forge in 1807, $263. See company rosters and presidial accounts from 1801 to 1810 in *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxix.-xliv. passim; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxvii. 56, 58; *Prov. St. Pap., Presidios*, MS., i. 39-40; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., i. 14; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., ii. 9; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 249-51; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 31-2; vi. 123.

[10] Repairs on the battery in 1801, $183. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 278. Jan. 10, 1804, comandante to governor, $688 has been appropriated by the viceroy to the construction of a boat 25 ft. long for the use of the garrison. *Id.*, xviii. 366. July 3, 1805, governor orders a light on Pt Guijarros. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 29. 1805, 6 six-pounders, 5 of which useless. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiii. 21. April 1, 1806, Corporal Mariano Fernandez to

Cleveland in 1803 found "eight brass nine-pounders, mounted on carriages, which appeared to be in good order, and a plentiful supply of ball," and their vessel the *Lelia Byrd* a little later served as a target for those same balls, much to her damage, as elsewhere related.[11] In fact the battery in its baptism of fire under the command of Corporal José Velazquez nearly won the honor of sinking the Yankee smuggler; though Shaler says of it, "there is a sorry battery of eight-pounders at the entrance; at present it does not merit the least consideration as a fortification, but with a little expense might be made capable of defending this fine harbor."[12]

Cleveland's visit in the *Lelia*, and that of the *Alexander*, Captain Brown, a few days earlier in March 1803,[13] were the most exciting events, and indeed almost the only events, to be noted in ten years. No foreign ship cared, after the *Byrd's* experience, to run the gauntlet of the guns, though once or twice, as we have seen, a vessel anchored outside and sent in by land the oft-told tale of want and suffering. It was safer and more agreeable to anchor at San Quintin, or San Juan Capistrano, or San Pedro, where there were no guns; and thus the good people of San Diego enjoyed less opportunity for contraband trade than their neighbors north and south. And contraband trade was well nigh the only excitement of the epoch; for the Indians kept perfectly quiet, and the enlistment of a reënforcement to take the place of the volunteers hardly created in the dull sea of monotony a ripple sufficient to show itself in the official records.[14]

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take charge of the battery. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 170. A flatboat, *lancha plana*, running in 1806. *Id.*, xix. 137. 1807, goods devoted to fort and boat, that is to pay for work thereon, $416. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxvii. 43. Expenses in 1810, $498. *Id.*, xliv. 18.

[11] *Cleveland's Narrative*, i. 211–17; chap. i. of this volume.

[12] *Shaler's Journal of a Voyage*, 158.

[13] See chap. i. of this vol. The *Enterprise* had also obtained supplies in 1801.

[14] From the correspondence in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 178–9, it would seem that the recruiting of 18 men, attempted by Lujan in 1805, was accomplished only with great difficulty; the vecinos of Angeles manifesting very little military ardor.

One by one, however, the old pioneers were dropping off, and in the list of deaths at San Diego I have to note that of the veteran Lieutenant Pablo Grijalva which occurred on June 21, 1806.[15]

The first year of the decade the rains were late and there was great want of grain at the mission, as also in 1803; though statistical tables show the crops of 1809 to have been much smaller than in either of

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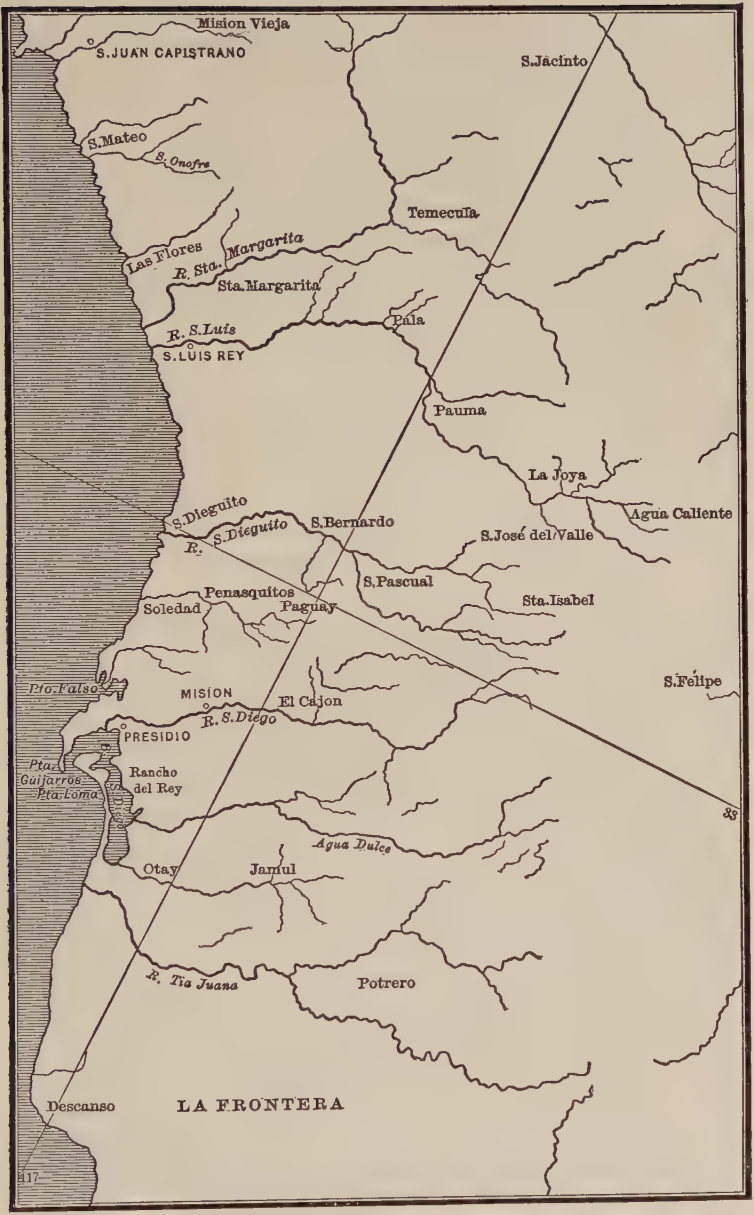
[15] Juan Pablo Grijalva came to California in 1776 with Anza's colony as a sergeant. He had before served 12 years as a private and a few months as a corporal in the presidial company of Terrenate, Sonora, where he had been engaged in nine campaigns and 11 *mariscadas* against the Indians, being twice wounded. Grijalva was present at the founding of San Francisco, and served there for ten years. Oct. 1, 1786, the governor recommended him for promotion, and his commission as alférez of the San Diego company was issued on July 20, 1787, by General Ugarte. He aided in many explorations for mission sites, founded San Pedro Martyr in Lower California in 1794, and was engaged in ten expeditions against fugitive or aggressive Indians. Feb. 1, 1795, Borica placed him in the second place among the three names of the *terna* for promotion to a lieutenancy. In Dec. of the same year Grijalva asked for retirement on account of infirmities contracted during his long service. Borica endorsed his petition with the recommendation that he be retired as lieutenant with half-pay as alférez. April 17, 1796, Borica wrote that as a reward for his services to the king the viceroy would be urged to give him an honorable position. Dec. 2, 1796, Grijalva was put on the retired list as invalid alférez of the San Diego company with $200 a year; and Nov. 7, 1797, he was notified that his retirement with rank of lieutenant had been allowed. He continued on the retired list, receiving his pension until his death in 1806. Whether he lived at the presidio, at Los Angeles, or had a temporary grant of land is not known. It has been thought that he may have been the original occupant of the Santiago de Santa Ana Rancho subsequently granted to his sons-in-law; but I deem this not likely. (See vol. i. chap. xxx.) He acted as habilitado of the San Diego company for brief periods. He brought his wife, Dolores Valencia, and two daughters to California. One of the daughters, María Josefa, was married May 17, 1782, at San Francisco to the Catalan corporal Antonio Yorba. The other, María del Cármen, was married Oct. 27, 1785, to Pedro Peralta, a soldier of San Francisco. Both have descendants living in California, though I believe the male line and name of Yorba is extinct. Grijalva made his will on the day of his death, June 21, 1806, at San Diego. He possessed 700 head of cattle, 25 horses, and 6 droves of mares, 54 mules, arrears of pay amounting to $140, and a few small credits due from private persons. After ordering the payment of certain trifling debts, $10 to the 'holy places of Jerusalem,' a liberal sum for masses for the rest of his soul, and 50 head of cattle to a grandson, he gave the remainder of his property to his wife. He was urged by Rodriguez to remember his daughters in his will, since it was feared he could not legally omit them; but he refused, saying that his daughters had been fully provided for at their marriage. He also refused to state what money and jewelry he possessed. He was about 65 years of age at the time of his death. These items on the life of Grijalva I have gathered from *St. Pap.*, *Sac.*, MS., i. 55, 106; v. 80–1; vii. 65; xvii. 7; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., vii. 45; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxiii. 4; xxv. 16; xxvi. 2; xxxiii. 7; xxxvii. 1; *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxvii. 52; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., v. 244, 260; *S. Francisco*, *Lib. de Mision*, MS., 6, 24, 56, 58; *S. Diego*, *Lib. Mision*, MS., 25, 30; *Sta Cruz*, *Lib. Mision*, MS., 41; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 37.



San Diego District, 1800–30.

those years.[16] I suppose it may have been these droughts that impelled the friars to construct an extensive system of irrigating works, and that the works, the remains of which are yet to be seen, were probably completed during this decade, though there are no definite records on the subject, and though I suspect the ditch was never practically a great success. Some three miles above the mission the river was dammed by a solid stone-wall, thirteen feet in thickness, and coated with a cement that became as hard as rock. In the centre was a gate-way twelve feet wide lined with brick. The dam was standing in 1874, though the water had washed out a channel at one end, and the sand left but a few feet of the height of the structure visible. From this dam an aqueduct of tiles, resting on cobble-stones in cement, and carrying a stream one foot deep and two feet wide at the surface, was built down the stream through a precipitous gorge, impassable on horseback, to the mission lands. The aqueduct often crossed gulches fifteen or twenty feet wide and deep, and was so strong that in places it supported itself after the foundation was removed.[17]

On May 25, 1803, an earthquake slightly damaged the mission church.[18] Padre Sanchez in a letter to Arrillaga states that work was begun on a new church September 29, 1808;[19] yet in the description of a ceremony that took place in 1804 the 'new church' is also mentioned. This ceremony, conducted by Father Payeras and other friars in the presence of Commandant Rodriguez and the troops, was the transfer of the remains of the three deceased padres of the mission, Jaume, Figuer, and Mariner. The bodies—or bones only in the case of the martyred Jaume—were taken from their old resting-places and deposited in one grave, but in separate boxes between the altars of the new church.[20]

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[16] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 367; xix. 140, 144; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxix. 3.

[17] This curious work is described from personal examination by Hayes. *Emig. Notes*, 153, 603.

[18] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 21.

[19] *Arch. Arzob.*, ii. 65. Arrillaga's reply, Oct. 27th. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 94.

Gaining in neophyte population from 1523 to 1611 a gain of only five per cent as against 75 per cent for the preceding decade, the death-rate increasing from 50 to 80 per cent as compared with baptisms—San Diego was still the largest mission at the end of 1810; though I have already explained why this was not a gauge of prosperity.[21] In other respects, however, except that it lost nearly one half of its cattle, the mission was tolerably prosperous.[22] Barona remained as minister throughout the decade; but Panella left the country in 1803,[23] and was replaced for about a year by Mariano Payeras, and then José Bernardo Sanchez took the place in 1804. Pedro de la Cueva from Mission San José was here for a short time in 1806, and José Pedro Panto came in September 1810.

In the general mission report of 1801–2 it is stated that the adobe church of San Luis Rey had been completed,[24] and this is all we may know of the growth during this decade of what was the most imposing pile of mission structures in California, better known to the world than any of the rest through the drawings of Duflot de Mofras, made in 1840.[25] Padre Antonio Peyri, the founder of this establishment, presided over its fortunes throughout the ten years. His associate, José García, left California in 1808 and was succeeded at San Luis by Domingo Carranza, who himself retired in 1810, when President Tapis came here to aid Peyri for a time.[26] Under these shepherds the neophyte flock increased from 337 to 1,519, a larger gain than that of any other mission, with by far the lowest death-rate, 28 per cent. In population San Luis was now second only to San Diego; in cattle third on the list and a tie with San Gabriel; in agriculture its best crop was exceeded only by that of San Fernando.[27]

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[20] *S. Diego, Lib. Mision*, MS., 89–90. Jaume was placed in the smallest box nearest to the image of the virgin; Mariner, in the largest near St James' image, and Figuer farthest south. Three stones were erected over the grave. In *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 68, there is an undated note to the effect that under the niche of St Francis is deposited the offering of Capt. Fons (Font) of the Catalan volunteers. Dec. 25, 1804, a neophyte caught *flagrante delicto* threw a stone at the padre who caught him. *Arch. Sta Barbara*, MS., vi. 34.

[21] Rodriguez in 1807 says that it was the practice to turn the Indians into the mountains whenever there was a short crop. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 37. See chap. xxix. vol. i.

[22] Gain in neophytes, 1,523 to 1,611; baptisms, 1,023; lowest year 1809 with 24, highest 1808, with 140; deaths, 829; lowest 29 in 1803, highest, 162 in 1806; large stock, decrease from 6,960 to 3,720; horses, mules, and asses in 1810, 720; small stock, gain, 6,028 to 9,740; crops in 1800, 2,600 bushels; in 1810, 1,540 bushels; smallest crop, 360 bushels in 1809; largest, 5,500 bushels in 1806; average, 2,300 bushels. It will be noticed that the gain in population is much less than the difference between baptisms and deaths. The same is true of most other missions, and the discrepancy can not be satisfactorily explained. I can find no sufficient evidence that the names of runaways were erased from the registers or omitted in the regular reports, though this may have been the case.

[23] Of José Panella we know only that he came to the country in 1797, served at San Diego, was accused of undue harshness in his treatment of the Indians, and took his departure in October 1803. He seems to have served for a short time in 1798 at San Luis Rey, but his methods of management nearly caused a revolt, and he was sent back where the Indians were better accustomed to his rule with a reprimand from President Lasuen. Was at San Gabriel in July 1799. *S. Gabriel, Lib. Mision*, MS., 51. Allowed to depart for Mexico Oct. 4, 1803. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 20.

San Juan Capistrano was a favorite stopping-place for the American traders in search of provisions and opportunities for barter; but few details of their visits are known. Captain Brown in the *Alexander* touched here in the spring of 1803, and in the autumn Rowan in the *Hazard*; in July 1804 there appeared the *Lelia*

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[24] *Lasuen, Infórme Bienal de Misiones, 1801-2*, MS., 69.

[25] *Mofras, Exploration Atlas.* The front view and ground plan—both, and especially the latter, very inaccurate—have been several times reproduced.

[26] José García was assigned to duty in California Feb. 3, 1800, and arrived at Monterey in August of the same year. On his way south he officiated at several missions; but his only regular ministry was at San Luis Rey from 1800 to 1808, when he was allowed to retire on account of impaired health, which had caused him to ask for license as early as 1804. His qualities have left no trace in the records. Domingo Carranza arrived at Santa Bárbara May 7, 1798, on the *Concepcion* with seven companions. He officiated at Santa Cruz from November 1798 till August 1808, and at San Luis Rey until late in 1810, when, having served his term and more, he sailed on the *San Cárlos* and with that vessel fell into the hands of the insurgents at San Blas. By them he is said to have been sentenced to death, though the sentence was never executed.

[27] Increase in population, 337 to 1,519; baptisms, 1,451; lowest number, 42 in 1809; highest, 432 in 1810; deaths, 411; lowest, 23 in 1802; highest, 104 in 1806; large stock, gain from 619 to 10,576; horses in 1810, 776; small stock, gain from 1,600 to 9,710; harvest in 1800, 1,600 bush.; in 1810, 4,225 bush.; smallest crop, 2,890 bush. in 1809; largest in 1808, 10,875 bush.; average, 5,250 bush.

Byrd, Captain Shaler; in September Rowan returned; and in 1806 four men from the *Peacock,* Captain Kimball, were seized and sent to San Diego as prisoners.[28] If we credit the Spanish reports of these visits we must believe that the foreigners were uniformly sent away without supplies and were given no chance to trade; but it is implied in the reports of the Americans and Russians that there was never any great difficulty in getting fresh provisions or in trading with the friars, though it was deemed wise to keep away from the forts.

In March 1801 the store-room was set on fire by a servant's carelessness, and the mission lost 2,400 bushels of grain besides more than six tons of tallow, some damage being done also to church property.[29] The only other event to be noted, and a most important one in the mission annals of San Juan, was the completion of the new church which had been in process of construction since 1797. It was the finest church in California, built of stone and mortar, surmounted by a lofty tower, with five interior arches of cut stone; and it was regarded with equal pride by missionaries and neophytes, who had accomplished the work with the aid of a master-mason. The consecration took place September 7, 1806. President Tapis was assisted by the ministers of the mission and by Urresti, Victoria, Zalvidea, Peyri, and Cueva from other missions. Governor Arrillaga was present with Captain Rodriguez, Lieutenant Ruiz, Alférez Maitorena, and many soldiers from San Diego and Santa Bárbara. Crowds of neophytes from all the country round witnessed the rites, which are not particularly described. Next day Victoria said mass and Urresti preached a sermon. On the 9th the bones of the former minister, Vicente Fuster, were transferred to their final resting-place within the new edifice. Cueva on this occasion chanted a solemn requiem mass, and the sermon was delivered by Faura. Meanwhile Padre Sanchez and Alférez Ignacio Martinez had come from San Diego to join in the festivities. The three days formed an epoch long to be remembered in southern California.[30]

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[28] See chap. i. and ii. of this volume.

[29] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xxi. 68–9; xviii. 94; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxix. 13. The servant in question went with a candle to get some fat, and amused himself by killing bats.

Father Santiago remained in charge of San Juan until 1810 when he retired to Mexico;[31] but his associate Faura retired in 1809;[32] Francisco Suñer came in 1809; and José Barona began his long ministry in 1810. These missionaries baptized 1,040 Indians and buried 748, but increased the number of registered neophytes by only 92, or from 1,046 to 1,138. The number of sheep at this mission was greatly diminished, but was still larger than elsewhere.[33]

The annals of Los Angeles and the surrounding ranchos present for this decade almost an utter blank. I cannot even give a complete list of pueblo officials. Sergeant Javier Alvarado was the comisionado in 1809, and perhaps in all the preceding years, but was replaced by Guillermo Cota in 1810. Mariano Verdugo was alcalde in 1802, with Fructuoso Ruiz and Ramon Buelna as regidores; Guillermo Soto in 1809, and Francisco Ávila in 1810, with Anastasio Ávila and Teodoro Silvas as regidores.[34] Population, including the rancheros and their families, increased only from 315 to 365; though it is probable that the soldiers recruited for the presidios from Los Angeles represented a further gain of over fifty.[35] Cattle and horses decreased, by intentional slaughter for the most part, from 12,560 to 6,175 head. Sheep were still less than 2,000 in number, and crops of wheat and corn varied from 3,000 to 4,000 fanegas. In 1805–6 the people are represented to have suffered considerably and to have been despondent by reason of the increasing devastations of locusts on corn and beans.[36] It was hoped, however, that hemp-culture might better their condition, and, as we shall see, something was actually accomplished in that direction. In 1809 Comisionado Alvarado reported gambling, drunkenness, and other excesses to be alarmingly on the increase. Despite his efforts—and the stocks at his office were rarely unoccupied—the people were becoming more vicious, scandalous, and intolerable every day.[37]

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[30] *S. Juan Capistrano, Lib. Mision*, MS., 26–9; *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., iv. 22–3; *Arch. Sta Bárbara*, MS., xii. 66, 71, 79. The first baptism in the new church took place on Oct. 18th.

[31] Juan Norberto de Santiago came to Mexico from Spain in 1785, and was sent to California the next year. His signature appears in the books of San Francisco often in 1786–7; but his only regular ministry was at San Juan Capistrano from 1789 to 1810. He sailed with Carranza on the *San Cárlos*, and was captured by the insurgents at San Blas. In February 1811 he writes to the president from Guadalajara that he has been through great dangers, having even been sentenced to death. *Arch. Sta Bárbara*, MS., xi. 302–3.

[32] José Faura was a native of Barcelona; arrived at Santa Bárbara May 7, 1798; served at San Luis Rey from July of that year till 1800; and at San Juan Capistrano till October 1809, when he was allowed to retire, his term of service having expired.

[33] Increase in population, 1,046 to 1,138; baptisms, 1,040; smallest number, 58 in 1802; largest, 329 in 1805; deaths, 748; largest, 210 in 1806; smallest, 26 in 1805; large stock, gain 8,539 to 10,213; horses, 693; small stock, decrease 17,030 to 11,500; crops in 1800, 6,240 bushels; in 1810, 5,300 bush.; smallest, 1,170 bush. in 1809; largest, 10,400 bush. in 1806; average, 5,570 bush.

Los Angeles was still within the jurisdiction of Santa Bárbara, though many citizens were invalids of the San Diego company.[38] In August 1802 Goycoechea mentions the ranchos of the jurisdiction as being those of Nieto, of Dominguez, of the two Verdugos, and of Félix, held under concessions of Borica or his predecessors; Simí held by Luis Peña and Santiago Pico, and Las Vírgenes by Miguel Ortega, under provisional grants by Arrillaga. It will be noticed that this list agrees with that of the last decade, the Encino Rancho having been appropriated by the friars, except in adding the Félix Rancho mentioned only in this document, and that it confirms my idea respecting the other three ranchos, since it makes no mention of either the Santiago or the Refugio ranchos, and shows Simí not to have been granted as early as 1795, as was claimed before the land commission. Since 1800 Las Vírgenes had been granted to Miguel Ortega, and El Conejo had been asked for. The latter was granted in 1802 or 1803 to José Polanco and Ignacio Rodriguez. In 1809 Santiago de Santa Ana was granted to Yorba and Peralta, and I suppose that El Refugio was occupied by the Ortegas before 1810, though I have seen nothing more definite on the subject than the mention of two Ortega boys as residents of Refugio in a militia list of 1809.[39]

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[34] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 258, 305, 328; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xl. 25–6; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 181; *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., iii. 35.

[35] See a list of many citizens in a militia artillery roll. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xl. 17–20.

[36] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 81–2, 1805. All the corn, beans, and pease destroyed by the chapule. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiv. 27.

[37] *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xl. 25–6.

[38] The invalids have no further dependency on the *comandancia* of San Diego than that of getting their pay there, being subject to the comisionado, who was a sergeant of the Santa Bárbara Company. *Goycoechea, Oficio Instructivo, 1802*, MS., 124.

There were two controversies, neither of them very bitter, between the settlers at the pueblo and the friars, both occurring in 1810. The missionaries were accused of having cut off the town's supply of water by damming—the only instance of profanity on record against them—the river at Cahuenga; but it seems that they were willing to remove the dam if it could be proved that the settlers were really injured.[40] The other difficulty arose from complaints that the padres refused to attend to the spiritual care of the sick at Angeles. President Tapis in a private letter warned the missionaries that it would be extremely prejudicial to Franciscan interests if such complaints were to reach the superior tribunal. He urged them not to fear hard work, and threatened to change places with one of them. The friars replied that on the two occasions when they had refused attendance one of them was absent and the other busy with sick neophytes. They claimed, however, that it was not possible for the two ministers to properly care for the pueblo and the ranchos so far away. The supreme government could not blame them for not neglecting their neophytes, and the settlers could bring their sick to the mission until a chaplain could be employed.[41]

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[39] For map of Los Angeles district, see chap. xvi. *Goycoechea, Oficio Instructivo, 1802*, MS., 124; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, vi. 30-1; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xl. 18, 19. In the same list Nieto's Rancho is called Sta Gertrudis. See also vol. i. chap. xxx. of this work. Goycoechea says that many persons have asked for San Vicente, but it has been refused for the general good. Permission has been refused even to the padres to establish corrals in various places. According to the land commission cases—No. 308—San Antonio was granted to Lugo in 1810; and a claim was made—No. 483—for Topanga Maliba granted to Tapia in 1804.

[40] March 26, 1810, commandant of Santa Bárbara to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 304-5.

At San Gabriel Mission we left three friars in charge at the end of the last decade, Antonio Cruzado, Miguel Sanchez, and Pedro Estévan. The last-named left the country at the end of 1802.[42] Cruzado and Sanchez, both missionary pioneers, who for thirty years had served together at San Gabriel, died at their post, the former in 1804, the latter in 1803.[43]

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[41] Correspondence of March and May 1810, in *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 181-96.

[42] Pedro de San José Estévan was a native of Castile, became a Franciscan at Habana in 1783, joined the college of San Fernando in 1793, and was sent to California in 1794. He was at San Antonio for some months in 1795; served at San Diego from April 1796 to July 1797; and at San Gabriel till October 1802. He was often at San Juan Capistrano, where he buried Padre Fuster in October 1800. He also visited San Buenaventura and other missions. His license from the viceroy was dated Feb. 8, 1802, and that from the governor Aug. 21st. He sailed before Oct. 20th. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 248; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., i. 66; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 18; xii. 16; also registers of the missions named above.

[43] Antonio Cruzado was a native of Alcarazegos, bishopric of Córdova, Andalucía, and was born in 1725. Coming to Mexico before 1748, he served in the Sierra Gorda missions for 22 years; was assigned to California in August 1770; sailed from San Blas Jan. 21, 1771, and arrived at San Diego March 12th, and again July 14th, after a trip by sea to Monterey. He was assigned to San Buenaventura, but that foundation being postponed, he remained at San Gabriel as supernumerary from November 1771 until May 1772, and as regular minister from that date until his death which occurred on Oct. 12, 1804. He was 79 years old, and had labored for 55 years as a missionary in America. He received the sacrament of extreme unction, the others being omitted on account of his feeble condition, at the hands of Francisco Dumetz, who had come to California on the same vessel with him, and who buried him in the mission church. *San Gabriel, Lib. Mision*, MS., 28; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 412, 483.

Francisco Miguel Sanchez was a native of Aragon, and of the Franciscan province of San Miguel. He left Mexico in Oct. 1770, and sailed from Tepic in Feb. 1771. He was one of the company often referred to in preceding chapters, driven by adverse winds to Manzanillo, whence he returned overland to Sinaloa, and finally reached Loreto Nov. 24, 1771. He was assigned to the mission of Todos Santos; and in August 1773 when the other Franciscans came north he was left by Palou at Loreto to attend to sending forward some cattle. He started northward in April 1774, left Velicatá in August with Lieut. Ortega, and arrived at San Diego Sept. 26th. He was minister of San Gabriel from Sept. 1775, though from 1790 to 1800 he spent most of his

Isidoro Barcenilla served here from 1802 until 1804, when he retired to his college.[44] Dumetz lived here most of the time from 1803 and José Antonio Urresti served from 1804 to 1806; but the regular successors of Cruzado and Sanchez may be regarded as José de Miguel who came in 1803 and José María Zalvidea in November 1806.

Besides the slight misunderstandings with the settlers of Angeles about water rights and chaplain service in 1810, and the threatened revolt of Indians in the same year, which have been already recorded,[45] there are no local occurrences to be noted. The mission was within the jurisdiction of San Diego; that is the six soldiers of the guard, who lived here with their families, belonged to the San Diego company.[46] The mission church had been completed with an arched roof, but after cracks had appeared and had been once repaired, they were again opened wider than ever by an earthquake, so that the arches had to be torn down and a new roof of timbers and tile substituted

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time at San Diego, Santa Clara, and Soledad, visiting also S. Francisco, S. José, and S. Luis Obispo. In 1797 with a view of retirement he asked for and obtained from the governor a certificate of his missionary services; but he decided to remain in the country, and finally died at San Gabriel July 27, 1803. He was buried by Padre Santiago in the mission church under the steps of the main altar on the epistle side. *S. Gabriel, Lib. Mision*, MS., 27, and other mission-books; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 92–3, 95; *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., ii. 77, 102.

[44] Isidoro Barcenilla came to California in 1797; was one of the founders of Mission San José; and served there as minister from June 11, 1797, till April 1802. He was a very irascible man, always in trouble with the soldiers of the guard; but this characteristic was due mainly, it is believed, to a cerebral affection and to piles, which so impaired his health that in July 1800 he obtained, after repeated applications, permission to retire. On account of some informality in the document he did not use it; but again in July 1804 he received his license and sailed in October. After leaving San José in 1802 he lived at San Francisco a few months, and then went to San Gabriel where he lived until his departure. He was regarded as an intelligent and zealous missionary. *S. Gabriel, Lib. Mision*, MS.; *S. José, Lib. Mision*, MS.; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 406; xi. 63–4, 67; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 40; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 35–6; xxi. 44.

[45] See pp. 92, 112, of this volume.

[46] One corporal, five soldiers, and four wives made their annual confession in 1806. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 161. Nov. 24, 1801. Goycoechea of Santa Bárbara says to Carrillo that an order of this date makes the church at San Gabriel common, as regards immunity, to persons of San Diego and Los Angeles, it being the parish church of the pueblo. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 124.

in 1804.[47] The neophyte population increased from 1,136 to 1,201, San Gabriel now occupying the sixth place in this respect, and the death-rate for this decade being eighty per cent of baptisms. The agricultural product in 1810 was much larger than had ever been known in California; and the average crop was also larger than at any other establishment.[43]

At San Fernando Rey, one of the new establishments, an adobe church with tile roof was consecrated in December 1806.[49] Father Dumetz left the mission in April 1802, though he was back for a time in 1804–5. Francisco Javier Uría, the other founder, left the country in 1805; but subsequently returned to California, though not to this mission. In 1805 there came Nicolás Lázaro and José María Zalvidea, the latter transferred to San Gabriel in 1806, while the former died at San Diego in August 1807.[50] They were succeeded in 1807 by José Antonio Uría and Pedro Muñoz. The former retired in November 1808,[51] and was replaced by Martin Landaeta, who died in 1810.[52] Meanwhile José Antonio Urresti had come in 1809 and became the associate of Muñoz. Neophytes increased threefold from 310 to 955, and deaths were but little more than half the baptisms.[53] The excitement over a strange flag brought in from the Tulares has been noted. In 1804 there was a controversy about lands, the friars protesting successfully against the granting of Camulos Rancho to Francisco Ávila.

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[47] *Tapis, Informe Bienal de Misiones, 1803–4*, MS., 71.

[48] Population, gain, 1,136 to 1,201; baptisms, 1,364; largest number, 212 in 1809; smallest, 37 in 1808; deaths, 1,095; smallest number, 59 in 1810; largest, 231 in 1806; large stock, gain, 7,090 to 10,576; horses, etc., in 1810, 776; small stock, loss, 12,360 to 9,750; crops in 1800, 9,420 bushels; largest crop in 1810, 19,140 bushels; smallest in 1805, 3,330 bushels; cotton attempted by Tapis in 1808 without success on account of cold. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 281.

[49] *Tapis, Informe Bienal de Misiones, 1805–6*, MS., 79. Corp. Guillermo Cota commanded the guard in 1806. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 21.

[50] Nicolás Lázaro, a native of Búrgos, Spain, arrived in California Aug. 31, 1805, and served at San Fernando from September of that year until June 1807. He then went down to San Diego, hoping that a change of climate might benefit his health; but lived only two months, dying on Aug. 18th. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 424; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 57; *S. Diego, Lib. Mision*, MS., 91. He was buried in the San Diego church.

[51] José Antonio Uría arrived at Monterey July 28, 1799; served at Mission San José from August of that year until July 1806; at Santa Cruz in 1806–7; and at San Fernando until November 1808. In November 1809 he wrote from Mexico to Capt. Guerra that he was in good health and hoped to remain attached to his college. His name appears frequently in the mission books as having officiated at San Francisco and San Juan Bautista. Langsdorff met him at San Francisco in 1806 and found him a very intelligent but very serious man.

[52] Martin de Landaeta came to California in 1791, and after a very short residence at San Luis Obispo was assigned to San Francisco, where he served until 1798, when sickness compelled him to retire to Mexico. Recovering his

Captain Felipe de Goycoechea commanded the company of Santa Bárbara[54] till August 31, 1802,[55] when Lieutenant Raimundo Carrillo was appointed to succeed him, and he sailed for Mexico in October to take the position of habilitado general of the Californias to which he had been elected by his brother officers. He was the oldest of the presidial commanders, having held the place since 1784, and he was also one of the ablest, subsequently becoming the first governor of Lower California.[56] Carrillo during the term of his command was lieutenant of the Monterey company, since Goycoechea retained that rank in the Santa

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health he returned to California in 1800 and again served at San Francisco until the end of 1807. In January 1808 he was transferred to San Fernando, where he died in 1810. Vancouver found him a very genial man in 1792 as did Langsdorff in 1806. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 52; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 423; *S. Francisco, Lib. Mision*, MS., 42.

[53] Population, gain 310 to 955; baptisms, 1,468; highest number, 361 in 1803; lowest, 42 in 1809; deaths, 797; highest number, 206 in 1806; lowest, 39 in 1810; large stock, gain 527 to 8,282; horses and mules in 1810, 862; small stock: gain, 600 to 3,264; crop in 1800: 1,890 bushels; in 1810, 8,730 bushels; largest crop, in 1806, 11,580 bush.; smallest, 1,550 bush. in 1807; average, 5,220 bush.

[54] For map of Sta Bárbara district, see chap. xxvi.

[55] *Goycoechea, Oficio Instructivo para el Teniente Don Raimundo Carrillo, 1802*, MS. This original document in the author's own handwriting is dated Aug. 31, 1802, the day on which the command was turned over. It is devoted to details respecting the condition of affairs in the district, some of which I have utilized elsewhere.

[56] Felipe de Goycoechea was born in 1747, probably at Álamos, Sonora. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., i. 4, 5; *Romero, Memorias*, MS., 13. He was an alférez in the presidial company of Buenavista in Jan. 1783, when a commission as lieutenant was sent him with orders to take command at Santa Bárbara in Alta California. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ii. 55; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., i. 55. May 23, 1783, Gov. Fages from Loreto notifies Soler that Goycoechea will command on the frontier until the company has been reviewed. June 20th, Fages announces to Goycoechea that he shall start for California July 15th, and hopes to find him in possession of the command which Soler had refused him. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., iii. 101, 111. He arrived at San Diego Aug. 26th,

Bárbara company during his term as habilitado general. Carrillo held the command until 1807, when he went to San Diego as captain, and José Argüello was made captain and commandant of Santa Bárbara. Meanwhile in March 1806, José de la Guerra had been promoted to the lieutenancy of this company, when Goycoechea's name was dropped. Francisco María Ruiz was the company alférez until 1806 when José Joaquin Maitorena, formerly cadet at San Diego, was promoted to take his place. The position of habilitado during this decade was held, sometimes by the comandante, sometimes by the alférez, and once by the cadet Gervasio Argüello in 1807. Santiago Argüello was also cadet in 1808; and the company sergeant in 1806 was José Palomares.

with a guard of five men, started two days later for his destination, and assumed the command at Santa Bárbara Jan. 25, 1784, succeeding Lieut. Ortega. In 1787 and the following years he was often reprimanded by Fages for carelessness, neglect of duty in minor matters, and arbitrary actions; and Fages left him to his successor Romeu as an officer that must be watched. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., vii.–viii. passim; x. 148. Goycoechea's excuses were ill-health, forgetfulness, haste, etc.; and it appears that he made an unsuccessful effort to be transferred to some other province. *Id.*, ix. 78. After Fages left the country we hear no further complaint, and it is evident that Goycoechea performed his duties as commandant and habilitado with zeal and ability. Several official papers from his pen are found in my list of authorities, and their contents have been put before the reader. Oct. 28, 1797, the viceroy informed the governor of his promotion to the rank of brevet captain, and Borica sent him his commission on Jan. 26, 1798. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., iv. 96; vi. 70–1; *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xv. 265. There appear to have been no votes against him for habilitado general in June 1802, except his own, which was cast for José Argüello; and he sailed for Mexico Oct. 13th, his appointment by the viceroy bearing date of Aug. 31st. *Id.*, xxxii. 6, 10–13; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 90–2. The records throw no light on his administration of the general *habilitacion*, during which he continued to hold his rank as brevet captain of the Santa Bárbara company, leaving it to be inferred that no fault was found, since in 1805 he was made governor of Baja California, though he did not take possession of the office until July 5, 1806. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 80; xix. 69–70; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxix. 6; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 92. In 1811 Gov. Goycoechea was impeached for official misconduct, being accused of speaking ill of the superior government, permitting illegal trade, neglect of official duties, in favor of private business, inattention to religion, and defrauding the soldiers. Little is recorded of details, but the governor is said to have successfully refuted each charge. At any rate he held his position until his death which occurred on Sept. 7, 1814, at Loreto. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 313, 317–20; xxii. 27. José María Romero, *Memorias*, MS., 13, describes Goycoechea as a tall, stout man, of light ruddy complexion, affable to his men. Vancouver, *Voy.*, ii. 452, 457, speaks in high terms of him and named Pt Felipe in his honor. He was a bachelor, *Prov. Rec.*, MS., iv. 31; but not a woman-hater so far as I can judge from an entry in the Santa Bárbara mission-book of baptisms to the effect that a certain widow had presented him with a son.

The presidial company by recruiting in 1805–6 was increased from fifty-nine men to sixty-six. Invalids increased to thirty-five, most of whom still lived at the presidio, and the total population de razon, including the guards of Santa Bárbara, San Buenaventura, Purísima, Santa Inés, San Fernando, and San Gabriel, had increased from 390 to 460, not including Angeles and the ranchos. Including these, as all were within the same military jurisdiction, the total population of the district was 825, a gain of 150 during the decade. The neophyte population of the jurisdiction, including San Gabriel, was in round numbers 6,500, a gain of 2,500. There are no reliable statistics of presidio live-stock[57] or agriculture. Reports of weather and crops were sent with considerable regularity by the commandant to the governor, but these reports contain nothing noticeable beyond the almost total destruction of the corn and bean crop at Los Angeles and San Fernando by the *chapulli*, or locust,[58] in 1805. In a note I append such items of financial affairs at this presidio as may be gathered from the records.[59]

The records say nothing of the presidio buildings during this decade till 1806, when on the 24th of March at midnight an earthquake cracked the chapel walls in three places. Carrillo reported the mishap May 11th, asking permission to obtain material for repairs from the mission, and on May 24th a violent storm almost entirely destroyed the chapel and did further damage.[60] The presidio had eight guns, all but one of brass, from one to six pounds in calibre, half of which were distributed among the missions, but none of which were used for purposes offensive or defensive, as the Indians were quiet and no hostile foreigner made his appearance within range. Notwithstanding the armament, Shaler declares that Santa Bárbara "has only the show of defence, and would fall an easy conquest to the smallest ship of war."[61] The remarkable criminal case of José Antonio Rosas and his execution by shooting and burning at Santa Bárbara on February 11, 1800, have already been narrated.[62] There were three other cases tried before 1810 which caused considerable local excitement. In two of them men were accused of incest with daughters, and in the other of blasphemy; but in neither case is the final sentence recorded, though more than one hundred and fifty pages of manuscript are filled with the testimony and pleadings.[63] Rowan in the *Hazard* obtained supplies at Santa Bárbara in 1803; but though the Channel islands were visited by the *Lelia Byrd*, *O'Cain*, and *Albatross* in 1805, 1807, and 1810, respectively, it does not appear that any of these vessels ventured within range of the presidio guns.[64]

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[57] There were 1,300 head of stock in the rancho del rey in 1804, besides 240 head of *diezmos*. The site was bad and the missions were often applied to for cattle. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 360–1.

[58] *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiv. 27.

[59] Annual appropriations were from $16,000 to $20,000; invoices from Mexico and San Blas, from $7,000 to $20,000; supplies from missions on an average $5,000; totals of habilitado's accounts $51,000 to $67,000; balance from $800 against to $7,000 in favor of the company; inventories of goods in warehouse $10,000 to $23,000. Net revenue from tobacco sales, $2,000 per year. (In 1803. 5,345 papers of cigars and 25,331 of cigarritos were consumed. Each invalid had $1.50 worth of cigarritos per month. *Prov. St. Pap., Presidios*, MS., i. 3; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 75); postal revenue $85 per year; tithes $1,872 in 1804; papal indulgences about $100 per year; net proceeds of playing-cards and gunpowder in 1809, $135; amounts discounted on pay for *fondos de Montepio é Inválidos* about $550 per year. See company rosters and habilitados' accounts, in *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxix.–xlviii. passim; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxx.–lxxxvii.

Progress in building at the mission is quite fully recorded. Each year from 1801 to 1805 from thirty to fifty adobe dwellings for neophytes were erected, until there were 234 of these structures, enclosed on three sides by an adobe wall built in 1802. During these years there were also erected a tannery, a majordomo's house, and three large warehouses, besides several other buildings, one of which was 18 by 60 feet, divided into many apartments, nicely plastered, and furnished with a corridor. Another was twice as long. In 1803 a church, or chapel, of adobes, 27 by 66 feet, was built at the San Miguel, or Mescaltitlan, ranchería, five or six miles from Santa Bárbara; and in 1807 eighteen adobe dwellings seem to have been erected at the same place. In 1806 a reservoir of stone and mortar, 120 feet square and seven feet high, was added; in 1807, a stone prison and four houses; in 1808, a fountain with laundry accommodations, a pottery, and an addition to the ministers' house including a stone-arched corridor.[65]

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[60] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 126; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 109.

[61] *Prov. St. Pap., Presidios*, MS., i. 5, 6, 19–24; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiv. 23; *Shaler's Journal of a Voyage*, 157.

[62] See chap. xxviii. of vol. i.

[63] *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 21–35; xxxviii. 1–3; xli. 1, 2.

[64] See chapters i., ii., and v. of this volume.

In 1801 an epidemic pulmonary disease carried off a large number of Indians, whereupon Chupu, the deity of the Channel coast, appeared to a neophyte in a dream or trance, and revealed that all gentiles who were baptized must become victims to the epidemic, and so must those already baptized unless they made offerings to Chupu and washed their faces with a certain water. Within an hour the revelation was known, and nearly all the neophytes hastened to the prophet's house with beads and grain to renounce Christianity. The movement spread through all the Channel rancherías, while the missionaries remained in ignorance; for Chupu had foretold death to any who might inform them. Subsequently when the trouble was past the secret came out, and the friars realized how narrow had been their escape, for they were sure that their lives would have been lost had Chupu ordered the sacrifice.[66]

We left the mission at the end of the last decade in charge of Tapis and Cortés. The former after he became president in 1803 made this mission his headquarters until the beginning of 1806, and the latter retired in 1805.[67] Marcos Amestoy began his ministry in November 1804, and Luis Gil y Taboada in 1809, after Marcos Antonio Victoria had served in 1804–5, and José Antonio Urresti from 1806 to 1809. The increase of the decade in neophyte population was from 864 to 1,355; but the number had been 1,792 in 1803, the highest figure ever reached, and in this respect the period of decadence had begun for Santa Bárbara. In the total of baptisms for the decade, and in the highest number for one year, this mission was in advance of all the others, and progress in other respects was satisfactory.[68] That ground-squirrels had already proved a pest to the farmers at this early day, is shown by the fact that about a thousand of these animals were killed in nine days of May 1808.[69]

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[65] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., v. 66, 76–7, 88, 129, 141, 144, 148, 151, 161, in annual and biennial reports of the mission. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 96. The majordomos of the mission down to 1810 were, Rafael Gerardo, Nov. 1793 to Jan. 1794; Ignacio Higuera, Feb. 1799 to Nov. 1801; José de Santa Ana Avila, Dec. 1801 to Oct. 1806; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 488–9. The pay was from $72 to $144 a year with certain cattle, grain, rations, and assistance.

[66] March 1, 1805, Tapis to Arrillaga. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 33–4.

At San Buenaventura Father Señan served till 1810 and long after; but his associate, the venerable founder of this mission, Santa María, died in 1806,[70] and was succeeded by Padre Marcos Antonio de Victoria. Romualdo Gutierrez came here from Santa Inés in 1806 in search of health, which he failed to find, as already narrated. The construction of the new church seems to have proceeded slowly. We have seen that it was half finished in 1794, and nearly completed in 1797; but in 1807 it is still described as about being finished, very capacious, of stone and brick, a part of the roof only being covered with tiles.[71] Finally, however, it was done, and on September 9, 1809, was duly dedicated by Señan, who was assisted by five other friars and one priest. Next day, which was Sunday, the first mass was chanted by the presbyter, José Ignacio Argüello, son of Don José; and a sermon was preached by Urresti. On the 11th, as before mentioned, the ceremonies were completed by the transfer of Santa María's remains.[72]

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[67] Juan Lope Cortés was assigned to duty in California on Feb. 24, 1796. He served at San Gabriel from August of that year until June 1798; and at Santa Bárbara till Sept. 1805, when he obtained license to retire and sailed from San Diego on Nov. 6th. From Sept. 1818 to May 1827 he seems to have been procurador of San Fernando college; and in June 1827 he was síndico of the same institution.

[68] Population, gain, 864 to 1,355; highest number 1792, 1,803; baptisms, 2,073; highest number, 831 in 1803; lowest, 32 in 1809; deaths, 1,337; highest number, 215 in 1806; lowest, 89 in 1810; large stock, gain, 2,492 to 5,670; horses and mules in 1810, 1,390; small stock, gain, 5,615 to 8,190; crops in 1800, 3,075 bush.; in 1810, 3,900 bush.; largest crop, 10,150 bush. in 1804; smallest, 2,860 bush. in 1803; average 6,216 bush.

[69] *Arch. Sta Bárbara*, MS., ix. 496.

[70] Vicente de Santa María was a 'son' of the Franciscan province of Búrgos, Spain. He left San Fernando college in Oct. 1770 and sailed from Tepic in February 1771. He was one of the company driven by the winds down to Manzanillo, returning to Sinaloa by land, and arriving at Loreto Nov. 24, 1771. He at first served at Loreto; was minister at San Javier in Dec. 1772; and sailed from Loreto for Mexico on May 27, 1773. In the summer of 1776 he came to Alta California as chaplain of the *San Cárlos*. He lived as supernumerary at San Francisco, San Antonio, and Santa Clara until 1782, in May of which year he became one of the founders of San Buenaventura, where he served till his death July 15, 1806. His remains were interred in the mission church, and three years later, on Sept. 11, 1809, they were transferred with all possible solemnity to the newly dedicated church and deposited in a recess in the wall on the gospel side. Vancouver met him at Santa Bárbara in 1793

The fact that Shaler in the *Lelia Byrd*, and Rowan in the *Hazard*, touched at San Buenaventura in 1804 is barely mentioned in the records, with no particulars whatever.[73] The neophytes increased during the decade from 715 to 1,297, the largest population ever reached. In its herds of cattle and horses this mission was still far ahead of all the other establishments, and the average crops were among the best in California.[74]

The new foundation of Santa Inés, belonging to

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and carried him down to his own mission by water, the friar's adventures on that trip having been elsewhere described. The English navigator speaks in terms of the highest commendation of the padre's character and zeal. He spoke the native language fluently. One of his diaries of an exploration for mission sites appears in my list of authorities. *Santa María, Registro de Parages, 1795*, MS.; *Vancouver's Voyage*, ii. 454–61; *S. Buenaventura, Lib. Mision*, MS.; *S. Francisco, Lib. Mision*, MS., 37, 69; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 112.

[71] *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 40; see vol. i. chap. xxx. of this work.

[72] *S. Buenaventura, Lib. Mision*, MS., 17, 18.

[73] See chap. ii. this volume.

[74] Population, gain, 715 to 1,297; baptisms, 1,543; highest number, 216 in 1803; lowest, 92 in 1809; deaths, 977; highest number, 166 in 1806; lowest, 77 in 1805; large stock, increase, 10,113 to 21,221; horses and mules in 1810, 3,276; small stock, increase, 4,622 to 8,543; crops in 1800, 9,420 bushels; in 1810, 4,275 bush.; largest, 9,450 bush. in 1806; smallest, 3,130 bush. in 1805; average, 6,400 bush.

this jurisdiction, has already been noticed in another chapter.[75] Of Purísima, the only remaining mission of the district, there is little to say beyond recording the fact that the church, of adobes and roofed with tile, was completed before the end of 1802,[76] presenting the usual statistics, and naming the ministers in charge. The increase in neophytes was small for the whole period, from 959 to 1,022 only; but the number in 1804 was 1,522. Thus we see that Purísima like the other Channel missions, Santa Bárbara and San Buenaventura, reached its greatest strength in converts in this decade. In all kinds of live-stock this mission was one of the foremost in California.[77]

Father Calzada served here until 1804 when he was replaced by Mariano Payéras. Gregorio Fernandez left California in 1805,[78] and his place at Purísima was taken by Juan Cabot, followed in 1806 by Gerónimo Boscana. In 1810 Payéras made a full report to the president on the condition of his mission. With the aid of interpreters he had made a complete catechism and manual of confession in the native idiom, by the aid of which the neophytes were becoming more or less perfect in their spiritual knowledge. He had found many errors in matters of faith, and even idolatry at first, but had made progress in uprooting the worship of Achup, or Chupu, in favor of the true God. Nearly all mothers gave birth to dead infants; preaching, teaching, and even chastisement had been powerless to arrest the evil, or even to make known its direct cause. There remained no more gentiles to be baptized except at a long distance of twenty-five or thirty leagues. The natives were docile, industrious, and not inclined to run away. It was a joy to see them work and sing and pray, and especially to see them bear their sufferings, beg for confession, and die like good Catholics. For five years not a kernel of grain could be raised without irrigation; but certain springs had been found which promised well for the future. The rancho of Reyes instead of being an injury to the mission as many are had been its salvation in at least one year, and recently it had been purchased by the mission for $2,000. A large amount of live-stock had also been purchased, and the prospects for meat, tallow, and wool were excellent. A $5,000 invoice of goods was expected from Mexico. Trade, especially that in skins, which took the friars' time and did harm perhaps to the Indians, had been abandoned, though in his own time, as the author seems to say, it had yielded over $10,000. The vines at Salsacupi had been transferred to a place called San Francisco, where they were cared for by the Ortegas on shares and promised to yield for the mission wine and brandy "which your reverence will yet drink some day without scum or dregs or bad taste, pure and clear as its mother gave it birth."[79]

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[75] Chap. ii., this volume.

[76] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 69; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 40.

[77] Population gain, 959 to 1,022; highest number, 1,522 in 1804; baptisms, 1,115; highest number, 451 in 1803; lowest, 27 in 1808; deaths, 991; highest number, 220 in 1806; lowest, 40 in 1802; large stock, gain, 1,898 to 10,015; horses and mules in 1810, 1,215; small stock gain, 4,020 to 10,042; crops in 1800, 2,170 bush.; in 1810, the largest, 5,970 bush.; the smallest, 1,035 bush. in 1803; average, 3,300 bush.

[78] Gregorio Fernandez was born at Búrgos, Spain, in 1754; became a Franciscan in 1772; came to America in 1785, and to California in 1794. He served at San Luis Obispo from November 1794 until 1796, and at Purísima from May 1796 to September 1805. He solicited license to retire on the expiration of his term in 1804, and sailed for Mexico on Nov. 6, 1805. He came to the country with an excellent reputation; 'es un ángel,' writes Mugártegui; and there is nothing to show that his angelic qualities deteriorated in California. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 247; *Doc. hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 39–40; Mission-books of San Luis and Purísima. He officiated at San Francisco in June 1794. *S. Francisco, Lib. Mision*, MS., 42.

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[79] *Payeras, Comunicacion sobre el Estado de la Mision de La Purísima,* 1810, MS., dated Jan. 13th. The writer also states that the old house had been newly roofed and whitewashed.

CHAPTER VII.

LOCAL EVENTS AND PROGRESS—NORTHERN DISTRICTS.

1801–1810.

SAN FRANCISCO PRESIDIO—OFFICIALS, FORCES, AND POPULATION—FINANCES—BUILDINGS—LANGSDORFF'S VISIT—EARTHQUAKE OF 1808—AFFAIRS AT THE MISSION—MINISTERS—STATISTICS—PUEBLO OF SAN JOSÉ—JURISDICTION—POPULATION—COMISIONADO AND ALCALDE—CHAPEL—BOUNDARY TROUBLES—SANTA CLARA—MISSION SAN JOSÉ—PEDRO DE LA CUEVA—NEW CHURCH—MONTEREY—STATISTICS OF POPULATION AND FINANCE—BEARS—SILVER-MINES—SAN CÁRLOS—BUENAVISTA—RELIC—PUJOL—SAN LUIS OBISPO—SAN MIGUEL—POISONED PADRES—FIRE—SAN ANTONIO—SITJAR AND MERELO—SOLEDAD—SAN JUAN BAUTISTA—SANTA CRUZ—BRANCIFORTE.

BREVET CAPTAIN JOSÉ DARÍO ARGÜELLO was comandante of San Francisco until 1806, in August of which year he turned over the command to his son Luis Antonio Argüello, and soon after went to Santa Bárbara.[1] Don Luis with the rank of lieutenant commanded the company throughout the decade and much longer as we shall see. His brother Gervasio, however, was habilitado after 1808. San Francisco was entitled to a captain, and Manuel Rodriguez held that rank in the company after 1806, but he never came here in person, serving in Mexico as habilitado general. The company alférez was Luis Argüello until March 1806, and Gabriel Moraga, promoted from the Monterey company afterward. Amador was retired, probably in 1801, and Luis Peralta took his place, having José Sanchez as associate sergeant after November 1806.[2] The company for some years consisted of thirty-six men; the volunteers were withdrawn in 1803; but in April 1805 an increase of thirty-four men was authorized,[3] and before 1807 the ranks were full, with seventy men.

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[1] The lieutenant's commission of Don Luis was dated March 10, 1806; he received the *habilitacion* July 8th, and the command on Aug. 5th. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 3, 15. Don José was commissioned captain of the Santa Bárbara company March 22, 1807. *Id.*, xxi. 12; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., viii. 23. His instructions to his successor were dated Aug. 5th, and were confined for the most part to the minor details of routine duty, there being no attempt to explain the actual condition of affairs at the presidio, since the new commandant needed no instruction on that matter. *Argüello, Instruccion que ha de observar el Teniente D. Luis Argüello durante su mando de S. Francisco, 1806*, MS.

There were also five artillerymen, and from nine to eleven invalids. These men with their families, including the guards of San Francisco, San José, Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz missions, but not those invalids of the company who lived at the pueblos, made a total population of gente de razon within the jurisdiction of 330, or a gain of 105 in ten years. Adding the population of the two pueblos, both of which were under the military jurisdiction of Monterey, we have a total of 500, with a neophyte population of 3,440. A more convenient division, and one which I shall hereafter follow, is to join Santa Cruz and Branciforte to Monterey, and to retain Santa Clara and San José pueblo in the San Francisco district. On this basis the population de razon in 1810 was 435 and the Christian Indians numbered 2,930. I append in a note some items of financial and other statistics.[4]

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[2] It is probable also that Gervasio Argüello held the place of company sergeant with Peralta for a time in 1805-6, preceding Sanchez, but then changing his place for that of cadet. It is somewhat difficult to follow all the movements of all the members of this Argüello family as they were so often shifted about by the advice and influence of their father in search of the best line of promotion.

[3] July 29, 1805, Argüello to governor, will proceed to recruit the new force according to viceroy's instructions of April 3d; but fears it may be difficult to get so many men. Recommends his son Gervasio for sergeant. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 30-1.

[4] The San Francisco appropriation from the treasury increased from $10,000 to $19,000 in round numbers; invoices of goods from Mexico and San Blas varied from $5,000 to $13,000; supplies from the missions, from $3,000 to $6,000; inventories of goods in warehouse, from $4,000 to $17,000. Average annual revenue from sales of tobacco, $1,260; from post-office, $65 per year; tithes $100; papal indulgences, $110; playing-cards in 1808, $70; 144 packs sold. In *fondo de retencion* from $1,500 to 1,800. Rancho del rey, average net product of sales of cattle, $200. In 1802 there were 1,172 head of cattle in the rancho, 67 having been found dead or killed by wild beasts. March 10,

In the annals of this decade as of the preceding, the condition of the San Francisco buildings and defences gave rise to more correspondence than any other local topic; but the communications on the subject were always complaints, or petitions, or suggestions, and practically nothing was accomplished in the direction of construction or repairs. Early in February 1802 a hurricane made wild work with many of the presidio roofs;[5] and two years later, after hasty repairs had given the garrison one winter of comparative protection, the heavy gales and rains of January 1804 again wrought havoc with the frail structures.[6] The next storm, in November of the same year, devoted its surplus of energy to the battery of Yerba Buena, levelling the palisade which enclosed that work, and doing other damage. Commandant Argüello was now convinced that the battery was useless in its original location, and ought to be moved to the hill nearer the anchorage proper of Yerba Buena, perhaps to the slopes of what has since been called Telegraph Hill.[7] Fort San Joaquin was also reported to be in a deplorable condition, though some expense had been incurred in repairs in 1802; and accordingly in 1805 the fortification was surrounded with three sides of stone-wall and one of palisade, and a new casemate was built three hundred yards away, all by the labor of Indian captives without cost to the king.[8]

1803, order to send to Monterey all cows but 25 or 30 to avoid complaints from the mission. 1805, stock much mixed with that of mission. Many stray cattle. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 32. 1806, man in charge at Buriburi warned to tame the oxen needed for presidio work. Weather reports: 1803, rains slight; Jan. 1804, copious rains and strong winds; 1805, weather changeable—moderate rains in last months of previous winter—summer windy with the usual cold fogs—present winter began with slight rains, strong winds, and frost—crops fair; 1806, good rains and crops; 1807, past winter, slight rains in later months with frosts and north winds—crops fair—summer cold with varying winds—present winter began favorably. See company rosters, habilitado's accounts, etc., in *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxix.-xliv. passim.

[5] Feb. 2, 17, 1802. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 221.

[6] Jan. 13 to 26, 1804. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiv. 3.

[7] Nov. 29, 1804, Argüello to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 362-3.

[8] Sept. 28, 1805, Argüello to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 31; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 26.

To Langsdorff in the spring of 1806 San Francisco had "the appearance of a German *metairie.* The low wooden houses consist of one quadrangular room. The home of the commandant is small and mean. A sort of parlour, with only white-washed walls, very scantily furnished, and about half the floor covered with straw-matting, served as the apartment for receiving company." On the arrival of Arrillaga "we heard," says Langsdorff, "not only the guns of the fort with which we were already acquainted, but a discharge from behind another point of land within the harbour, which was at the entrance of a little creek to the south-east. We were not a little surprised at this, as we had never seen any fort there, nor had an idea that such a thing existed; it was in fact not visible from our anchoring-place, for it is so situated as to be quite concealed by the projecting point of land. An enemy's ship attempting to run into the harbor, deeming itself quite safe by steering out of reach of the fort at the entrance, might be very much surprised at being saluted with a discharge of artillery at the moment when such a salutation was least to be expected."[9]

In July of the same year Arrillaga in a report to the viceroy represented the buildings as in a sad state. The commandant's house was covered with tiles, but not those of other officers. The barrack had only half a roof and was not secure for the convicts. At Yerba Buena there was not even a hut for the gunners, and the guns were useless from exposure. Fort San Joaquin was well located, but needed repairs. Only three of the ten guns were in good condition.[10] For two years we find no special record respecting the presidio buildings; and then in June and July 1808 there came the most severe earthquakes that San Francisco had ever experienced. On July 17th Argüello wrote to the governor: "I notify you that since the twenty-first day of June there have been felt at this presidio some earthquakes, eighteen shocks to date, and among them some so violent that as a result of them the walls of my house have been cracked, being badly built, so that one of its rooms was ruined; and if the shocks have done, until now, no further damage, it is because they found no chance for lack of dwellings. The quarters of Fort San Joaquin threaten ruin, and I fear that if the shocks continue there may happen some unfortunate accident to the troops stationed there."[11]

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[9] *Langsdorff's Voyages*, ii. 152-3, 176-7, 189. The author also describes the location of the battery by saying 'when we had reached the point of land lying north-eastward of the presidency (thus Langsdorff or his translator sagely renders the word *presidio*), we saw the battery of five cannon which defended the south-south-eastern and south-western division of the bay.'

[10] July 18, 1806, Arrillaga to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 90-1. Statements of armament from 1802 to 1809, showing that there were in all at San Francisco 13 guns, 3 of which were iron 24-pounders, rusty and useless, and only 5 or 6 of the rest were in tolerable condition. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii.

Arrillaga, who was accustomed to an earthquake country, is said to have replied to this report and to Luis Argüello's verbal account of the *temblores* by advising the commandant to go home and repair his house for winter and not mind such trifles as earthquakes, sending also a box of dates as a consolation.[12] Finally in 1810 Argüello sent in the last complaint of the decade, stating that continuous storms had reduced the granary and four soldiers' houses to a woful state; also the old barracks and the other structures, including the chapel, the merlons, and esplanade at Fort San Joaquin were entirely destroyed. The artillery barrack and cavalry quarters were in so bad a condition that serious accidents were to be feared; the ware-

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223-5; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 114, 125; *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiii. 1, 20; xxxiv. 4.

[11] Argüello to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 235-6. Mentioned in *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxviii. 9. Aug. 1st, Arrillaga forwarded the news to the viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 108; and it was published in the *Gaceta de Mex.*, xviii. 802, with some exaggeration of the damage, which was not reported as confined to San Francisco. This series of earthquakes is referred to in *Randolph's Oration*, 211; *Trask*, in *Cal. Acad. Science*, *Proced.*, iii. 134; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 116; *Elliot* in *Overland Monthly*, iv. 339; and various newpapers; but the first translator of Argüello's communication raised the number 18 to 21 and all the rest have repeated the error.

[12] *Vallejo*, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 107-8.

house with its zacate roof had been robbed, and there were no workmen for repairs or rebuilding.[13]

The visits to San Francisco of Brown and Rowan in 1803 and 1804, that of Rezánof in 1806, and those of the *Albatross* and other vessels to the Farallones in 1810, have already been mentioned and require no further notice.[14] The only foreign visitor who gave to the world his observations respecting the bay settlement was Langsdorff, who came with Rezánof, and many of his remarks have been given in connection with special topics. The German was much surprised to have dinner at the commandant's house served on silver plate, notwithstanding the humble nature of the rest of the furniture. The variety of birds chiefly attracted the scientist's attention. The visitors often went shooting 'crested partridges,' or quail, and rabbits on the sand-hills; and there were bear-hunts which, however, were always unsuccessful. A bear was once brought in by the soldiers for a bull-fight, but it died before the fight came off. There was dancing at the Argüello home nearly every afternoon, to the music of violin and guitar; and the Spanish ladies were greatly interested in learning the English country-dances as a supplement to their favorite *borrego*. In returning from a bidarka voyage to Mission San José Langsdorff had some rather exciting night adventures among the bulls and bears of the San Mateo shore. No geographical information of any value was obtained respecting the bay region. The measles was rapidly carrying off the neophytes, but the Spaniards were but slightly affected.[15]

Rezánof and his party were also entertained at the mission by Landaeta and Abella, aided by Uría of San José, and were shown all that was to be seen about the establishment, which, however, is not very minutely described. In the church was a painting of a maguey from which rose a virgin, an image as the friar gravely assured the visitors which had wrought many miraculous cures. The dwelling of the missionary consisted of several spacious apartments, and the refreshments offered were keenly relished by the well salted navigators. Behind that dwelling was a large court surrounded by buildings in which the neophytes were employed, chiefly in the preparation of wool and the weaving of their coarse fabrics. About a hundred yards from the mission was the ranchería composed of eight long rows of dwellings for the Indian families. Buildings for melting tallow and making soap, smiths' shops, and shops for carpenters and cabinet-makers, magazines for storing tallow, soap, butter, salt, wool, and hides, with storehouses filled with grain were duly inspected. The wine served was of very ordinary quality, being a production of the country. The kitchen-garden was a poor affair, the high winds and drifting sands of the peninsula not being well adapted to horticulture. La Pérouse's hand-mill had disappeared, perhaps because it had been left at Monterey instead of San Francisco, and corn was ground between two stones by hand. It seemed strange that there were no windmills. The visitors were very favorably impressed by their experience at the mission, and had nothing but good to say of the friars.

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[13] March 30, 1810, Argüello to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 282.

[14] See chap. i. ii. iii. and v. this volume.

[15] *Langsdorff's Voyages*, ii.

Ramon Abella served at San Francisco throughout the decade, but Martin Landaeta went south in 1807, and was succeeded by Juan Saenz de Lucio, who had come here the year before. Martiarena in 1801, Gil y Taboada in 1801–2 and 1804–5, and Barcenilla in 1802 are the other names of resident friars that appear on the mission registers. The missionaries had less trouble with their neophytes than in former years, though 236 of them died in three months of 1806 from epidemic measles. Twelve or fifteen of the San Francisco converts were also killed in February 1807 by the gentiles in a fight that seems to have occurred in the region of Carquines Strait.[16] Moraga's famous battle in the same region, belonging locally perhaps to San Francisco, has been mentioned elsewhere.[17] San Francisco's gain of 64 per cent in neophyte population, from 644 to 1059, was larger than that of any other of the old missions except San Buenaventura. The total number of baptisms in the decade, 1,978, was greater than in any other mission, and it must be added that the total of deaths, 1,530, was only slightly exceeded at one establishment, Santa Clara.[18] In horses and cattle San Francisco stood second on the list of missions; in sheep, fourth; while in the average product of agriculture it was excelled at this period by only a few establishments.

Shortly after 1790, the exact date not being recorded, the pueblo of San José had been transferred from the military and judicial jurisdiction of San Francisco to that of Monterey;[19] and in 1805 there was the faintest shadow of a controversy on the subject. In September and October 1804, Sergeant Luis Peralta made two unimportant raids in this region after gentile assassins of Christian Indians. He acted of course under the orders of the comandante of San Francisco, Santa Clara and Mission San José still belonging to that jurisdiction; but it seems that Comisionado Castro also furnished men or other aid for the expeditions without consulting his superior officer, who in January 1805 reprimanded him for so acting, reminding him that nothing could be done at the pueblo without his, Guerra's, consent. Thereupon Argüello asked the governor that both the comisionado and Guerra be instructed to render him such assistance as he might need against the Indians.[20]

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[16] *Abella, Noticia de una Batalla entre Cristianos y Gentiles, 1807*, MS. This is a rather confused narrative in a communication to the governor, dated Feb. 28th. The fight took place Feb. 3d to 8th, apparently.

[17] Chapter v. this volume.

[18] Population, gain, 644 to 1,059; baptisms, 1,978; largest number, 326 in 1803; smallest, 64 in 1807; deaths, 1,530; largest number, 371 in 1806; smallest, 69 in 1801; large stock, increase, 8,205 to 12,250; horses, mules, etc., in 1810, 1,010; small stock, increase, 6,238 to 10,000. Crops in 1800, 4,180 bush.; in 1810, 7,680 bush.; largest, 8,700 bush. in 1805; smallest, 3,720 bush.; average yield, 6,320 bush.

[19] See map of San Francisco district in chapter xvi.

The town was not prosperous. The population decreased during the ten years from 170 to 125, this falling-off being largely attributable to the enlistments of 1895–6 by which the presidial companies of San Francisco and Monterey were increased to the extent of sixty men, representing about 230 persons, half of whom may be supposed to have come from San José. Had it not been for the loss of these recruits and their families the total population in 1810 would have been 250 at least.[21] Horses and cattle fell off from 6,580 to 3,717, though much of this decline was owing to a general slaughter in 1806 and the following years, intended to reduce the herds and keep them under control.[22] Respecting the sheep the records are scanty, but the number remained apparently less than 400. Crops were 4,260 bushels in 1800, and 3,526 in 1810; but there exist no reliable statistics for most of the intermediate years.[23] The tithe accounts are, however, very complete from 1804 to 1810. The average of grain was 300 bushels, of cattle 103 head, and of total value $370. By multiplying each one of these items by ten we should obtain an approximation to average crops and increase in cattle.[24] Of the results of hemp cultivation still carried on in the pueblo with more or less success, I shall speak in the next chapter.

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[20] Peralta's narrative of his salida. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 351–2, 356. Jan. 22, 1805, Guerra to Castro. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 84. Jan. 31st, Argüello to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 37.

[21] In 1806 the governor says to the viceroy that San José has but few men left to work; and pagan laborers are also becoming very scarce so rapidly are they being converted. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 81–2. List of many citizens in a militia roll of 1809. *Prov. Stat. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xl. 17–20.

[22] May 14, 1806, a meeting held at San José decided on killing all mares except 25 to each *vecino*, or 800 in all. Seven thousand five hundred were accordingly slaughtered. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 77–8; xxxvi. 6, 7. The discrepancy between this statement and the decrease indicated in the annual statistical reports as given in my text is apparent and inexplicable.

[23] In 1801 the wheat crop was short by reason of the *chahuistle*, or rust. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., v. 17.

[24] Tithe accounts 1804–10, in *S. José, Arch.*, MS., vi. 52.

Sergeant Macario Castro was in charge of the pueblo as the governor's comisionado till 1807, when he was succeeded by Sergeant Luis Peralta. The comisionado was properly responsible to the governor directly; yet most of his orders came practically from the comandante of Monterey, and no misunderstandings arose with Argüello so far as the records show. The alcaldes were Miguel de Osuna in 1801, Tiburcio Vasquez in 1802 and 1807, Ignacio Archuleta in 1803 and 1806, Ignacio Castro in 1804 and 1809–10, and José María Martinez in 1805.[25]

The settlers determined that their spiritual welfare demanded the erection of a chapel in the town; and accordingly, in the person of Comisionado Castro, they applied at the end of April 1802 for permission to carry out their religious scheme. Commandant Carrillo forwarded the petition to Arrillaga at Loreto in May, and the latter official replied favorably in June. Carrillo was directed to go in person to San José, convoke the people, listen to the proposals, and reduce them to writing. Then if the amount contributed were sufficient he might order the work to be begun and commission some suitable person to superintend the same. For the preservation and proper adornment of the chapel each farmer would stipulate the amount of grain he would give each year, and half a fanega from each ought to suffice. "To the willing mind ways and means are easy, and a gift to the church impoverishes no man," writes the governor. It is to be presumed that all preliminary details were satisfactorily arranged, for next we find the comisionado inviting Alférez José de la Guerra y Noriega in the name of the people to act as sponsor of the chapel. This was early in July 1803. Don José could not come in person, but he gave Cadet José María Estudillo a power of attorney to act for him at the ceremony of laying the corner-stone, which took place on July 12th with great solemnity under the direction of José Viader from Santa Clara. Under the stone Estudillo deposited certain coins, and also a sealed bottle containing a copy of the document, signed by himself, Viader, and Castro, from which I gather these facts. The structure was dedicated to the patriarch San José and to the virgin of Guadalupe. There is no record of further progress on the building during this decade, but it was sufficiently advanced to have its walls cracked by an earthquake late in 1804.[26]

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[25] The regidores were, Apolinario Bernal and Francisco Valencia in 1802; Bernardo Heredia and Francisco Gonzalez in 1803; Claudio Alvires and Nicolás Mesa in 1805; Dolores Mesa and Manuel Amézquita in 1806; Antonio Soto and Juan C. Altamirano in 1809; and Soto and Pedro Bojorges in 1810. Names of officials for this decade gathered from *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 16; ii. 80, 84; iii. 91, 94, 96–8, 101; v. 3, 5, 17–19; vi. 51; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 7, 197; xix. 77, 106, 237; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxvii. 6, 7; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 172, 176, 196; *St. Pap.*, *Miss.*, MS., iii. 20, 35; *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 80, 90.

The old dispute with the mission of Santa Clara respecting boundaries having been settled in the last decade as already related, there arose a new and somewhat similar one in this with the mission of San José. After some slight difficulties about the encroachments of cattle the boundary between pueblo and mission was established by Arrillaga in person about June 1806.[27] In 1809 the dispute arose, both parties claiming that the lands known as Las Calaveras were on its own side of the line. The comisionado was sustained by the commandant of Monterey in his position that Las Calaveras belonged to the pueblo, and Arrillaga took the same view, but Father Duran refused to conform to the decision, though his side of the argument has not been preserved. The result was an order to drive out the mission cattle and substitute those of the pueblo, a guard being established to prevent any interference by Duran, a man who as we shall see later was always disposed to have his own way.[28]

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[26] April 30, 1802, Castro to Carrillo; May 3d, Carrillo to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 165. June 11th, Arrillaga to Carrillo. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iv. 36. July 7, 1803, Guerra to Castro. *Id.*, iii. 98. July 12, 1803, account of laying the corner-stone. *Id.*, iii. 98. Damage by earthquake in 1804 in letter of Jan. 1, 1805. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., iii. 35. According to *Hall's Hist. S. José*, 87-9, the chapel, built of adobes with a roof of tules, stood until 1835. An article in the *San Francisco Alta*, April 25, 1877, describing the dedication of a new church in 1877, says the original chapel, at the corner of Market and Fernando streets, stood until 1859.

[27] Oct. 24, 1807, Macario Castro certifies that in June 1806 he was ordered to meet Arrillaga at the Punta de los Esteros in front of La Calera (the lime-kiln, or possibly La Caleta, the little cove) with Alcalde Archuleta. The governor came late with Capt. José Argüello, Cadet Estudillo, Sergeant Estrada, and Padre Gonzaga (Gil) y Taboada. Arrillaga indicated as the dividing line, or its initial point, a certain little cañada coming down from the *sierrita*, about midway between the house where Larios formerly lived and the little brook where dwelt the deceased Ignacio Higuera. The line was to run to the point of the first *estero* where the road from Santa Clara to Larios' house crossed that from San José to the mission. No written memorandum of the agreement was made at the time. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., v. 18. May 9,

At Santa Clara there was consecrated on August 12, 1802, the day of the titular saint, a grand high-altar which had been obtained in Mexico for the mission church.[29] There were also some troubles with the Indians, beginning in 1801, when Bartolo Pacheco narrates an expedition in search of a chief resulting in a fight and the killing of five gentiles.[30] In April 1804 the friars sent twenty neophytes to bring in some fugitives, but the party was attacked, one Christian was killed, and the rest came running back without a captive.[31] Again in May 1805, a neophyte and a pagan of the Seunenes were caught on the roof of the missionaries' house reconnoitring for a projected

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1805, Uría to Castro, there will be a branding on the 13th and the settlers had better look out for their cattle or the mission brand will be put on them. *Id.*, ii. 74.

[28] Jan. 28, 1809, Arrillaga to comisionado, warning him that the vecinos must look out for their lands by day and for their live-stock by night. If cattle are killed on mission lands no compensation can be obtained. The settlers wished the padres to kill encroaching cattle but to pay for them, but the padres refused any such *reintegro* and were sustained by the governor. *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 27–9; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 76; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 215. Sept. 25, 1809, Estudillo to Peralta. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 92. Oct. 2 to Nov. 12, 1809, correspondence about Calaveras between Estudillo, Duran, and Arrillaga. The boundary line is described as running from the Loma de la Cañada to the first creek or *esterito*. The comandante speaks in very severe terms to Duran. *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 85–92. May 14, 1810, the comisionado is ordered not to prevent the neophytes of Santa Clara from fencing and cultivating their gardens at Calaveras, they having the missionaries' permission. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 102.

[29] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 69.

[30] Narrative dated March 15th. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 65–6.

[31] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 43.

attack in which, as was rumored, the mission buildings were to be burned and the padres killed. Five or six other accomplices were arrested. The alarm was great, and all the available forces of San Francisco with reënforcements from Monterey were sent in haste to the rescue. After a campaign, however, of a month, in which the whole region was carefully examined by Alférez Luis Argüello, it was ascertained that the rumors of impending hostilities were without foundation, some discontented neophytes having uttered threats with a view to frighten the friars and avoid certain imminent floggings.[32] Magin Catalá and José Viader were the ministers here throughout this decade, apparently without the aid of supernumerary associates. Though the number of baptisms was larger than at any other establishment except Santa Bárbara and San Francisco, the number of deaths was nowhere exceeded, and the net increase in the mission community was only from 1,247 to 1,332, Santa Clara now standing fourth on the list. In live-stock and agriculture this mission had more than an average prosperity.[33] Santa Clara was one of the only two missions—Soledad being the other—where the greatest number of deaths did not occur in 1806.

Barcenilla remained at Mission San José until April 1802, when Luis Gil y Taboada took his place, and in 1804 was succeeded by Pedro de la Cueva. José Antonio Uría, who had served here since 1799, and Cueva both left the mission in 1806, the latter retiring to Mexico the same year.[34] Their successors were Buenaventura Fortuni and Narciso Duran, who were new arrivals from Mexico, and who began their long ministry here in June 1806. The number of neophytes increased in ten years from 286 to 545, but it required nearly 1,400 baptisms to effect this result. In its agricultural and stock-raising industries San José was tolerably prosperous.[35]

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[32] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 30, 42; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiii. 15, 16.

[33] Population, gain, 1,247 to 1,332; baptisms, 1,724; largest number, 336 in 1805; smallest, 84 in 1810; deaths, 1,589; largest number, 258 in 1802; smallest, 101 in 1809; large live-stock, increase, 4,807 to 8,353; horses, etc., in 1810, 2,032; small stock, increase, 5,000 to 10,027; crops in 1800, 4,190 bushels; in 1810 (and largest), 6,525 bush.; smallest, 2,850 bush. in 1807; average, 4,970 bush.

[34] Pedro de la Cueva, commonly called in California Padre Cuevas, left Guadalajara on April 23, 1804, and arrived in California Aug. 14th. Some indiscreet action on his part while *en route* caused him to be reported to the president as a friar whom it would be well to watch; but during his brief service in California the only fault found with his conduct was that of rashness in connection with the affair elsewhere related, in which he was shot in

There is a vague record that as early as 1802 Uría and his escort were attacked by the gentiles of the sierra, and that a military force was sent to teach the savages a lesson; but no particulars are known.[36] A subsequent affair of the kind is, however, better recorded, and I have told the story in another place.[37] It was in January 1805, and in it a soldier and three neophytes were killed; Cueva and a soldier were wounded. The horses were all killed, and the survivors of the party were driven back to the mission. In retaliation Sergeant Peralta made a raid and killed eleven gentiles.

Early in May 1806 Langsdorff from the *Juno* visited this mission, coming down the bay in an Aleut bidarka. This was the first time a foreigner had trod these south-eastern bay shores or navigated the tortuous channels which made approach to the mission by water very difficult. Father Cueva had before met the naturalist at San Francisco, and received him

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the head by the Indians while on a visit to a distant ranchería. Ill-health, not relieved by a few months' stay at San Diego, compelled him to retire to his college, and he sailed from San Diego in November 1806. Langsdorff met this friar both at San Francisco and at his own mission in the spring of 1806, and found him 'always gay and cheerful, and indeed a most agreeable companion,' besides being ever ready for barter.

[35] Population, gain, 286 to 545; baptisms, 1,381; largest number, 247 in 1802; smallest number, 24 in 1808; deaths, 1,104; smallest number, 62 in 1809; largest, 197 in 1806; large stock, increase, 367 to 7,190; horses, etc., in 1810, 1,190; small stock, increase, 1,600 to 7,002; crops in 1800, 1,550 bushels; in 1800, 4,070; largest, 7,450 in 1805; smallest, 2,090 in 1809; average, 4,040 bush.

Inventory of sacred vestments, vessels, and other church effects from 1807 to 1824, in *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 366–70. First marriage of *gente de razon* at this mission on June 1, 1803, when Joaquin Sota was married to María de la Luz Berreyesa, both natives of San Francisco. *S. José, Lib. Mission*, MS., 21.

[36] Dec. 9, 1802, Argüello to comisionado of San José. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iv. 35.

[37] Chap. ii., this volume.

with the greatest hospitality, giving his neophytes a holiday with instructions to prepare for a grand dance, since the visitor was particularly interested in studying the manners and customs of the natives, to whom he devotes much of his narrative, representing them as in every way superior to those of San Francisco, and giving to the world an engraving which shows six finely formed men and women decked in all their holiday paint and finery.

The rarity of foreign visits to interior missions will justify me in quoting Langsdorff's description of San José:

"Although it is only eight years since they were begun, the buildings and grounds are already of very considerable extent: the quantity of corn in the granaries far exceeded my expectations. They contained at that time more than 2,000 measures of wheat, and a proportionate quantity of maize, barley, pease, beans, and other grain. The kitchen-garden is extremely well laid out, and kept in very good order; the soil is everywhere rich and fertile, and yields ample returns. The fruit-trees are still very young, but their produce is as good as could be expected. A small rivulet runs through the garden, which preserves a constant moisture. Some vineyards have been planted within a few years, which yield excellent wine, sweet, and resembling Malaga. The situation of the establishment is admirably chosen, and according to the universal opinion this mission will in a few years be the richest and best in New California. The only disadvantage is, that there are no large trees very near. To compensate this disadvantage, there are in the neighbourhood of the mission chalk-hills, and excellent brick-earth, so that most of their buildings are of brick. Their stores of corn are much greater than of cattle, consequently the number of oxen slaughtered every week is considerably smaller than at St. Francisco, but their consumption of corn and pulse is much greater. The habitations of the Indians, *las Rancherías*, are not yet finished, so that at present they live chiefly in straw huts of a conical form."[38]

Meanwhile work on the mission church was pressed forward, and on April 23, 1809, President Tapis came to hold the vigil of Saint Joseph and to bless the new structure. Next day he preached and Father Arroyo de la Cuesta said mass in the presence of other friars, of several military officers, and of many people from the adjoining pueblo. On the eighth of the following July the new cemetery was blessed with the customary solemnities.[39]

Raimundo Carrillo remained in command of the Monterey company until 1802, though Alberni as already stated was commandant of the post until his death, in March of that year. Carrillo was then transferred to the command of Santa Bárbara, though still lieutenant of the Monterey company; and Alférez José de la Guerra became acting commandant. In 1806 he also was transferred to Santa Bárbara, and from the middle of that year Lieutenant José María Estudillo, who had lately come up to California with Arrillaga, assumed the command. Guerra's place as alférez was taken by José Mariano Estrada, who had also come from Loreto with Arrillaga. The habilitado was Carrillo in 1801, Guerra in 1802–6, Estudillo in 1806–7, and Estrada in 1807–10. The surgeons were Juan de Dios Morelos in 1801–2, Manuel Torres in 1802–3, José María Benites in 1803–7, and Manuel Quijano from 1807 to 1824. The company sergeant, Castro, was retired as an invalid about 1801, when Gabriel Moraga took the place. Ignacio Vallejo was made a sargento distinguido of the company in 1805 and held the place throughout the decade. Moraga was succeeded by Francisco Alvarado in 1807,[40] who on his death in 1809, was replaced by Miguel Espinosa.[41]

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[38] *Langsdorff's Voyage and Travels*, ii. 190–9, with plate.

[39] *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 31–2. In *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 764, is the design of a mural decoration of the church.

[40] Thus these three men, Alvarado, Castro, and Vallejo, whose sons, or grandson in Castro's case, born about this period, were to be the most promi-

The presidial force at Monterey was—besides the officers, a bleeder, two or three mechanics, and perhaps a few servants—57 men until 1805, when it was increased in three days by enlistment to 82 men. There was also an artillery detachment of from five to seven men. The invalids numbered from 23 to 27, and lived for the most part at San José and Branciforte.[42] The total population of the jurisdiction reck-

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nent figures in the later history of California, were now sergeants of the same company. José Francisco Álvarado was a corporal in the Loreto company in Sept. 1805, when he received orders to go to Monterey with promotion to sergeant. He was a native of Sinaloa, his parents having been Juan Bautista Álvarado and María Dolores Castro. It is not unlikely that his father was the soldier of the same name who came to California with the first expeditions of 1769–73. Soon after his arrival at Monterey Francisco married Josefa Vallejo, daughter of Don Ignacio, who bore him a son named like his grandfather Juan Bautista, afterward governor of California, who died in 1882. The sergeant only lived three years in his new home, as he was buried on May 29, 1809, in the cemetery of the mission of San Luis Obispo. His widow married José Ramon Estrada. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 4; *S. Luis Obispo, Lib. Mision*, MS., 54. In *Shuck's Representative Men of Cal.*, 503, we read of 'General Francisco Alvarado, chief adviser and adjutant-general of Gov. Arrillaga,' which is rather amusing considering that Arrillaga himself was never more than colonel. Of course the book referred to is not worth this notice, but I give it as an illustration of the trash that has circulated in California as biography. José Macario Castro, grandfather of the famous José Castro and of the somewhat less famous Manuel Castro, does not appear in the records after he ceased to be comisionado of San José in 1807, though I am not certain that he died during this decade. He was born in 1753, entered the military service in 1778, came north from Loreto in time to have a son born at Santa Bárbara in March 1784, was made a corporal before August 1785, commanded the escoltas of San Juan Capistrano and Soledad, and was made a sergeant in 1794. He was comisionado of San José in 1792–4, and from 1799 to 1807, being a *sargento inválido* after 1801. His wife was María Potenciana Ramirez and in 1793 they had five children. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 8, 9; i. 55; *S. Diego, Lib. Mision*, MS., 23; *Sta Bárbara, Lib. Mision*, MS., 4; *S. Juan Cap., Lib. Mision*, MS., 10; *Soledad, Lib. Mision*, MS., 3; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., viii. 98; xviii. 313; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., v. 413; iv. 185.

[41] In giving the succession of the various officials I have generally not attempted to fix the day and month of changes, because there is often much confusion between the dates of promotion, order to depart, departure, and dropping from the rolls in the case of each individual. I add however a few notes respecting the positions of comandante and habilitado: Carrillo's appointment approved by government, March 23, 1801. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 79. Orders himself recognized April 9, 1801. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., v. 6. Guerra as habilitado from January 1, 1802, to June 30, 1806. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiii. 9, 10. Guerra left Monterey Nov. 22, 1806. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 119. Estudillo succeeds Guerra as habilitado July 1, 1806. *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xxxiii. 8. Proclaims himself commandant Dec. 3, 1806. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 78; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 96.

[42] After the departure of the volunteers in 1803, and before the increase of 1805, the invalids were called upon to come to the presidio for service. *S.*

oned on the same basis as in the last decade, excluding the invalids at the pueblos and including the guards of San Cárlos, San Miguel, Soledad, San Antonio, San Luis Obispo, and San Juan Bautista, amounted in 1810 to 480; or if we add Branciforte and Santa Cruz for a more convenient classification, leaving San José and Santa Clara to the northern district, we shall have a total de razon of about 550, with a neophyte population of 5,130. As in the case of other districts I refer the reader to a note for various statistics.[43]

The bears, wolves, coyotes, and other wild beasts were responsible for what little excitement was known about Monterey in the early years of this decade. The bears became so bold as to kill and eat cattle every-day in full view of the herdsmen; the wolves attacked work-horses on their way from Carmelo Valley to the presidio. The Indians were often chased by the bears, and one was killed by a grizzly. More than fifty bears were killed in 1801–2, including one who had distinguished himself by eating five mules and seven cows. She-asses were so attractive to bruin

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José, Arch., MS., iii. 97. The distribution of the invalids in 1806 was: 12 at San José; 7 at Branciforte; 4 at San Miguel; and 1 at San Cárlos. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxv. 3; xxxvii. 19. Full list of the company on Aug. 1, 1806, in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 140–5. Aug. 3, 1805, the commandant says he enlisted the 19 new men in three days. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 42–3. In 1805 at the presidio 53 men and 78 women complied with their religious obligations. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiii. 1.

[43] The financial records are less complete and satisfactory for Monterey than for the other presidios. Annual appropriations varied from $17,000 to $23,000; invoices from Mexico and San Blas $13,000 to $48,000, those of goods from San Blas being about $2,000; totals of habilitado's accounts $38,000 to $104,000; inventories of goods in warehouse, $14,000 to $41,000; balances, from $4,000 in favor of company in 1805 to $15,000 against it in 1810; supplies from missions about $2,000 per year. Revenue from post-office, $170 per year; from sales of tobacco $1,550; tithes about $450; papal indulgences $150. Amount deducted from pay for *fondos de inválidos y montepio*, $200 to $600 a year; amount in *fondo de retencion*, $3,000 to $4,000. Net proceeds of sales of cattle from rancho del rey $500 a year, 1,521 cattle branded in 1801. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 46. Stock in the rancho in 1802; 5,200 horses, 57 mules, 25 asses, and 2,284 cattle. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxx. 20. Over 400 animals killed by wild beasts in 1805. *Id.*, xxxiii. 19. On the king's land at Salsipuedes, near Corralitos, 500 broken horses were kept for the troops. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 14. See company rolls and habilitado's accounts for this decade in *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxix.–xli.; *St. Pap.*, *Sac.*, MS., i.–ix. xvii.–viii.

that all had to be brought to the presidio for protection. Traps and poison proving inadequate, the governor was called upon to authorize the use of 1,000 cartridges, and a regular military campaign was undertaken against the enemy. That the foe, if temporarily checked, was not entirely routed is shown by the record that in 1805 some four hundred head of live-stock were killed in and about the rancho del rey, although about thirty mares were slaughtered and their poisoned carcasses used against the beasts.[44]

In February 1801 the viceroy was informed that the Monterey buildings, particularly the presidio chapel, were in a ruinous condition, the hard labor of troops and Indians for twenty years being rendered useless by reason of original faulty construction. In March a storm of wind and rain demolished the principal gate of the presidio. In December the commandant represented the urgent necessity of new rooms in the barracks, of a better jail, and of a new warehouse to stand on the foundation of the old one at the landing-place, now in ruins. Three hundred dollars were spent in repairs this year. In June 1802 Carrillo announced his intention to rebuild the commandant's house, demolished several years ago at the death of Hermenegildo Sal to avoid contagion. The local authorities were evidently desirous of a chance to rebuild the presidio at the cost of the royal treasury, with a view among other things to revive business and circulate money in California; but the viceroy and his advisers paid but very little heed to such requests except when aroused by the fear of imminent danger, real or imaginary, of foreign invasion.[45] Shaler says in 1805 "there is a miserable battery on a hill that commands the anchorage, but it is altogether inadequate to what it is intended for," a remark that was doubtless true, though there is no proof that it was founded on the writer's own observations. The guns were ten in number, of eight, six, and three pounds calibre; and there were occasional complaints that the armament was in bad condition.[46]

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[44] *Monterey, Diario de Sucesos, 1800–2*, MS. This valuable original manuscript is really a blotter of the communications of commandants Carrillo and Estudillo, addressed to the governor from Nov. 29, 1800, to Feb. 27, 1802, chiefly in the handwriting of the two officers mentioned. Carrillo's reports to Arrillaga, in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 44–7. Aug. 31, 1801, Arrillaga authorizes the use of 1,000 cartridges. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi., 159. Ravages of beasts in 1805. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiii. 19.

[45] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xxi. 59; xviii. 167, 169; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 12, 15; *Monterey, Diario*, MS., 29, 55. Dec. 31, 1803, Guerra describes the pre-

In February 1802 a mining expert came on one of the transports, and made with such poor apparatus as was available an assay of a small quantity of ore obtained from a mine near Monterey. The vein had been discovered before Borica's departure by Ignacio Ortega opposite the king's rancho north-westerly toward the Sierrita. Lead had already been obtained from the ore, a small quantity of which now yielded six ounces of fine silver as weighed by Carrillo with his own hands.[47] Also in 1802 Sergeant José Roca was accused by Carrillo of having insulted him publicly in the plaza, and bawled loudly for justice.[48] Brown in the *Alexander*, who touched at Monterey in August 1803, is the only foreigner known to have braved the terrors of the presidial battery during the decade;[49] and beyond the departure of the Catalan volunteers in the same year, the increase of the cavalry company in 1805, the arrival of Arrillaga at his capital in 1806, the occasional changes in military officials, and the regular arrivals of the supply-vessels from San Blas, all occurrences that have been noted

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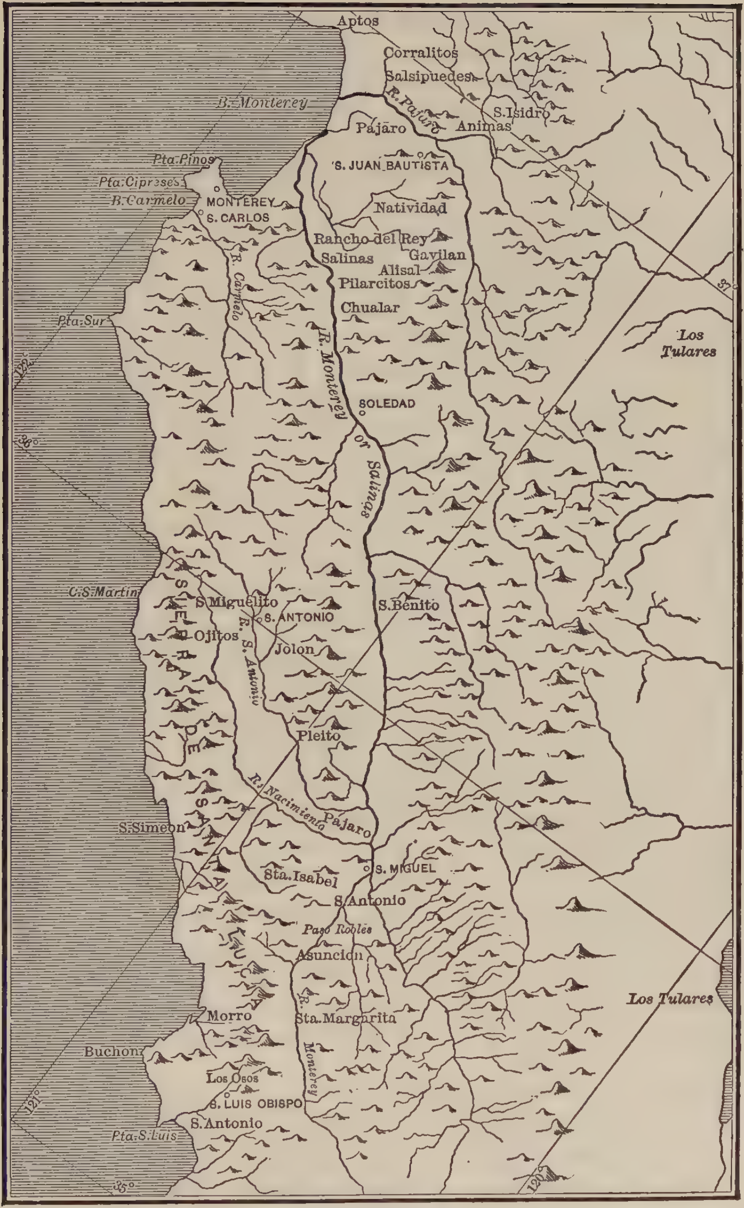
sidio as 110 varas square. On the north is the principal gate with barracks and 3 warehouses; on the west the governor's house with parlor, 8 small rooms and kitchen, also 2 houses for officers, and 1 for the surgeon; on the south 9 houses for families with the chapel in the centre; and on the east 9 houses for families, a blacksmith shop, and a small gate. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxi. 12.

[46] *Shaler's Journal*, 157; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiii. 2; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 126; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., v. 23. Sept. 26, 1810, the governor states that Monterey has a cemetery near the presidio walls and the shore. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 103.

[47] *Monterey, Diario*, MS., 58; *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., i. 42-3. The mine was at Alisal. *Hayes' Scraps, Mining*, v. 3; *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 22.

[48] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 204-8, 216.

[49] See chap. i., this volume.



MONTEREY DISTRICT.

elsewhere, I find nothing further in Monterey annals requiring notice here.

At the mission of San Cárlos there were rumors current in 1801 of a plot formed by the Indians to kill Father Viñals and burn the buildings. The ranchería was accordingly surrounded and all the Indians were captured; but, as was usually the case in such alarms, the rumor proved to have no foundation, having been circulated by a neophyte for purposes of revenge.[50] In 1802 the friars made an effort to obtain possession of the Buenavista Rancho on the ground that it was clearly in mission territory, that it was now needed for mission uses, that the occupants had only a provisional permit and not a grant, and finally that Borica had promised to restore the land when it should be required for the mission cattle. Arrillaga declined to take any definite action in the matter on the plea that he was only governor *ad interim*. The friars threatened to appeal to the supreme government; the governor advised them by all means to do so; and we hear no more about the matter.[51] This is the only reference that I find in the archives to the private ranchos of this district between 1801 and 1810, except in the case of Castro's grant of La Brea to be mentioned in connection with San Juan. Of the mission buildings nothing is recorded, but we learn that in the church was preserved in a case of gold a fragment of the hat of San Cárlos Borromeo, the patron saint, deemed a most precious relic.[52]

Padre Lasuen died at his post in June 1803 as elsewhere related.[53] Pujol died in 1801, under circumstances indicative of poisoning, while serving temporarily at San Antonio and San Miguel.[54] Viñals left California in 1804.[55] Pujol was succeeded by Carnicer, who came back to this mission in 1801 and served until 1808 besides being chaplain at the presidio.[56] Viñals was followed by Juan Amorós in 1804; Carnicer by Francisco Suñer in 1808; and the

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[50] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 63.

[51] Correspondence between Arrillaga and Viñals and Carnicer, April to June 1802. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 9-12. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 19.

[52] Memorandum of Amorós in 1808. The authenticity of the relic was duly certified by Bishop José Landini of Porpluyrea (?). *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 1.

[53] See chap. i. this volume for biographical note of Lasuen.

[54] Francisco Pujol y Pujol, written Pujol by himself but often Puyol by others, was the son of Juan Pujol y Soulie and Josefa Pujol y Durans, bap-

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tized March 7, 1762, at Alos, Catalonia, Spain. He took the Franciscan habit Feb. 13, 1787, and came to San Fernando college Aug. 19, 1793, after having 'suffered terrible imprisonments among the enemy' in consequence of the war with France. He came to California in 1795, and served as minister at San Cárlos from 1797 to 1801. When at the end of 1800 the ministers at San Antonio and San Miguel were suddenly taken ill, Pujol volunteered to aid them, though the danger of being himself poisoned was believed to be great. He served at San Antonio till Jan. 17, 1801, and then went to San Miguel. Here he was attacked with the same malady that had prostrated the others, and was brought back suffering terribly to San Antonio on Feb. 27, where he died Sunday morning March 15th. His death was witnessed by Ciprés, Sitjar, and Merelo, by Sergt. Roca, Cadet Fernando Toba, and Surgeon Morelos. It was intended to make a post-mortem examination, but the body was in such a condition that it was not practicable. There seems to have been been no doubt in the minds of the people that his death was the result of poisoning by the Indians. His body was buried March 16th in the church with military honors, rarely accorded in the case of a simple missionary; but it is not unlikely that he was the company chaplain at Monterey. On June 14, 1813, Pujol's body was transferred with that of Sitjar to a grave in the presbytery of the new church at San Antonio, on the gospel side. He was generally regarded as a martyr, or a victim to his own zeal and enthusiasm for missionary duty. *S. Antonio, Lib. Mision*, MS., 29–42; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 153; *Monterey, Diario*, MS., 30. According to the last authority an examination was made and the intestines found to be black and putrid.

[55] José Viñals came to California in May 1798. He served at San Cárlos from August 1798 till 1804, in August of which year he obtained license on the ground of threatened impairment of bodily and mental health, and soon after retired to his college where he was yet living in 1809, intending to go to Spain in 1811, as he wrote to his friend Capt. Guerra, since God would not permit him to spend the rest of his days in California. He asked Guerra for money to pay his travelling expenses and to relieve the wants of his aged parents. He soon left his college to join another, and before 1811 had brought suit against San Fernando because his certificate of dismissal did not show that he had acted *loablemente*. He is supposed to have ended his days in a Carthusian monastery. He was of an ardent, gay temperament while in California, being a fine singer and performer on the guitar. It is necessary to add that the moral character of Viñals was not wholly above suspicion, for he was at one time accused before the alcalde of San José of having been the father of three children brought into the world by a certain señora of that locality. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 20; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 218; xi. 68, 303; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 373–6; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 41; *Ord. Occurrencias*, MS., 81–2.

[56] Baltasar Carnicer came to California early in 1797. He served at Soledad from June of that year to 1798; at San Cárlos in 1798–9; at San Miguel in 1799–1801; and then at San Cárlos until 1808, in Aug. or Sept. of which year he got permission to retire. He was one of the padres supposed to have been poisoned at San Miguel, but recovered his health. He served as chaplain from 1803 until his departure, coming to the presidio every Friday or Saturday and remaining until Monday morning. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 277–8; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 62; mission-books of San Miguel, San Antonio, Soledad, and San Cárlos, as also of other northern missions where he occasionally officiated.

latter by Francisco Vicente de Sarría in 1809. President Tapis also lived here much of the time after 1806.

In neophyte population San Cárlos, the missionary capital of California, had reached its highest figure, 927, in 1794; and during this decade it declined from 758 to 513, the number of deaths exceeding that of baptisms by over a hundred. In other respects the mission was more uniformly prosperous than several other establishments. It was by no means the fault of the friars that there were no more Indians to convert.[57]

At San Luis Obispo, the southernmost of the missions subject to the military jurisdiction of Monterey, the friars were commended in 1805 for their cool reception of a foreign vessel, probably the *Lelia Byrd,* which came in pretended need of fresh provisions, but really in quest of opportunities for illicit trade. Let us credit the missionaries with this law-abiding act, and let the credulous of my readers believe, if they can, that such was the reception always given to traders at San Luis, for there is no record of this decade to prove the contrary, save Winship's statement that he obtained supplies for the *Albatross* in 1810.[58]

In 1809 the governor approved the building of a chapel at San Miguelito, one of the rancherías of this mission.[59] Luis Antonio Martinez served continuously for these ten years and twenty more. José de Miguel left the mission in 1803 and Marcelino Ciprés came the next year; but he left California in 1801,[60] and

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[57] Population, loss 758 to 513; baptisms, 454; largest number, 71 in 1806; smallest, 17 in 1801; deaths, 586; largest number, 83 in 1806; smallest, 39 in 1807; large stock, increase 2,180 to 2,530; horses, etc., in 1810, 430; small stock, increase 4,160 to 6,045; crops in 1800, 5,940 bush.; in 1810, 3,675; largest crop, 6,580 in 1801; smallest, 2,080 in 1807; average, 4,000 bush.

[58] Chap. ii. and v. this volume.

[59] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 97.

[60] Marcelino Ciprés was a native of Huesca, Aragon, Spain, took the Franciscan habit at Saragossa, studied philosophy at Ternel and theology at Tarragona, and came to San Fernando college in 1793. In 1795 he was assigned to California, serving from October of that year until the end of 1804 at San Antonio, and then at San Luis Obispo until his death in 1810. He was a very zealous missionary, learned the native language at San Antonio, and devoted

Marcelino San José y Marquinez took his place. The number of neophytes of the San Luis community decreased from 726 to 713 in these ten years; but the highest figure, 854, had been reached in 1803. This was the smallest of the old missions except San Cárlos. In its live-stock it held a place far above the average, but its grain crops were somewhat more variable than in most other establishments,[61] and gradually decreased.

At San Miguel, next northward, Juan Martin was the senior minister. Carnicer left the mission in 1801, Adriano Martinez served from 1801 to 1804,[62] Pedro Muñoz in 1804–7, and Juan Cabot entered upon his long term of ministry at the beginning of 1807. It was in February 1801 that Carnicer and Martin were attacked with violent pains in the stomach, supposed to have been the result of poisoning by the neophytes. These two friars recovered their health, but Father Pujol who came down from San Cárlos to relieve the

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himself most assiduously to the work of caring for the sick and attending to the spiritual welfare of his neophytes. He was always ready to start when summoned, regardless of the hour, the distance, or the difficulties of the way. In 1801 he had trouble with his mission guard, and was in consequence the subject of certain charges which proved to be unfounded. He suffered with his associate in 1800 from the illness attributed to poison, but recovered. After nine years' service at San Antonio his health broke down partially, and at his own request he was transferred to San Luis Obispo, where he would have easier work and more leisure for study. It was he who is credited with the extraordinary act of having coolly received an American smuggler with goods to dispose of. At the beginning of 1800 he made a visit to Monterey, and on his return arrived on Jan. 26th at San Miguel, where he was attacked by acute inflammatory disease and died. He was buried on Feb. 1st by Payeras, Martin, and the Cabots, in the church of San Miguel. *S. Miguel, Lib. Mision*, MS., 15–17; *S. Luis Obispo, Lib. Mision*, MS., *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 85; Autograph signature in *S. Antonio, Doc. Sueltos*, MS., 32–3.

[61] Population, loss 726 to 713; highest number, 854 in 1803; baptisms, 666; largest number, 82 in 1802; smallest, 19 in 1810; deaths, 605; largest number, 78 in 1806; smallest, 42 in 1810; large stock, gain, 6,521 to 7,050; horses, etc., in 1810, 1,050; small stock, gain, 6,150 to 9,054; crops in 1800, 3,864 bush.; in 1810, 2,910; largest crop, 7,500 in 1802; smallest, 2,715 in 1809; average, 4,456 bush.

[62] Adriano Martinez was one of the first ministers of San Juan Bautista, though not personally present at its foundation on June 21, 1797, and he served there until the end of 1800, subsequently serving at San Miguel until August 1804, when he obtained license to retire to his college, of which he was chosen procurador in July 1813. His name appears on the registers as having officiated at nearly all the northern establishments on different occasions. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 40; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 67.

sick missionaries, died from a similar attack as already stated. There is no special lack of recorded information respecting this event. But from all that was written on the subject we can gather nothing beyond the facts that the friars were ill; that poisoning was suspected; that a small military force was sent down to investigate, and that three Indians were arrested.[63]

In January 1804 the stream at San Miguel rose suddenly and a servant was drowned while attempting to ford it on horseback.[64] In the same month Father Martin went with a soldier to Cholan ranchería fourteen leagues away and asked Guchapa, chief of all the rancherías in that region, to let him have some of his young men to make Christians of them. Guchapa refused and repulsed the friar and his escort with threats, declaring that he had no fear of the soldiers since he knew perfectly well that they died like other men. It was important to modify this chieftain's views, and Guerra despatched a sergeant with thirteen men to arrest Guchapa, which was effected after a brave resistance; and as a captive the chief, being duly rewarded with beads, agreed to bring in all the Christian fugitives in his jurisdiction, and left his son as a hostage for the fulfilment of his contract.[65]

In August 1806 there occurred a fire which burned that portion of the mission buildings which was used for manufacturing purposes, destroying all the implements and raw material, including a large quantity of wool, with hides, cloths, and 6,000 bushels of wheat, besides burning a portion of the roof of the church.[66] Statistically San Miguel gained a larger percentage in population, from 362 to 973, than any other mission excepting San Fernando and Luis Rey; and its death-rate, 49 per cent of baptisms, was less than that of any except San Luis Rey. In its flocks of sheep it was excelled only by San Juan Capistrano.[67]

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[63] March 7, 1801, Carrillo writes to Arrillaga that he has sent Moraga to investigate, who has brought back three Indians accused by Ciprés. Surgeon Morelos, Cadet Toba, and seven men will start to-morrow. April 7th, Carrillo says the three Indians escaped at Soledad, through the drunkenness of a sentinel, though two of them were found in the church claiming the right of sanctuary. *Monterey, Diario*, MS., 28, 32, 34. Alberni to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 61-4. April 10th, Arrillaga at Loreto has received the first despatch. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 151-2; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxii. 9. May 31st, another letter from the governor ordering investigations. *Id.*, xxxii. 2. In 1802 the padres seemed desirous that the prisoners should be released after being flogged in presence of their families for 'their boast of having poisoned the padres.' *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 200, 202.

[64] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 364.

[65] Jan. 29, 1804, Guerra to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiv. 7, 8.

San Antonio de Pádua reached its highest limit of neophyte population with 1,296 souls in 1805. During this decade it increased from 1,118 to 1,124 and was now eighth in the list where it had at one time stood at the head. The lands were reported by the friars as barren, necessitating frequent changes in stock-ranges and cultivated fields; yet while there was not a single mission in California which did not in some year of the decade excel San Antonio's best crop, there were five that fell below its lowest.[68] A new and larger mission church of adobes was begun in 1809 or the following year.[69] The venerable Buenaventura Sitjar, one of the earliest Franciscan pioneers and founder of this mission, where he had toiled almost continuously for thirty-seven years, died at his post in September 1808.[70] Father Ciprés was transferred at the end of 1804; and in September and October of that year Pedro Cabot and Juan Bautista Sancho began their labors as associate ministers. Meanwhile Lorenzo Merelo in 1800–1,[71] and Florencio Ibañez in 1801–3, lived here as supernumeraries. The only occurrence to be noted is a quarrel between Ciprés and the corporal of the guard aided by José Castro in 1801. The two men were very disorderly and violent, and were transferred at the friar's request, trying to get revenge by making charges against Ciprés, decided by Alberni to be unfounded.[72]

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[66] *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 52; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 79–80. Aug. 31st, circular of president calling upon the padres to contribute for the relief of the burned mission. *Id.*, xi. 152–3. Statement of contributions of San Luis, Purísima, Santa Bárbara, San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, and San Antonio for San Miguel from its foundation down to 1806, including 20 yoke of oxen, 116 head of cattle, 83 horses and mules, and 550 sheep. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 53–4.

[67] Population, gain, 362 to 973; baptisms, 1,129; largest number, 348 in 1803; smallest, 33 in 1806; deaths, 552; largest number, 84 in 1806; smallest, 30 in 1807; large stock, gain, 372 to 5,281; horses in 1810, 581; small stock, gain, 1,582 to 11,160; crops in 1800, 1,956 bush.; in 1810, 7,300, the largest; smallest crop, 675 in 1809; average, 3,468 bush.

[68] Population, increase, 1,118 to 1,124; highest number, 1,296 in 1805; baptisms, 1,017; largest number, 203 in 1805; smallest, 24 in 1808; deaths, 966; largest number, 152 in 1806; smallest, 60 in 1810; large stock, gain, 2,217 to 3,700; horses in 1810, 700; small stock, gain, 2,075 to 8,066; crops in 1800, 1,760 bush.; in 1810, 3,085 bush.; largest, 3,468 bush. in 1804; smallest, 1,140 bush. in 1809; average, 3,780 bush.

[69] *Tapis, Informe Bienal de Misiones, 1809–10*, MS., 84.

[70] Antonio Sitjar, who took the name of Buenaventura at the time of his profession, was the son of Antonio Sitjar and Juana Ana Pastor, and was born, or baptized, Dec. 9, 1739, at Porrera, Island of Mallorca. He took the Franciscan habit at Palma April 20, 1758, and on becoming a priest came to

At Soledad Antonio Jaime remained permanently; but Payeras was succeeded in 1803 by Florencio Ibañez. The epidemic of the spring of 1802 was particularly severe at this mission,[73] where the mor-

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San Fernando de Mexico. He volunteered for service in California, was assigned in August, 1770, sailed from San Blas in January 1771, reached San Diego March 12th, and Monterey May 21st. On July 14, 1771, he was a founder of San Antonio with Pieras, and he left his post here only for about a year when he founded San Miguel in 1797–8. He was a most faithful and efficient missionary, perfectly mastering the idiom of the Indians of the region, of which he left a manuscript vocabulary, since printed. He also left a diary of an exploration for mission sites in 1795 which appears in my list of authorities. He was bitterly criticised by the crazy padre, Horra, to whose charges no attention should be given. On Aug. 29, 1808, he was, while in the field with his neophytes about 10 A. M., seized with excruciating pains in the stomach and bladder; on Sept. 1st, he confessed and received the last sacraments while suffering terrible agony. He died Sept. 3d, and next day was buried by Cabot in the presbytery of the old church, several other friars being present at the ceremony. On June 19, 1813, his body was re-interred with that of Pujol in the new church. *S. Antonio Lib. Mision*, 42–4; *Taylor, Discov. and Founders*, ii. 196–7, No. 32, making the date of death incorrectly February 8th. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ii. 165; x. 440; *S. Miguel, Lib. Mision*, MS.; *Sitjar, Vocabulario; San Antonio, Vocabulario*, MS., in handwriting of Sitjar and Pieras, same work as preceding; autograph in *S. Antonio, Doc. Sueltos*, MS., i.; *Horra, Representacion*, MS., 50–7; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 115. A long account of this friar's life, death, and burial translated from the mission register of deaths in *S. F. Bulletin*, Sept. 10, 1864.

[71] Lorenzo Merelo arrived at Monterey July 28, 1799, and served at San Francisco from August of that year until October 1800. The cold winds and fogs of the peninsula, while they could not cool his pious ardor, soon took away what little strength he had, and he was transferred to San Antonio. Here his health did not improve, and in September 1801 he was allowed to sail for Mexico, with the invention to go to Yucatan as predicador general. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 70–2; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 15; and mission-books of the two missions where he served.

[72] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., 6–8.

[73] Feb. 5, 1802, the padres reported the mission abandoned by the Indians from fear. Feb. 11th, deaths five or six each day, and the friars greatly overworked. Feb. 28th, three assassinations of Indians reported. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 183–5

tality was even greater than in 1806. The population reached its highest figure in 1805 with 727 neophytes. The gain for the whole decade was from 493 to 600.[74] A new church was begun in the autumn of 1808.

At San Juan Bautista there was a controversy about lands in 1803. Mariano Castro had gone to Mexico two years before, and had come back as a poblador in 1802, with permission to occupy the rancho of La Brea, where he made some improvements. But the friars of San Juan refused to remove their live-stock, and sent in a protest to the president, from whom it went to the guardian and the viceroy. After a correspondence lasting throughout the decade it was apparently decided that Castro must establish himself elsewhere.[75] On June 13, 1803, was laid the corner-stone of a new mission church. Father Viader conducted the ceremonies, aided by the ministers. Don José de la Guerra was sponsor, Captain Font and Surgeon Morelos also assisting. In a cavity of the stone were deposited some coins and a sealed bottle containing a narrative of proceedings at the celebration.[76] On June 3, 1809, the image of St John the Baptist was placed on the high altar in the sacristy, which served for purposes of worship until the main church could be completed.[77]

Jacinto Lopez served here until September 1801;[78] then Father Martiarena came back and was minister until he left the country in 1804,[79] being followed by

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[74] Population, gain, 493 to 600; highest, 727 in 1805; baptisms, 75; largest number, 111 in 1805; smallest, 13 in 1808; deaths, 654; largest number, 127 in 1802; smallest, 38 in 1809; large stock, 1,384 to 2,987; horses in 1810, 286; small stock, 3,024 to 8,038; crops in 1800, 2,613 bush.; in 1810, 3,085; largest, 6,330 in 1805; smallest, 1,090 in 1802; average, 3,660.

[75] *Carrillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 2, 3; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 119; xi. 185; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 385–6; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 134–5. Land commission, No. 161, 653, 748.

[76] *S. Juan Bautista, Lib. Mision*, MS., 12, 13; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 79, 87.

[77] *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 69.

[78] Jacinto Lopez landed at Monterey July 28, 1799. He served about a year at San Antonio and for a like period at San Juan Bautista; when, his health failing, he sailed for Mexico on Oct. 9, 1801.

[79] José Manuel de Martiarena was born at Rentería, in Guipúzcoa, Spain, in 1754; became a Franciscan at Zacatecas in 1788; came to San Fernando college in 1791, and to California in 1794. He served at San Antonio from

Andrés Dulanto from August 1804 to September 1808;[80] and the latter by Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta. Meanwhile the associate minister was Domingo Santiago de Itúrrate, who retired in 1809,[81] and was succeeded in September of that year by Roman Francisco Fernandez de Ulibarri. Neophyte population increased from 516 to 702, though it required over 1,200 baptisms to accomplish that result.[82]

One more mission remains to be noticed, that of Santa Cruz, really under the jurisdiction of San Francisco, but included in this district for convenience. Here the highest number of population, 523 souls, had been reached in 1796; and in 1805 Captain Goycoechea recommended that as all the gentiles had been converted, the neophytes might be divided between Santa Clara and San Juan, and the friars be employed in new fields.[83] Still there was a gain from 492 to 507 in this decade, and the number of baptisms, 668, was certainly extraordinary if there were really no more gentiles in the region.[84] The ministers at Santa Cruz were Francisco Gonzalez until June 1805,[85] succeeded by Andrés Quintana; and Domingo

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June 1794 to June 1795; at Soledad until May 1797; at San Juan until July 1800; at San Francisco until August 1801; and again at San Juan until August 1804. He officiated at San Gabriel on Oct. 28, 1804; but his license was dated in July. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 66–7, 247–8; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 40; and the various mission-books.

[80] Andrés Dulanto was a native of Miranda de Ebro, Castile, Spain, and came to California in 1804. He was assigned to San Juan Bautista in August, and served there continuously until his death on Sept. 11, 1808.

[81] Domingo Itúrrate, as he signed his name, left the college in Feb. 3, 1800, and arrived in California Aug. 23d. He served continuously at San Juan Bautista until failing health compelled him to ask for retirement, and he sailed for Mexico in October 1809. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 3; xii. 96; *S. Juan Bautista, Lib. Mision*, MS.

[82] Population, gain, 516 to 702; baptisms, 1,274; largest number, 266 in 1802; smallest, 27 in 1808; deaths, 990; largest number, 199 in 1806; smallest, 33 in 1801; large stock, gain, 723 to 6,175; horses in 1810, 575; small stock, gain, 2,080 to 9,720; crops in 1800, 2,724 bush.; in 1810, 7,170, largest crop; smallest, 1,825 in 1801; average, 3,700.

[83] *Goycoechea, Medios para el Fomento de Cal., 1805*, MS., 16.

[84] Population, gain, 492 to 507; highest, 523 in 1796; baptisms, 668; largest number, 131 in 1810; smallest, 7 in 1809; deaths, 593; largest number, 101 in 1806; smallest, 34 in 1803; large stock, decrease, 2,355 to 1,753; horses in 1810, 953; small stock, gain, 2,083 to 3,098; crops in 1800, 4,310 bush.; in 1810, 2,730; largest, 4,850 in 1806; smallest, 1,120 in 1802; average, 2,150 bush.

[85] Francisco Gonzalez came to California in 1797 and served at Santa Cruz

Carranza until August 1808, succeeded by Antonio Catrino Rodriguez in June 1809, the two padres Uría serving here also as supernumeraries, José Antonio in 1806–7, and Francisco Javier in 1808.

Branciforte was the last of the Californian establishments, not only by reason of being put at the end of this local narrative, but in respect of importance and prosperity. Its only grandeur was in its name. It will be remembered that in October 1797 an estimate of about $23,000 as the cost of building the villa had been sent to Mexico, but that a little later, doubtless in accordance with orders from the viceroy not preserved, the governor had ordered a suspension of work.[86] Now on June 3, 1801, the viceroy informed Arrillaga that he had ordered tools and supplies to be purchased for Branciforte, and had also provided for the remission of $15,000, or two thirds of the amount called for, believing that the settlers by the aid of Indians could save the difference. There must, however, have been later communications which are no longer extant, involving a new change of plan; for in July 1803, doubtless before any work had been actually done, the governor in a communication to the viceroy alludes to the suspension of work.[87]

In 1803 Commandant Guerra in a letter to Arrillaga gave his idea of the settlers at Branciforte. They were not so bad as other convicts sent to California; still, to take a charitable view of the matter, their absence "for a couple of centuries at a distance of a million leagues" would prove most beneficial to the province, and redound to the service of God and the king.[88] In 1805 Goycoechea informed the viceroy that Branciforte had none of the advantages of the other

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from May of that year until June 1805, when he retired on account of ill-health, sailing from San Diego on Nov. 6th.

[86] See vol. i. chap. xxvi.

[87] June 3, 1801, viceroy to governor, *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 93. July 21, 1803, gov. to V. R. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 25.

[88] Feb. 3, 1803, Guerra to Arrillaga, in *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxi. 2.

pueblos, the mission having before its foundation seized all the best lands.[89] In 1806 Arrillaga in reply to inquiries reported that of the first settlers some had enlisted on the expiration of their original contracts; others had died, and only five settlers remained, who only awaited the end of their term to leave the country. Of the five only one was married, and his wife was in Mexico. The villa had seven small houses of mud and timber, badly roofed with tule. In fact Branciforte was of no advantage whatever to its inhabitants or the country.[90]

Besides the settlers there were a few invalids from Monterey and San Francisco who lived at the villa, and all with their families constituted a population of 46 souls, a loss of 20 in the decade. Cattle increased to 2,637 head, and crops were from 900 to 1,050 bushels per year. Ignacio Vallejo held the position of comisionado apparently until he was made a sergeant in 1805, and possibly until 1807, when it was taken by Corporal José Rodriguez.[91] The alcalde in 1802 was Vicente Mojica with Fermin Cordero and Tomás Prado as regidores; in 1805, Felipe Hernandez with Cristóbal Cimental and José Robles. Of other years I find no record. In 1807 the missionaries affirmed that the lands of the villa, from which fields might be assigned to vecinos and invalids, extended only to the rancho de Bravo, or rio de Soquel; but that from that point to the rancho de Aptos, and particularly in the place called Corralitos, the lands unquestionably belonged to the mission, and the villa had no legitimate claims. Such claims had it seems been made, but this is the only indication of controversy between mission and town during this period,[92] though the missionaries always looked upon the villa's existence as an outrage on the rights of their neophytes.

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[89] *Goycoechea, Medios para el fomento de Cal.*, MS., 15, 16.

[90] July 15th, 18th, Arrillaga to viceroy, in *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 81, 91–2, 1801, nine settlers required $70 each in rations from the government. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., iii. 24, 1803. V. R. concedes privileges of pobladores to José and Felipe Hernandez, Dionisio Calzada, Basilio Ortega, José Velazquez, and Timoteo Vazquez. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 319, 1806. Five settlers received rations. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 8. Amount paid from 1801 to 1806, $1,954. *Id.*, xxxiii. 10, 1804. Five settlers. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., iv. 41.

[91] *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxii. 5; *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., iii. 14, 20, 37; *Arch. Sta Cruz*, MS., 19; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 198; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 196. April 9, 1801, comandante to comisionado on distribution of lands. The regular pobladores to have the preference, and invalids to have only what is absolutely necesssary—that is, where there is not enough for all. Nov. 23, 1801, on disposal of certain prisoners. 1802, regulations about visitors. April 3, 1802, elections and comisionado's duties. July 12th, same. May 10, 1803, about a colonist absent without leave. May 14th, work on the Santa Clara road. Dec. 2d, punishment of a woman. Eggs wanted for a fiesta. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 16–19; *Sta Cruz, Peep*, 33–45.

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[92] July 5, 1807, Carranza and Quintana to Arrillaga. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 60–1. Rancho of Salsipuedes used for horses of the presidial company. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 14.

CHAPTER VIII.

MISSIONS, PUEBLOS, AND LANDS.

1801-1810.

Spanish Population—Statistics—Friars—Arrivals, Departures, and Deaths—Neophytes—Baptisms and Burials—Live-stock—Agricultural Products—Franciscans versus Secular Government—Minor Controversies and Concessions—Missionaries Lose their Watches—Guardians of San Fernando—Procurador and Síndico—Ecclesiastical Matters—Pueblos—Settlers—Convicts—Land-grants and Private Ranchos.

Having thus completed the chronological annals of California for the first ten years of the nineteenth century, it remains for me to offer a general view of the country's different institutions with their condition in 1810, a view similar to that presented for the preceding decade.[1] Progress as indicated by the increase of white population had been less encouraging under the rule of Romeu and Arrillaga than in the time of Borica, though the difference was but slightly if at all attributable to the policy of these rulers. The total population of gente de razon, taking the sum of figures already given for each of the four presidial districts, had been 990 in 1790, 1,800 in the year 1800, and was now 2,130.[2]

I begin as before with the missions. They numbered eighteen in 1800 and were increased to nineteen by the foundation of Santa Inés. At the beginning of the decade there were forty friars, including four supernumeraries. During the ten years twenty retired to their college on account of ill-health or on the completion of their term of service. Ten died in California, and twenty-eight new missionaries came from Mexico; so that there were still thirty-eight at work. Among the deaths were five of the six pioneers, companions of Junípero Serra who came to California before 1784, surviving in 1800, and the venerable Francisco Dumetz alone was left to see fourteen days of the new decade. There were living two other friars who came before 1790, and still other twelve whose arrival was before 1800.[3]

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[1] See *Hist. Cal.*, vol. i. chap. xxvii.-xxviii.

[2] According to the report of the contador general, Navarro y Noriega, in 1810 the population was 2,052 of mixed race, 39 friars and 18,780 Indians—total, 20,871, *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, *Boletin*, ii. 82; 15,560 is given as the total in 1805. *Id.*, ii. 18.

The retiring friars included none of any special prominence, and none were sent away for inefficiency or irregularity of conduct; but among the new-comers were such prominent names as Arroya de la Cuesta, Boscana, Duran, Sarría, and Zalvidea.[4]

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[3] The 40 serving in 1800 were: Abella, Barcenilla, Barona, Calzada, Carnicer, Carranza, Catalá, Ciprés, Cortés, Cruzado, Dumetz, Estévan, Faura, Fernandez, García, Gonzalez, Itúrrate, Jaime, Landaeta, Lasuen, Lopez, Martiarena, Martin, Martinez, Merelo, Miguel, Panella, Payeras, Peyri, Pujol, Sanchez, Santa María, Santiago, Señan, Sitjar, Tapis, Uría (2), Viader, and Viñals. The 28 new-comers were: Amestoy, Amorós, Arroyo, Boscana, Cabot (J.), Cabot (P.), Cueva, Dulanto, Duran, Fortuni, Gil y Taboada, Gutierrez, Ibañez, Lázaro, Marquinez, Muñoz, Panto, Quintana, Rodriguez, Saenz, Saizar, Sanchez, Sancho, Sarría, Suñer, Ulibarri, Urresti, and Zalvidea. The ten who died were: Lasuen, Ciprés, Cruzado, Dulanto, Landaeta, Lázaro, Pujol, Sanchez, Santa María, Sitjar. The 20 who retired were: Barcenilla, Carnicer, Carranza, Cortés, Cueva, Estévan, Faura, Fernandez, García, Gonzalez, Gutierrez, Itúrrate, Lopez, Martiarena, Martinez, Merelo, Panella, Santiago, Uría, Viñals. The two survivors who came before 1790, were: Calzada and Señan. The 12 who came before 1800 were: Abella, Barona, Catalá, Jaime, Martin, Martinez, Miguel, Payeras, Peyri, Tapis, Uría, and Viader.

[4] In 1801 Jacinto Lopez and Lorenzo Merelo sailed on the transports on Oct. 9th. Antonio Sanchez (?) had a license of the viceroy dated Aug. 6th, but did not use it. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 12; xi. 1, 164; *Monterey, Diario*, MS., 40, 45. Ibañez and Gil came on the *Concepcion* in August. Mariano Vargas was named to come with them, but was prevented by illness. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 85; xxi. 70; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxii. 3; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 11; xi. 157. Pujol died this year. In 1802 Antonio Sanchez (?) and Miguel Gallegos (?) were to have sailed on the *Valdés* and *Horcasitas*, *St. Pap.*, *Sac.*, MS., iii. 39; but Estévan was the only padre who retired this year. In 1803 Lasuen and Francisco Miguel Sanchez died, and Panella retired. License was granted Sept. 6th, and Oct. 30th, to Barcenilla and Catalá. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 14. Nov. 30th the guardian wrote that of 14 friars required only 7 had offered. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 166–7. In 1804, 10 new padres came: Amestoy, Amoros, Pedro Cabot, Cueva, Dulanto, Gutierrez, Muñoz, J. B. Sanchez, Sancho, and Urresti. They left Guadalajara April 23d. Urresti was president of the party. Three, Cueva, Amestoy, and Muñoz, showed some insubordination on the way and should be watched. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 290.

During this decade the missionaries had baptized 22,000, of whom approximately 15,000 were new converts and 7,000 the children of neophytes.[5] The smallest number baptized in any year was 1,215 in 1809, and the largest was 3,941 in 1803—not only the largest in the decade but in the whole course of mission history. Deaths were 16,000, of whom 6,000 were children of eight years and under. The death-rate was 72 per cent of baptisms and 45 per cent of the original population plus the baptisms. The smallest number of deaths was 1,250 in 1810, and the largest, nearly double the mortality of any other year in all the mission annals, was 3,188 in 1806. The total gain in neophyte population was from 13,500 to 18,800, or 5,300, 39 per cent against 80 per cent for the preceding decade. A difference of 700 may be attributed to runaways. The highest figure of population was 20,355 in 1805, from which figure it varied but very slightly for the next 20 years, 21,066 in 1824 being the highest limit. There were on an average 680 marriages per year solemnized among the Indians, showing an average of not much more than one child to à family.

Cruzado died. Barcenilla, Martiarena, Martinez, and Viñals sailed in November or December. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 63; ix. 60–1. Abella, Carnicer, Gonzalez, Greg. Fernandez, Cortés, Francisco Uría, and García wished to go. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 290–1. In 1805 the new-comers were Juan Cabot, Lázaro, Quintana, Saizar, and Zalvidea. The departures were Fernandez, Cortés, Gonzalez, F. J. Uría, and Francisco Farnecio (not a friar), who sailed from San Diego Nov. 6th, on the *Princesa*. All had worked zealously and completed their term. *Id.*, xi. 75–6; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 76; ix. 70. Uría came back later. In 1806 came Boscana, Duran, Fortuni, and Saenz, who left the college Feb. 17th. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 150. Cueva and Gutierrez sailed for Mexico in November. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 87; ix. 94. J. A. Uría got license, and the sailing of Abella is mentioned, but he did not go, or if so returned. *Id.*, xii. 89–90. It was in this year also that Santa María died. In 1807 Lázaro died. In 1808 came Arroyo de la Cuesta and Suñer; while Carnicer, José García, and J. A. Uría retired, sailing on the *Concepcion* and *Princesa* in November. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 95; xii. 69. Sitjar and Dulanto died. In 1809 Sarría, Ulibarri, and Rodriguez arrived on the *Princesa* in June; and Faura and Itúrrate retired in October. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 115, 117. In 1810 the arrivals were Marquinez and Panto; the departures, Carranza and Santiago; and the deaths Ciprés and Landaeta.

[5] Not much reliance can be put in accuracy of this division: 12,000 adults were baptized, all of whom were new converts; but of the 10,000 children, from one to eight years of age, it is impossible to say what part were the children of gentile parents. Humboldt, *Tablas estadísticas*, MS., 7, 40, gives some Californian statistics down to 1803.

Large live-stock increased from 67,000 head to 141,000, cattle now numbering 121,426, horses and asses 17,444, and mules 1,565. Small stock, chiefly sheep, gained from 86,000 to 157,000. Agricultural products were on an average 83,800 bushels per year, or 4,410 for each mission; largest crop, 112,500 in 1806; smallest, 59,250 in 1809. Of the average 55,230 bushels were wheat; 11,400, barley; 12,360, corn; 1,760, beans; and 3,050, pease and various minor grains. Wheat yielded fourteenfold, and beans the same; barley, fifteenfold; and corn, ninety-twofold. Supplies sold to the presidios amounted to about $18,000 per year.[6]

Events connected with mission history have been given in their chronological order, and need not be repeated here even *en résumé*. Beyond the statistical view presented there is very little to be said of development or change in the Franciscan system or establishments. It was not a period of innovation or controversy, but rather of quiet and gradual progress, inertia, or decadence equally slight and quiet. The old differences between missionary and secular authorities were still open for the most part, but their faint shadows on the records show rather a spirit of mutual concession that of partisan bitterness. Thus the friars performed chaplain service at the presidios without recorded protest, and when the overworked ministers at San Gabriel attempted to avoid the duty at Angeles, the president gave them no support.[7] Again in the matter of escorts, Comandante Carrillo with the governor's approval, not only instructed the soldiers of every mission-guard to show respect and give every possible aid to the missionaries, but allowed them when visiting gentiles for religious purposes, not including the recovery of fugitives, to have an escort which might even be absent overnight; and on the other hand the guardian counselled his friars to use all moderation and prudence in their intercourse with the guard, avoiding always harsh words, to which some of the more irascible had been addicted.[8]

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[6] On mission statistics and progress much information, though but a very small part of what I have condensed in the preceding pages, is contained in *Lasuen, Informes Bienales*, MS., 60–70; *Tapis, Informes Bienales*, 1803–10, MS.

[7] Chapter i. this volume; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 181–96. This affair shows a less cordial and submissive spirit on the friar's part toward President Tapis, than had been felt for Lasuen and Serra.

The use of horses by the Indians still increased, and was noticed, more rarely than of old, in official communications. The governor complained that he rarely met a friar without five or six mounted neophyte attendants, and his protest was answered with the old conundrum: "How else can the vaqueros' work of the missions be done?"[9] The old strictness about license for retiring missionaries was much relaxed, and from 1806 the governor even delegated to the comandantes the power to grant such license, when all conditions had been complied with and substitutes were at hand.[10] Yet the show of controversy was kept up when occasion demanded it, as when in 1806 the guardian strictly forbade the friars to give any information whatever respecting mission matters to other than Franciscan authorities, not even the viceroy and archbishop being excepted; or when in 1810 the governor was wroth that the guardian had authorized a friar to take a judicial declaration.[11] Both parties kept future secularization in view. In 1808 the viceroy reminded the guardian how important it was that the missionaries should not only attend to the spiritual needs of the Indians, but should inspire them with loyalty to the king, and with a desire for civilization, thus fitting them for the duties of their future lives as citizens. On the other hand the friars were instructed that the books of deceased associates if kept at the missions must be plainly marked as belonging to the college so that they might be removed.[12] The few troubles about lands and boundaries were not productive of much bitterness except locally, and their settlement shows no great victory for either side. The protest of the friars was sufficient to keep the rancho of La Brea from the possession of Mariano Castro. Arrillaga, on the ground that he was only temporary ruler, refused to disturb the occupants of Buenavista. The quarrel at Mission San José was due chiefly to the obstinacy of Duran, and in one case at least at Purísima a friar admitted that a rancho in private hands had been a blessing rather than a curse to the mission.

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[8] 1801, Carrillo, in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 160; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxiii. 11; Arrillaga, in *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 155–6; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 111–12; *Carrillo, Instruccion, 1804*, MS.; *Gasol, Letras Patentes, 1806*, MS. 1803, alcalde of San José ordered to pay the padres for some hides tanned for him by the neophytes without the friars' knowledge. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 96. At San Antonio the corporal and one of the men were transferred on account of trouble with the minister. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 6–8.

[9] 1806. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 112.

[10] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 263–5; xi. 72–3; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 16, 19; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., i. 58–9, 63; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 119–20.

[11] *Gasol, Letras Patentes*, MS.; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 102. If the padres will not give food to neophyte prisoners, let them starve! *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 75; *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 82.

Respecting the treatment of the neophytes there were no serious charges or scandals during this decade; and two official documents did much to remove a popular feeling against the friars which had resulted, partially at least, from the arbitrary and unconciliating spirit of Serra and the earliest missionaries. The first was Arrillaga's report on mission management in 1804, in which he stated as a result of his experience that the Indians were not cruelly treated, while it was absurd to suppose that so lazy a race could be made to do too much work. True there were *grillos* and *azotes* and *cepos,* but such punishments were necessary, were judiciously administered, and were in every way better than to crowd the prisons with petty offenders and thus exhaust the "gratification fund."[13] The other document was Guardian Gasol's instructions of 1806, in which he gave strict orders that no more than twenty-five blows should be given at any one time; no punishment inflicted or mentioned in the presence of strangers; and no women flogged by men or in public; and that five or six hours in winter and six or seven hours in summer should be the limit of a day's work.[14]

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[12] Nov. 1808, viceroy to guardian. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 16. 1809, instruction of guardian. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 9, 10.

[13] *Arrillaga, Informe de Misiones, 1804*, MS. 1809, Estudillo says the friars treat the neophytes as their own children, correcting them with words, and for serious offences with from 12 to 25 lashes. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xl. 7. 1802, order that new churches be not begun without consent of the governor, in order to avoid overworking the Indians. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xxiv. 134; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., v. 67-8; xii. 148. In 1805 for throwing a stone at a padre an Indian by military authority was imprisoned, given 25 lashes for 9 successive feast-days, then 35 or 40 lashes for 9 successive Sun-

Langsdorff in his narrative has nothing but praise for the Franciscans; and Shaler, the only other foreign visitor who records his observations on the subject, offers no unfavorable criticism except to say that their reputation for medical knowledge was not deserved. Both were pleased with the readiness of the friars to trade, and there is no reason to doubt from all the evidence extant that they were always ready for barter, notwithstanding the fact that it was forbidden by the guardian, as well as by the laws. Shaler says: "The missions of California may be considered as so many valuable estates or plantations belonging to the king of Spain, and capable, in case of a conquest of this country, of furnishing abundant supplies of all kinds." His estimate that American traders were leaving $25,000 annually on the coast, is perhaps not an exaggeration, including both Californias, and merchandise as well as money.[15] I find no evidence that the friars accumulated any considerable sums of money at the missions, in this period at least.[16]

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days, a different party of 5 or 6 Indians being obliged to witness each punishment. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 35–6. 1804, a padre recommends as an effective method of enforcing discipline, to oblige each Indian to kiss the *doctrina* before going to work. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., i. 23. Fugitives whipped and put in irons as a warning. *Langsdorff's Voyages*, ii. 170–1.

[14] *Gasol, Letras Patentes*, 1806, MS., containing many details of mission routine and missionary duties.

[15] *Shaler's Journal of a Voy.*, 152–4.

[16] 1804, Arrillaga says that there cannot be a large amount of money at any mission, since all business is transacted by means of drafts on Mexico. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 346–7. 1808, the tribunal de cuentas thinks that no purchase-money need be sent on vessels, since loans can be had from the padres, repayable by the San Blas treasury. *Id.*, xix. 240. 1809, Tapis pronounces the padres, 'pobres de solemnidad,' and the neophytes, 'pobres de necesidad.' *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 68–9. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 88–9,

The most inconvenient reform enforced on the missionaries during the decade was that which compelled them to part with certain silver watches, acquired in some not very mysterious but unrecorded manner. Complaint came not from laymen, but from the Franciscan superiors themselves. The watches had to be sent to Guadalajara and sold for the benefit of the Indians. It was not even permitted to sell them to naval or military officers in California for fear that stories of missionary luxury in that province, inconsistent with the vows of poverty, would become current in Mexico and Spain, doing harm to the order.[17]

Lasuen had been succeeded in the presidency by Tapis, as elsewhere recorded.[18] Of the latter's administration there is nothing to be added here, except that there are several slight indications that his relations with the friars were somewhat less cordial than those of his predecessors. So simple was the Franciscan administrative machinery that in California there was no other provincial mission authority than that of the president, who was responsible only to the guardian of San Fernando. The guardianship was held during this decade by José Gasol in 1800-3, 1806-9; Tomás Pangua in 1803-6; and Agustin Garijo from 1809. The election was in July of every third year.[19] Another prominent official of the college was the procurador of the California missions, whose

thinks the padres sent large sums of money out of the country before 1824—that is, large amounts came in and disappeared, and the friars alone had the handling of them.

[17] *Gasol, Letras Patentes*, MS., 1806, in which document the friars are also instructed to avoid suspicion by employing none but male servants. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 151; xii. 371. Meetings of several friars each year at stated places for religious service and mutual confession and instruction were ordered by guardian and president in 1807. *Id.*, xi. 155-6. A papal letter of 1797, approved by the king in 1804, was circulated in California in 1805 or 1806. It contains 28 articles on missionary service, and especially their connection with the college, with rewards and honors as well as penalties. *Pio VI.*, *Breve Apostólico en que se les conceden varias gracías á los Misioneros, 1797*, MS.

[18] See chap. iii. of this volume. On the duties and powers of the president, see *Gasol, Letras Patentes*, MS., of 1806, and the instructions of the Franciscan comisario general of 1810. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 51-7.

[19] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 153, 288, 294, 296, 299; xii. 165; *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 10; *S. José Patentes*, MS., 19, 33, 36.

duty it was to invest in supplies for those missions, in accordance with orders from the missionaries in charge of each, the yearly stipends and the amounts of draft on Mexico obtained by the friars in return for presidio supplies. The procurador's accounts, except for a few missions and a few scattered years, are not extant. His position bore a general resemblance to that of the habilitado general. It was usually filled by a friar who had served in California, and the missionaries were always consulted about his appointment. Tomás de la Peña held the office apparently until 1806; José Viñals from 1806 to 1809, and José Guilez from 1809.[20] There was also a síndico, or general agent of the missionaries, at San Blas, who attended to the reception and forwarding, the purchase and sale of effects ordered, or produce shipped by the missions. Miguel Gonzalez Calderon held this office until 1802, his brother Tomás perhaps until 1806, Ramon Moreysa appointed, but perhaps not serving, in 1806, Estévan Lascano in 1806-7, and Eustaquio de la Cuesta from 1807. Lazcano appears to have died a defaulter, or at least deeply in debt, and the missionaries, or rather the missions, were called upon to contribute according to the age of the respective establishments to pay the deficit and maintain the financial integrity of the order.[21]

Ecclesiastical matters cannot be separated from the general subject of missions, since there was as yet no secular clergy in the province. California still formed part of the diocese of Sonora and Sinaloa, and as vicar of Bishop Rousset de Jesus, the president held and delegated to his friars such ecclesiastical powers, and performed such church duties for the gente de razon as the interests of the province demanded. Relations between bishop and vicar were interrupted by no quarrels; though in 1801 the latter was somewhat alarmed at rumors of an approaching episcopal *visita* to his missions; and again in 1807 a demand of the bishop for payment for holy oil caused a slight and easily calmed ripple of controversy.[22] Strict compliance by all soldiers and settlers with their yearly religious duties of confession and communion at easter was enforced. The archives abound in certificates by friars that the citizens of a certain place have "cumplido con la iglesia;" and occasionally there is recorded an instance of some ne'er do well who was punished for non-compliance. Yet it was possible in the California of these days to be too devout; since Arrillaga was obliged to prevent a soldier on one occasion from devoting all his property to masses for the good of his own soul, certain portions being reserved by royal order for the relatives.[23] Meanwhile both soldiers and Indians accused of petty offences, often took refuge in church, from which they could be taken only by compliance with certain formalities on the part of the authorities, and thus many a flogging was avoided by the Indians, since no *castigo de sangre* could be administered to a person who held a *papel de iglesia.* The friars obtained some money in the shape of alms and fees for burial and other services; and the king by the sale of papal indulgences brought back into the treasury some $450 of the amounts expended for the church in California.[24] I find only a single instance of an edict of the inquisition being published here by President Tapis. It was affixed to the church doors and involved the extirpation of all that was opposed to faith, king, or the holy tribunal.[25]

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[20] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 16; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 153-4, 298; xii. 308, 371; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 1; *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 18, 34.

[21] *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 7, 8; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 157-8, being a circular of President Tapis dated Santa Inés, June 30, 1808. June 23, 1807, the guardian writes that Cuesta would not take the office unless he could have all the mission business to transact for a commission, and this had been promised. *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 17-19. June 1809, Antonio Vallejo appointed 'oficial' of the California pious fund. *Gaceta de Mex.*, xix. 525.

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[22] See chap. i. and v. this volume. June 1, 1802, Francisco Rousset de Jesus signs himself Bishop of Sonora, Sinaloa, and Californias. Autograph signature in *S. Antonio, Doc. Sueltos*, MS., 36.

[23] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 48, 165; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxiii. 1, 14; xxxiv. 20; xxxvii. 18; *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 40, 77. Arrest of Ignacio Acedo for non-compliance at Branciforte. *Arch. Sta Cruz*, MS., 15. Domingo Aruz not allowed to leave all his property for masses. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 119. 1808, man tried for blasphemy at Santa Bárbara. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxviii. 1-3. 1810, corporal reprimanded for permitting three men to enter a church with handkerchiefs on their heads. *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 91.

[24] The *bulas* most called for in California were the cheaper classes of those used for the souls of the dead and dying, and indulgences for eating meat on

The annals of each of the three pueblos, as of each mission, have been given separately. Los Angeles alone had gained slightly in population, but in the aggregate there was a decrease from 550 to 535 settlers including many invalids from the presidial companies. Horses and cattle decreased from 19,700 to 12,500. In sheep there was but slight if any gain. Crops in 1810 as in 1800 amounted to about 9,900 bushels, figures for intermediate years being for the most part lacking. The lack of prosperity in the pueblos was generally admitted and regretted in official reports, but projects for stimulating their progress were devised and discussed with much less frequency and enthusiasm than in Borica's time.[26]

No settlers proper came during these ten years, the increase of population, more than equalled by deaths and enlistments, arising solely from births and the retirement of soldiers. It would seem, however, that in a few instances women were brought to the province by aid of the government, some being wives of set-

prohibited days, sold generally at from 25 to 40 cents each. See estimates of *bulas* needed in *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 63, 99; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 231. The Indians were allowed to eat meat on the same days as others who had the necessary *bulas*, by reciting on those days like the others. Bishop to president, 1804. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., v. 122–6. The military engaged in expeditions were exempt from all fasting and abstinence from flesh. At other times they also enjoyed some privileges, shared by family and servants. Flesh and fish might not be mixed under any indulgences. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 14. 1809, permission for laboring classes to eat meat for 9 years, except 15 days each year, for which a *bula* was required. *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 37–42. The whole subject as illustrated by the California records is very confusing. Aug. 31, 1805, Viader's receipt for $12, alms for interring one Gonzalez. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 83. June 23, 1804, royal order that chaplains can receive no offering for burial of soldiers beyond fees allowed in the district. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 384. 1805, padres refused burial to a neophyte woman who hanged herself. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 42. Pio Pico speaks of having often served for the padres as acolyte when a boy. *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 11.

[25] 1804. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 100–1.

[26] In 1803 Arrillaga informs the viceroy that if it were not for the invalids the pueblos would amount to nothing. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 81.

tlers already there.[27] The colony of foundlings brought from Mexico at the end of the last decade had prospered. In 1806 Arrillaga reported that none of the twenty had died; the boys were growing up to be robust men, and of the ten girls all but two, yet of tender years, had married. Yet the governor was far from being enthusiastic respecting the advisability of sending more foundlings, or colonists of any other class. He could not see that California possessed any marked advantages over the other provinces, nor did he look forward to increased immigration or prosperity.[28] One of the unmarried girls was Apolinaria Lorenzana, named for the archbishop founder of the foundling asylum as were all the *niñas expósitas*, who was still living in 1880 at Santa Bárbara,[29] where she was known as La Beata. A few convicts were sent to the province in the early years of the decade; but the governor and commandants, being questioned by the viceroy, protested zealously against the practice as ruinous to the best interests of the country, and their protests seem to have had some temporary effect.[30]

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[27] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 214; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., iii. 89. The governor says the absent wives must clearly understand that once in the country they cannot leave it.

[28] July 15, 1806, Arrillaga to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 86–7. Supplies for the foundlings from 1801 to 1806, $810. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiii. 10; xxxi. 13. In the bill for supplies to the girl foundlings the governor disapproved of the item for cigars! and also for some labor by Indian servants. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xiv. 18, 19. Carrillo in 1801 was troubled because one of the girls refused an offer of marriage, or rather the matron in charge refused for her. *Monterey, Diario*, MS., 35.

[29] *Lorenzana, Memorias de la Beata*, MS. The old lady, then entirely blind, dictated her recollections of California history for my use, having very clear ideas of persons and events in the old times. 'On our arrival,' she says, 'El gobierno repartió los niños como perritos entre varias familias.' Her mother came with her, but soon married an artilleryman and went to San Blas, so that Apolinaria never saw her again. The girl was placed in the Carrillo family, with which she spent many years at Monterey, Santa Bárbara, and San Diego; then she lived long at San Diego and other missions engaged in caring for the padres, tending the sick, and teaching children. She soon gained the name of La Beata and has ever commanded the highest respect of those who knew her.

[30] Feb. 1, 1801, Carrillo protests against the sending of any more idle, useless, tradeless, immoral people. They do no good and set a bad example. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 56–7. April 30th, Arrillaga complains to viceroy of the uselessness, vices, and insolence of the settlers, and urges that no more be sent. Some of the foundlings even have been stealing. *Id.*, xxi. 67–8. Aug. 22d, viceroy asks the Gov. to report on the 'utilidad ó no' of sending con-

In the matter of land-grants and private ranchos the records of this decade reveal no change in system or methods, and throw but a faint light on the lands actually occupied in California. There is no positive evidence that any lands were yet held by private individuals under any more permament and proprietary titles than the provisional licenses to occupy already explained as having begun in the time of Fages, and continued under his successors.[31] In the extreme south there were, so far as can be known, absolutely no lands in private possession within the presidial jurisdiction of San Diego. The same may be said of the extreme north, the region round San Francisco.[32] At San José at least one of the provisional grants was made to José María Larios, who built a house on his rancho, and subsequently sold the whole estate to the mission of San José, a sale which was declared null and void by Arrillaga, who reprimanded Larios for having acted with bad faith in attempting to sell an estate of which he possessed only the usufruct, thereby exciting a controversy between mission and pueblo.[33]

Of the six ranchos granted to private individuals in the Monterey region,[34] only one, that of Buenavista,

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victs. *Id.*, xviii. 155. Nov. 2d, V. R. announces the sending of the homicide Manuel Ramirez with his family, and asks if there are any *inconvenientes*. Ramirez had been sentenced to six years of presidio at Habana, but the sentence was changed to Monterey at the petition of his wife. *Id.*, xviii. 130-1. Nov. 3d, Arrillaga asks Carrillo's views. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxii. 4. Dec. 28th, Carrillo replies by condemning the practice in severe terms. He says that many of the convicts continue their evil ways and boast of past achievements. Dec. 31st, Argüello to same effect, comparing the introduction of convicts to building on the sand or feeding babes with infected milk. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 57-60. Jan. 1, 1802, Alberni expresses same views. *Id.*, xviii. 210. Feb. 27th, arrival of 2 convicts. *Id.*, xviii. 190. Jan. 20, 1803, 5 convicts now at San Francisco. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxi. 3. Feb. 3d, list of 16 convicts in the Monterey jurisdiction, of whom 8, the 'least bad,' at Branciforte; 5 at San José; 2 at the presido; and 1 at the rancho of Buenavista. *Id.*, xxxi. 1, 2.

[31] See *Hist. Cal.*, vol. i. chap. xxviii., this series.

[32] There is however some vague evidence that Argüello had a license to occupy Las Pulgas or El Pilar, near San Francisco, before 1800.

[33] Aug. 16, 1803, Arrillaga to Guerra. *St. Pap.*, *Miss. and Colon*, MS., i. 38-40. Aug. 19th, Arrillaga to padres of S. José. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 19. It does not clearly appear whether this land was within the four-league limit of the pueblo; but such was perhaps the case, as the governor in his letter to the padres speaks of the land, La Calera, as belonging to San José.

[34] See chap. xxxi. of vol. i.

is mentioned in the annals of this decade. The missionaries of San Cárlos made up their minds that the mission was in need of the lands, and were indignant because Arrillaga declined to eject the occupants in 1803.[35] I suppose that some if not all of the other five ranchos were abandoned before 1810. There were, however, negotiations respecting the granting of two other ranchos in this district. Mariano Castro came back from a visit to Mexico in 1803 with a viceregal license to occupy La Brea, in the region of San Juan Bautista. It seems to have been the plan to form a kind of settlement at La Brea, six persons having agreed as early as 1801 to settle there.[36] The friars protested against the grant, refused to remove their cattle, and so successfully urged their claims that before the end of the decade Castro had to give up for years all hope of possessing La Brea.[37] It became necessary to find another desirable site, and accordingly in May 1807 Castro asked for the rancho of Salsipuedes, near the place since known as Watsonville, which had hitherto been used by the government for the pasturage of the presidio horses. Of the result of this application we know nothing beyond the fact that in July Commandant Estudillo made inquiries with a view to learn if the concession would be in any way detrimental to Branciforte, and that the friars of Santa Cruz had something to say in defence of the mission claim to the property in question.[38]

Within the Santa Bárbara district and in the region round Los Angeles all the ranchos of the last decade[39] were still occupied; and there also existed the Rancho de Félix, of which there is but a bare mention; Las Vírgenes, granted by Arrillaga to Miguel Ortega; El Conejo, granted in 1803 to Polanco and Rodriguez; Santiago de Santa Ana granted in 1809 to Yorba and Peralta; and a rancho near Purísima, not named but granted to Reyes, perhaps in place of Encino taken from him by the missionaries of San Fernando, and purchased of him by the mission before 1810. That the Ortegas were now in possession of El Refugio there is not much room to doubt, though I find no direct testimony to that effect in the archives. Meanwhile at least two applications for ranchos were refused; for San Vicente desired by many persons, and Camulos near San Buenaventura, where Francisco Ávila wished to settle. In protesting against the latter grant the friars expressed very freely their ideas respecting rancheros in general. Their presence was detrimental to the success of missionary effort; they led an idle, vagabond life, often left their farms and wives in charge of gentiles, and set a bad example, rarely coming to hear mass or missing a fandango. The Indians found it hard to understand why they should be flogged for not attending religious services neglected with impunity by the Spaniards; therefore Indians who were brought up among Christians were always hardest to convert. The rancheros, the friars claimed, did not accumulate property, nor add in any respect to the prosperity of the country.[40]

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[35] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 9-12; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 16, 17.

[36] Sept. 27, 1801, list of the names forwarded to commandant of Monterey. They were José Rodriguez, Juan María Ruiz, Dolores Mesa, Joaquin Castro, Antonio Buelna, and Pablo (Botero). *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 14, 15.

[37] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 385-6; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 119; xi. 185; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 9-11; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 134-5.

[38] July 9, 1807, Estudillo to comisionado of Branciforte. *Santa Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 14; *Santa Cruz, Peep*, 41. July 5th, Carranza and Quintana to governor, arguing that the jurisdiction of Branciforte never extended to Rancho de Bravo, Rio Soquel, Aptos, or Corralitos (including Salsipuedes.) *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 61.

Respecting the granting of the pueblo lots there is, and naturally in view of the decrease in the aggregate number of settlers, little or nothing in the records of this period. There was, however, an order that regular settlers were to have the preference over invalids in the distribution of lands whenever both classes could not be satisfied, since the latter had their pensions on which to live.[41] There is also an order forbidding commandants of presidios to own ranchos for the raising of live-stock. Only a few milch cows and sheep were permitted.[42]

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[39] See *Hist. Cal.*, vol. i. chap. xxx., and vol. ii. chap. vi., this series. The ranchos were: San Rafael, Verdugo; Los Nietos, Nieto; San Pedro, Dominguez; Portezuelo, Verdugo; Simí, Pico; and possibly El Refugio, Ortega.

[40] May 4, 1804, padres of San Buenaventura to governor. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 37–9.

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[41] *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 18–19. Nov. 14, 1808, Estudillo claims that the presidio mule-train is entitled to pasturage on the pueblo lands for short periods, and blames the comisionado because this has been refused. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 82.

[42] May 28, 1808, Arrillaga to Com. of San Diego. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 64.

CHAPTER IX.

INSTITUTIONS AND INDUSTRIES.

1801-1810.

The Labor Question—Gentiles or Neophytes—Manufactures—Ortega's Silver-mine—Agriculture—Crops—Pests—Seasons—Regulations—Hemp and Flax—Joaquin Sanchez—Large Shipments of Fibre—A Flourishing Enterprise and Sudden Failure—Stock-raising—Cattle, Horses, and Sheep—Slaughter of Horses—Commerce—Smuggling—Trade of the Transports—Finance and Supplies—Habilitado General—Military—Political Government—Administration of Justice—Schools Wanted.

In noticing miscellaneous institutions and progress from 1801 to 1810, I follow the same order as in a previous presentment of the subject. The labor question presented no new phases; in fact it lacked some of its old ones, particularly the ambition to effect reforms which characterized Borica's rule. During the early years of the decade two at least of the artisan instructors, Botello the tailor and Mendoza the weaver, were yet in California drawing their salary and making some efforts to teach their trades to boys at Monterey, who like the convicts on whom the same experiment was tried, displayed no ambition to excel in mechanical industries. Arrillaga advised that no more artisans should be sent from Mexico; Carrillo on the contrary thought it might be well to send instructors, provided that children could be sent with them to receive instruction, since California boys cared for nothing but riding and a military life. Armorers and carpenters for the presidios were occasionally asked for, but I find no evidence that any were obtained.

Wages were not extravagantly high. The man who took care of the Monterey chapel was awarded by the comandante a salary of two dollars a month; but so lavish an expenditure of the public funds was disapproved by Arrillaga, who reduced it to "a slight allowance now and then." Gentiles still worked for wages at pueblos and presidios, but they were becoming every year more difficult to obtain, and neophytes were employed whenever an agreement could be made with the friars who received the wage. The only controversy recorded was that caused by the retirement of a hundred laborers at Los Angeles in 1810 to their mission of San Juan Capistrano. President Tapis declined to order their return, but he promised not to oppose a regular repartimiento of neophyte laborers for hemp-culture, should the governor take the responsibility of ordering such action.[1]

Manufacturing industry was confined to the missions where the neophytes under the ministers' superintendence continued to work up the wool shorn from their large flocks into blankets and coarse fabrics which sufficed for their own clothing. They also made soap, tanned various skins and hides, made shoes and saddles, and did the rude carpenter's, cabinet-maker's, and blacksmith's work needed at the missions. The missions monopolized the manufacture of such articles as could be sold at the presidios, and would necessarily have done so, even had the settlers or any other class had the enterprise to engage in industrial operations, as it was manifestly impossible to compete with absolutely costless labor in so limited a market requiring only the coarsest articles. There were no attempts to introduce new branches of manufactures or modify the old ones, and there are absolutely no statistics or details respecting the products of the mission work-shops.[2]

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[1] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 51–4, 173, 191; xix. 217; xxi. 63–5; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxvii. 42; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 62, 119; *S. José*, *Arch.*, MS., vi. 24; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 76–80.

[2] Governor to viceroy, July 15, 1806, on condition of manufacturing industries. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 86–9. Brief mention of industries. *Prov. St. Pap.*,

The decade had its mining excitement, as we have seen in the local annals of Monterey, but it was rather a mild one. Ignacio Ortega found a vein of ore in the foothills of the Monterey, now Salinas, Valley, which being assayed yielded richly in lead and silver. The mine was worked by Ortega subsequently at several different times, but with results not known. This I learn from the mission report of 1822, which describes Ortega's silver-mine as being one league from San Juan Bautista. In the record of its discovery it was located in the foothills north-west of the rancho del rey. Robinson, followed probably by Ross Browne and Tuthill, mentions the excavation as existing on or near the Alisal rancho. Notwithstanding this discovery Arrillaga in his report of 1806 stated that there were no indications of metal near the coast nor in the interior so far as explored.[3]

Agricultural statistics are extant with an approximation to completeness and accuracy only in the case of the missions,[4] but if we add the average harvest of the pueblos to that of the missions we have a total grain product averaging about 93,600 bushels per year. 1807 and 1809 were years of drought and correspondingly short crops; but the statistics of production show that

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Ben. Mil., MS., xxxvii. 40; *Langsdorff's Voy.*, ii. 160–1, 169, 187–8. Langsdorff notes particularly the absence of mills and boats. There was, however, one boat in the province, at San Diego. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 366. In *Los Angeles, Hist.*, 7, it is stated that a saw-mill was built at an early period near the grist-mill at San Gabriel, but no date is given. In a note to a document in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 2, 3, Vicente Gomez notes a Californian industry which probably dated back to this period or even earlier, that of remelting the *panocha*, or coarse brown sugar, received with the *memorias*, by which the government improved the quality of the staple, and also made a handsome profit.

[3] *Monterey, Diario*, MS., 58; *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., i. 42–3. The ore was discovered in 1800 and on being subjected to fire yielded *plomo emplatado*, or lead mixed with silver.. An assay was made as soon as a competent man arrived, and yielded with imperfect apparatus six oz. of fine silver. José María Ortega was summoned from Santa Bárbara and steps were taken for a larger assay with results not recorded. See also mission report 1822, in *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 303; Governor's report of July 1806 in *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 90; *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, 190; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 231; *Browne's Min. Resources, 1867*, 13.

[4] See chap. viii., this volume.

in no year of the decade was the failure of crops very disastrous, as the smallest yield, in 1809, was more than half that of 1806, the largest. Local failures of particular crops occurred sometimes, but not often, by reason of trouble about the irrigating facilities. The *chahuistle*, a name which seems to have been popularly applied to almost any grain disease whether blight or rust, caused by fogs or other irregularity of the weather, or by the action of worms at the root of the grain, is occasionally reported, as are the ravages of the *chapulin*, or locust, and of the *ardillas*, or ground-squirrels; but all these complaints were for the most part local, and none of the pests of farming had as yet become wide-spread or very destructive. Weather reports were sent in by the commandant with tolerable regularity, but no such thing as a rain-gauge was known, and these reports are so vaguely worded as to convey no definite idea of the successive seasons which could be utilized in the generalizations of modern science. There came also from the provincial authorities now and then a communication urging closer attention to agricultural operations, or requiring owners to look out for their cattle, since no claim for damages could be sustained against a farmer who killed another's live-stock in his fields.

Respecting special agricultural products it appears only that the raising of cotton was attempted unsuccessfully at San Gabriel in 1808; and that the olives of the missions orchards were utilized in the manufacture of oil at San Diego and some other establishments between 1801 and 1808.[5] Hemp-culture, however, continued to receive attention from the government. It gave rise to voluminous records and merits more than passing notice here, as it was an industry which, until interrupted by circumstances over which the Californians had no control, bade fair to be of substantial and permanent benefit to the province. Encouraged by experience,[6] the authorities in Mexico sent Joaquin Sanchez, sergeant of marines and an expert in the cultivation and preparation of hemp and flax, to superintend this industry and give instruction, for which service he was to receive fifteen dollars a month in addition to his sergeant's pay. He arrived on the *Concepcion* in the middle of 1801, bringing with him the necessary tools, and soon proceeded to San José, the only place where hemp had as yet been planted.[7]

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[5] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 281; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 70, 84.

During 1802 and 1803 we know but little of the progress made, except that in the transports of the latter year 381 pounds of hemp fibre were shipped to San Blas. Meanwhile the viceroy announced that although California hemp was worth only two dollars per arroba, it would be taken for a time by way of encouragement at $3.50, or fourteen cents a pound. A new set of tools was sent from Mexico, and Arrillaga, though not very confident as to results—he never was hopeful about the future of California or anything in it—urged all to make an earnest effort, implying that there existed somewhere a strong opposition to the establishment and success of the new enterprise, to overcome which special effort and care would be necessary. The vessels of 1804 took away 463 pounds of the staple, recommended as of good quality by Sanchez, who, however, represented his patience as well nigh exhausted by the stupidity and want of zeal shown by the settlers. One of them wished to use his whole crop for making a net to catch otter, regardless of the royal needs. Another obstacle was the regulation that the pursers of the transports should decide on the price to be paid according to quality, $3.50 being the maximum. Sanchez protested that $3.50 was the lowest limit which would leave a profit to the producers, and moreover that the pursers knew nothing of the quality of the article presented.[8]

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[6] See *Hist. Cal.*, vol. i. chap. xxviii., this series.

[7] Aug. 9, 1801, Sanchez brought three chests of tools. *Monterey, Diario*, MS., 43. Value of tools, $386. Invoice of May 30th, San Blas. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 131-3. Aug. 12th, viceroy names $15 a month as the 'gratificacion' to be allowed. *Id.*, xviii. 153; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 11. July 16th, Arrillaga at Loreto orders Sanchez to prepare an 'instruccion' on his art. *Id.*, viii. 44. Oct. 13th, Arrillaga expresses satisfaction at his coming. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxii. 3. March 31, 1802, comisionado of S. José to commandant, will plant April 1st 10 or 12 *almudes* of hemp-seed. Is aided by a few 'converted gentiles' whose labor costs more than it comes to. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 158. Dec. 1, 1802, Arrillaga to Sanchez, attributes bad results to the hot sun rather than to any sterility of soil. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 53.

At the end of 1804 Sanchez distributed eleven fanegas of seed to San Luis Obispo, Purísima, Santa Inés, and Mission San José, for it was at the missions that he anticipated the best results. Hemp was sown in April, harvested in August, and was not ready for export until the following autumn. There is no record of any shipment in 1805, but it is implied that the crop of 1804 was burned. Having given the settlers of San José all the instruction they needed, Sanchez went south in September to continue his labors at Los Angeles and throughout the Santa Bárbara district. Before leaving, however, he announced his opinion that though hemp bade fair to succeed in California, flax could not be profitably produced on account of the expensive operations required.[9] In Mexico the tribunal de cuentas reported to the viceroy in March 1805 on the great importance of the new industry, showing the impossibility of the producers waiting until the quality of their hemp could be tested at San Blas, together with the danger of allowing the inexperienced pursers of the transports to decide the matter. It was recommended to adopt a liberal policy for a time even if it should occasion a loss to the government. Accordingly the viceroy instructed Arrillaga that all the hemp offered was to be paid for, the determination of value being left largely to his discretion.[10] Accordingly the price paid subsequently for hemp in good condition seems to have been four dollars per arroba, or sixteen cents a pound.

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[8] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 314-18; *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., i. 32-7; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 58; ix. 31. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 180-3.

[9] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 181-3; xix. 74.

[10] March 7, 1805, report of tribunal de cuentas with approval of Fiscal Barbon. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 54-7. April 30th, viceroy to governor. *Id.*, xix. 58. July 15, 1806, Arrillaga says that 200 pounds of hemp cost $13 de-

Although some opposition was experienced from the settlers at Los Angeles, the new industry flourished more and more each year in pueblo, mission, and even private rancho. So far as the figures, somewhat complicated and contradictory in 1809–10 especially, can be understood, the hemp shipments of 1806 were 1,850 pounds; of 1807, 12,500 pounds; of 1808, 89,000 pounds; of 1809, 84,000 pounds; and of 1810, 120,000 pounds, or according to one report, 173,200 pounds.[11] Of this quantity less than 5,000 pounds seems to have been produced north of Purísima, all perhaps at San José. There was, besides, a surplus from the crop of 1810 of 98,750 pounds which the vessels could not carry away. Of this surplus 5,000 pounds came from San Gabriel and 30,000 from Santa

livered at the shore without reckoning manure or tillage. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 87–8. Aug. 4th, comisionado of San José ordered to buy half of all hemp produced at 20 reals per fanega. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 79. June 16, 1807, Sanchez at Sta Bárbara says the journey from the hemp-fields to the port requires five days, a mule carrying 200 pounds. He asks that 50 cents be added to the price. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 208. Aug. 1st, Arrillaga orders the comandantes of Monterey and San Francisco to pay $4 per arroba. *Id.*, xix. 216. March 1808, hemp growing finely at Sta Bárbara and Los Angeles. *Id.*, xix. 236. Aug. 6th, comandante asks governor for instructions. Harvesters of hemp must be paid in money, but funds were scarce. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt. ii. 105–6. Aug. 12th, Sanchez informs the Gov. that hemp from the north was landed at Sta Bárbara for his inspection. The lots from Santa Cruz and San Juan Bautista were rotten, badly prepared, and useless. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 236–7. March 7, 1809, Alcalde Soto of Angeles petitions the Gov. in behalf of the settlers to restrain Sanchez from sowing 40 or more fanegas of hemp as he proposed, since the other crops would suffer for want of water; but Arrillaga declined to interfere, regarding the hemp-culture as of paramount importance. *Id.*, xix. 258–9, 264. July 16th, probably $20,000 worth of hemp will be shipped from S. Diego and the habilitado lacks funds; besides he expects some compensation for attending to this new duty. *Id.*, xix. 260.

[11] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 100; ix. 94, 102, 110, 126; xi. 5, 8, 121, 130; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 255–7, 260–1, 274, 283–7. The sowing in 1810 was 100 fan. at San Gabriel; 100 fan. at Angeles; 36 fan. at San Fernando; 52 fan. at S. Buenaventura; 25 fan. at Sta Bárbara; 57 fan. at Sta Inés; 80 fan. at S. Juan Capistrano and Rio Sta Ana; 40 fan. at S. Diego and Los Nietos; total, 490 in the south. The distribution of hemp shipped in 1810, was as follows: From S. Gabriel, 15,582 lbs.; San Fernando, 7,600 lbs.; Sta Inés, 12,508 lbs.; S. Buenaventura, 9,908 lbs.; San Luis, 2,044 lbs.; Sta Bárbara Presidio warehouse, last year's crop, 28,963 lbs.; San Diego, 44,781 lbs.; 13 settlers, 37,530 lbs.; or 7 settlers, 11,840 lbs.; Sta Bárbara mission, 4,583 lbs.; Monterey, 4,537 lbs.

Inés. Thus we see that in the south a flourishing industry had been established, bringing into the province $20,000 a year with flattering prospects for the future. It is not necessary to speculate respecting what would have been the ultimate result under ordinary circumstances, and it is pleasant to notice one enterprise whose failure is not to be attributed to the stupidity of either Californians or the Spanish government. Fail it did, however, most suddenly and completely; for the shipment of 1810 was the last made. The revolution broke out in New Spain; the transports ceased to visit Californian ports; there was neither means to pay for nor to transport Californian hemp. In February 1811 Arrillaga notified the farmers through Sanchez that if they chose to cultivate hemp, it must be at their own risk or for their own use. His excuse was that the government had already enough of the staple for the proposed experiment, an excuse either invented by himself or suggested by the viceroy, for it was not deemed wise to speak of the revolt in those days.[12]

Statistics of live-stock show that the province had in 1810 about 160,000 head of large animals—132,000 cattle, 25,000 horses, and 3,000 mules—and the same number of small animals, chiefly sheep. Details respecting the animals of the rancho del rey with its branches at each presidio are very incomplete; but I suppose it contained from 11,000 to 13,000 head of horses and cattle, the sales of which yielded a net revenue of about $1,200 a year. The position assumed by the friars and approved by the governor respecting damage done by cattle was that animals found in the fields by night might be killed, and no compensation could be claimed.[13] It appears that for each *res*—strangely enough the English language has no word to express the singular of *cattle*—slaughtered two reals had to be paid as a tithe, and it was a disputed question whether the buyer or seller was to pay it.[14] A peculiar custom was that which induced individuals not caring to lead a ranchero's life to give a mission a number of cattle or sheep on condition of receiving a regular supply for meat. Thus Captain Argüello gave Santa Bárbara a hundred sheep and was to receive one every week during his life.[15]

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[12] Feb. 22, 1811, Arrillaga to Sanchez. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 11. To the viceroy in 1817, the governor speaks of the revolution as the cause of the suspension. *Id.*, ix. 161–2. So did President Tapis in his *Informe Bienal, 1811–12*, MS., 88, and Bandini, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 115–16. Sanchez had applied in 1807 for retirement from the naval service. His petition was sent to the king in 1810, and in 1811 he was granted retirement with two thirds corporal's pay on condition of dedicating himself exclusively to the hemp culture. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 301; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 127. What became of him I know not. Neither does it appear what was done with the large surplus of hemp left on the habilitados' hands in 1810.

The most important topic to be noted in connection with stock-raising, however, was the slaughter of horses from 1805 to the end of the decade to prevent too rapid an increase. President Tapis seems to have been the first to suggest this measure in March 1805. The suggestion was followed, though how many horses were killed and whose horses they were, does not appear.[16] There is also evidence in the records that some horned cattle were thus slaughtered. In May 1806 Ignacio Vallejo went to San José by Arrillaga's order and assembled a council composed of the town officers and eight prominent citizens to decide how many horses were really needed and to make arrangements for killing the rest. It was determined to reserve twenty-five mares, working horses, and mules for each owner, or 800 for the whole pueblo. The missions were also authorized to kill intruding horses. By June, 7,500 animals had been killed, and the measure seems to have caused much relief. The slaughter was extended to the horses of the rancho del rey, but no figures are given. In 1807 similar orders were sent to Branciforte and Santa Bárbara, and early in 1808, 7,200 horses had been killed in the latter district. An additional slaughter of 3,302 horses at Monterey is recorded in 1810.[17]

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[13] *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 27-9.

[14] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 168-9.

[15] *Arch. Sta B.*, ix., 492-3.

[16] March 1, 1805, Tapis to Arrillaga. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 35-6. Some horses killed this year. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 122. Langsdorff learned from Arrillaga in the spring of 1806 that the cattle had become so numerous at San Francisco, Sta Clara, and Sta Cruz that he had sent out soldiers and killed 20,000. *Voyages*, ii. 170. In a petition of the Russian-American Company to the Spanish court it is stated that immense herds of wild cattle and horses range through the country as far north as the Columbia, and that an annual slaughter of 10,000 to 30,000 head has been ordered. While Rezánof was in California several hundred were killed merely for their skins in which to pack bread sold to the Russians, the meat being thrown away. *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 2, 3. F. S. García states that as early as 1807 the soldiers found large numbers of wild horses and cattle on their expeditions into the interior. *Taylor's Discov. and Found.*, ii. No. 25.

Commercial regulations and methods experienced no modifications of importance. The most exciting element was the contraband trade with American vessels, a topic on which I have already given all accessible information in connection with each voyage. It is enough to say here that missionaries and settlers bartered their otter-skins and other products for miscellaneous articles and money brought by the Americans whenever the opportunity presented itself, sometimes with and sometimes without the consent or knowledge of the local authorities. The opportunities were not frequent, and for obvious reasons there are no figures extant; but the aggregate amount could not have been large, though Shaler in 1805 estimated that $25,000 was left annually by the traders in the two Californias. Trade with the Russians in 1806 amounted to nearly $6,000, and the contraband nature of the operation was mitigated by the governor's approval.[18]

[17] May 7, 1806, Arrillaga to comisionado of San José. May 11th, Guerra to Id. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 94-5. Decision of the junta May 14th. *Id.*, iii. 96; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 6, 7. June 5th and March 24th, Castro to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 77-8. July 27th, order to kill horses of royal rancho. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 95. Nov. 30, 1807, governor to Com. of Santa Bárbara. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 122. July 16th to comisionado of Branciforte. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 19. 1808, slaughter at Santa Bárbara. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., iii. 52. June 25, 1810, slaughter at Monterey. *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 96.

[18] Items on smuggling. May 15, 1805, viceroy to governor, contraband goods belong to the faithful subject of the king who may seize them, or at least their full value. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 60; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 63. April 14, 1803, Id. to Id., sends royal order of Aug. 10, 1802, urging great care to prevent smuggling. *Prov. St. Pap.*, xviii. 257. Nov. 26, 1804, gov. advises viceroy of contraband goods by the *Concepcion*, hidden at Santa Bár-

Respecting commercial operations carried on by means of the San Blas transports, aside from the regular supplies of presidios and missions, there are occasional notes preserved in the archives, but no statistics. In 1801, with the viceroy's approval, an attempt was made to export wheat from California to San Blas by certain men not named who had made a contract to supply the vessels of the department with *galleta*, or ship's biscuit. The settlers were called upon by Arrillaga for a statement of the quantity they could furnish and the price. In reply the settlers of Los Angeles and the rancheros of that region offered 2,270 fanegas at $2.50. There is no record that any shipment was made, and no reason is given for the failure of the project. This same year, however, the officers of the transports were ordered to take on board at San Blas only such supplies as were necessary for the voyage northward, in order that provisions for the return voyage might be bought in California; and accordingly in August and September Captain Saavedra obtained supplies, chiefly of flour, for two vessels. The mills of San José were kept running day and night, but there seems to have been

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bara and Ortega's rancho. April 9, 1805, viceroy wants to know more about it. *Id.*, xix. 50. Dec. 22, 1806, Gov. to commandants, urging obedience to the laws. Has heard that maize and cattle from California have been sold at Cape San Lúcas and in the Sandwich Islands. *Id.*, xix. 112–13. Oct. 27, 1807, viceroy to Gov., the king has ordered a system of premiums which will close the port to smugglers; therefore the order of 1805, giving contraband goods to those who seize them, is repealed. *Id.*, xix. 203. Cancelada, *Ruina de la Nueva España*, 47–52, writes in 1811 of the commercial advantages of California which are being wasted through the foolish policy of Spain. He says that in six months of 1809, 11,105 packages of produce, with $4,187 in money, were brought in nine vessels from the Californias; and mentions an American ship which brought a cargo to California about 1808, thereby doing an injury of $300,000 to Mexican manufactures. Khlébnikof, *Zapiski*, 145–6, gives the following as the prices paid and received on this occasion: flour, per arroba (25 lbs.), $1.50 to $2; lard and tallow, $2; salt, 25c.; wool, $2; dried meat $1; wheat, per fanega (about 1.5 bush.), $2; barley, $1.50; pease and beans, from $1.75 to $3; otter-skins, each $5. Russian goods: linen per piece, $31; canvas, $25; thick cloth, per *arshin*, $3; cotton handkerchiefs, $1 to $2; needles per thousand, $4; Siberian boots per pair, $5; crosscut-saws, $15; axes, $1.50; ticking, per arshin, 50c. In 1803 a reduction in the prices of many articles from the last arancel was suggested but there is no record of any action. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 246. In 1809, a year of scarcity, the tariff prices were considerably raised. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxix. 6.

considerable difficulty in getting all that was required.[19]

In April 1803, the viceroy issued orders calculated to favor trade by the transports and to reform certain abuses. It seems that the officers and crews had, contrary to the naval regulations, been accustomed to monopolize the California trade. They were now strictly prohibited from trading at all, or from refusing to carry the goods of traders and private persons, which must be taken on board whenever there was room after the supplies of presidios and missions had been provided for.[20] As to the advantage taken by private individuals of this regulation very little can be known; but various accounts and invoices of goods from Mexico and Tepic, preserved in the archives of the family, show that from as early a date as 1808 José de la Guerra was in the habit of receiving quite extensive consignments. He had an uncle in trade at the city of Mexico, whose clerk he had formerly been, and it is not unlikely that the ventures were on joint account of the two.[21] Goycoechea in his report of 1805 called attention, as others had done before him, to the necessity of an outlet for California produce, and proposed that a separate vessel be devoted to that special purpose. The vessel was not forthcoming.[22]

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[19] Feb. 4, 1801, viceroy authorizes exportation of 1,000 fan. or more of wheat for S. Blas. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxii. 2. Feb. 11th, Arrillaga ordered by V. R. to call on the settlers for a statement of what they can do. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 71. April 10th, Arrillaga's communication on the subject, with documents on past subjects. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., v. 6–13. July 20th, list of names sent to Gov. from Los Angeles, with amounts each can furnish. The Ortegas took the lead with 300 fanegas. Among the rancheros were Félix, Nieto, the two Verdugos, Reyes, and Polanco, offering from 100 to 200 fan. each; and 16 others, most if not all settlers in the pueblo, offered from 40 to 200 fan. each. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 50. Aug. and Oct. 1801, communications between commandant of Monterey and comisionado of S. José about the supplies for Saavedra's vessels. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., v. 4, 5, 13, 14.

[20] April 30, 1803, viceroy to the comisario of San Blas. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 80–4. It was ordered at the same time, however, that private goods must pay regular rates of freight, as must also mission exports, the invoices of mission and presidio supplies being exempt. June 20, 1803, Arrillaga to comisario of S. Blas to similar effect. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 15, 16. July 4, 1804, Gov. to viceroy in answer to a communication on the same subject dated May 1st. In taking articles from California the product of tithes and other royal property must have the preference. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 45–6. July 2, 1804, vague reference to an order to form *puertos menores* in California. *Id.*, ix. 44. Some chalk sent to Cal. in 1803. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 295. Four hundred and ninety-one otter-skins shipped from San Diego in 1803. *Dept. St. Pap., Pref. y Jusg.*, MS., v. 77. June 30, 1806, President Tapis to padres, announcing that mission exports will be received by the vessels in proportion to the number of head of live-stock owned by each; but any mission sending less than its proportion might cede its surplus privilege to another. May 7, 1807, this principle was applied when the vessels could take but 1,300 packages. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 147–50. April 25, 1808, no anchorage charges at Acapulco, San Blas, or Californian ports. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 244–5. Admiralty dues exacted (?). *Id.*, xix. 300. 1808, another call upon San José for wheat and flour for the transports. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 92–3. Sept. 7, 1808, tribunal de cuentas decides that no coin need be sent to California for the purchase of supplies, as loans can be had from the padres, repayable at S. Blas. Supplies bought must be of good quality and less than tariff rates may be paid in years of abundance. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 239–41. Goods not properly registered subject to confiscation. *Id.*, xix. 270.

Financial statistics may be expressed in round numbers, with a not altogether satisfactory approximation to accuracy, as follows: Annual appropriations from the royal treasury from $63,000 to $86,000, the increase of force in 1805 costing about $23,000;[23] amount of supplies in presidial warehouses as per annual inventories, $60,000 to $90,000; amount of supplies received annually from the missions and paid for chiefly in drafts on Mexico, about $18,000. Supplies from the pueblos, of which there are no accounts, besides doubtless some additional supplies from missions, were paid for in goods. Of these goods about $8,000 or $10,000 worth came each year from San Blas, and the rest, including a small quantity of silver coin, from Mexico in irregular amounts varying according to needs from $20,000 to $100,000.[24] Revenue was derived from different sources approximately as follows: sales of cattle from the rancho del rey, $1,200; sales of tobacco in the form of *cigarros* and *puros* and *polvos*[25]—that is, cigarettes, cigars, and snuff, for the Spaniards did not chew the weed—$7,000; postal revenue, $400;[26] tithes, $2,500;[27] sale of papal indulgences $450; total, $11,550, not including the revenue from gunpowder and playing-cards[28] which in the later years of the decade may have increased the sum to $12,000, paid by drafts of the habilitado of Monterey as administrator of revenue on the royal treasury, which drafts were charged in the next year's invoices.

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[21] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 30–4, 36–40.

[22] *Goycoechea, Medios para el Fomento de Cal., 1805*, MS., 24–5.

[23] The exact figures in 1805 were $63,930, and in 1808, $86,012.

[24] References for presidial accounts have been given in connection with the local annals of each presidio. Most of them are found in *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxix.–li.

[25] It is to be noted that the Spaniards used the term *cigarros* for the small paper-covered rolls of tobacco commonly known as 'cigarettes' in French and English, using the diminutive *cigarritos* only occasionally and colloquially,

In October 1801 the viceroy ordered Manuel Cárcaba, the first habilitado general of Californias in Mexico, to delay his proposed departure to Spain until a successor could be chosen, it being deemed inexpedient to intrust the large amount of appropriations to an official acting ad interim. At the same time instructions were sent to California to have an

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while our 'cigars' were known to them as *puros*. Nov. 2, 1801, governor complains of scarcity of tobacco in California. Dec. 22d, viceroy sends a report from the director de tabacos, who says that there were in California Jan. 1st 69,653 papers of puros and 83,322 boxes of cigarros which he thought would be enough; but he has sent 24 cases, containing 108,360 papers of cigarros, as an additional supply. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 151–2, 1801. Capt. José Argüello administrador general de la renta del tabaco. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxviii. 8. Net proceeds of sales for 1805, $7,659. *Id.*, xxxiii. 11.

[26] 1804, José Argüello administrador de estafeta. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Presid.*, MS., ii. 30. July 20, 1807, governor to commandant of Santa Bárbara. Mails arriving at the presidio must be despatched in 24 hours, with a note in the itinerary showing time of arrival and departure. Also a *guia de retorno*. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 117. Nov. 9, 1807, orders for courier escorts to remain with the guard of a station until the escort to the next station returns to relieve them. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 207.

[27] Jan. 3, 1805, he who does not deliver the tithe cattle at the gate of the corral for the purchaser will have to pay for delays or expenses. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 84. 1805, tithes on 205 head of cattle, increase of this year, are $27. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 182. Of taxes other than tithes there is very little on record. July 1, 1802, bishop transmits an order imposing a tax on certain inheritances; *S. Antonio, Doc. Sueltos*, MS., 36–7; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., v. 68–73; vi. 298–303. Dec. 31, 1804, governor orders that the tax of 25 cents on each *res* killed be no longer exacted. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., ii. 83; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 168.

[28] Feb. 20, 1807, recommendation that powder and cards be put on the same basis as tobacco, the administrator's commission to be 8 per cent on powder and 5 per cent on cards, of which other habilitados were to get 5 and 3 per cent respectively on sales away from the capital. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 190–5. Sept. 3, 1807, habilitado of Monterey to factor de tabacos at Guadalajara. As it has been decided to place powder and cards in estanco, he asks for 60 arrobas of fine powder and 30 gross of cards. *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 115. Jan. 7, 1808, comisionado of S. José may sell powder to settlers at $1 per pound, always recording the quantity sold and the buyer's name. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 72. Aug. 8, 1808, powder to be added to tobacco administration. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 108. 1809, playing-card revenue: 720 packs sold at 50 cts.; commission, $28.75. *St. Pap.*, *Sac.*, MS., v. 111.

election held at once, since the general was to be elected by the commissioned officers of the four presidios and was to retain his rank and place on the rolls of his company. The vote was unanimous, except that of the candidate himself, for Goycoechea of Santa Bárbara, who was notified of his election in June and sailed from San Diego in October 1802. In 1804 his salary for the whole term was fixed at $1,200 per year; and he held the position until appointed governor of Baja California in September 1805.[29] Captain Pablo Vicente de Sola, the same who afterward came to California as governor, was named to hold the office temporarily, and again the Californians were called to express their choice. A formal consent was forwarded for Sola to serve ad interim. A new election was held in 1806, and in November of that year Captain Rodriguez of San Diego sailed for Mexico to assume the position early in 1807.[30] Rodriguez quarrelled occasionally with various officials in Mexico,[31] though he seems to have given satisfaction to the habilitados; but in May 1810, the four years' term having apparently been adopted, he was defeated as a candidate for reëlection by Lieutenant Guerra y Noriega.[32] Sailing on the transport of that autumn, Guerra was captured by the insurgents of San Blas and did not succeed in reaching the city of Mexico. Meanwhile Rodriguez died in September, and José Ignacio de Ormaechea was named to serve ad interim.[33] In methods employed by the habilitado general in the forwarding supplies and keeping accounts there are no important changes to be noted; nor is there anything of general interest in the application of those methods, but I append a few minor items.[34]

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[29] Oct. 26, 1801, viceroy to Cárcaba. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxvi. 54. The Argüellos and Ruiz vote for Goycoechea. Others leave the choice to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxii. 6, 10–13. Goycoechea goes to Mexico. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 90, 92. July 31, 1804, viceroy fixes salary at $1,200. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiv. 1. Made governor of B. California, 1805. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 10–12. The viceroy expresses satisfaction at his management, leaving his bondsmen secure. Aug. 16, 1806, allows him to be sworn in as governor of B. California in Mexico. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xxii. 26.

[30] It seems that before Sola's appointment it had been proposed to appoint José Francisco Rodriguez, to whom, however, the officers of California objected. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 59. Sola's appointment known in California, Sept. 1805. J. V. Arieta was to act in Sola's absence. *Id.*, xix. 12, 72; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 4, 5; ix. 69. Sept. 20th, Arrillaga calls on the commandant to decide if Sola shall serve as *interino* or *proprietario*. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 12, 13. Oct. 16th, the Argüellos approve of Sola as interino. *Id.*, xix. 41. Sola assumed the duties in December 1805. *Id., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxvii.; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 81. Jan. 2, 1806, Arrillaga to viceroy, thinks an election should be held every four years. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 72. Rodriguez elected and his departure. *Id.*, ix. 94; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 103. Sola still acting, Jan. 1807, and Rodriguez in July. *Id., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 36–7.

[31] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 172, a private letter of Arrillaga.

[32] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 121, 126. He was notified to prepare for departure

In 1800, as we have seen, the effective military force in California was 372 men, including 60 invalids. During this decade the company of Catalan volunteers was withdrawn, and the cavalry companies were increased by about 90 men. In 1810 the total force was 412 men, classed as follows: 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 1 absent in Mexico, 1 surgeon, 4 lieutenants, 4 alféreces, or sub-lieutenants, 9 sergeants, 31 corporals, 4 cadets, 242 privates, 3 mechanics, and 1 bleeder—or in all 302 men of the presidial companies, 95 invalids, and 15 artillerymen.[35] The reënforcement

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and furnished with a passport on Aug. 31st. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS. iii. 214; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 6.

[33] Nov. 21, 1810, decree of viceroy. It is also ordered that the man elected in California must give bonds of $6,000, and that two men in Mexico be elected at the same time as the general, one of whom may take his place in case of death. A new election is ordered. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 288-9.

[34] Among the presidial supplies for 1800 needed are named white sugar, *panocha*, rice. shrimps, pease, peanuts, tamarinds, honey, and brandy. White sugar in loaves was often packed in grass and wrapped with palm-leaves and hides. Panocha sometimes came in baskets lined with cloth. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 2, 3. June 30, 1802, Sanchez complains that the habilitado of Monterey overcharges for cloth. *Id.*, xviii. 215. Luggage of officers and recruits transported free, and necessary expenses allowed in the *memorias*. Approved by viceroy Feb. 11, 1803. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 171-4. April 27, 1805, President Monterde of royal board of auditors informs Arrillaga that accounts of each year must be sent in first three months of next under penalty of suspension of salary to offending officer. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxiv. 28. June 12, 1805, tribunal de cuentas decides that without the viceroy's orders no extraordinary expense, for presidial repairs, etc., can be incurred. Certain items of accounts diapproved. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 67-8. Feb. 18, 1807, memorias for California must be sent to San Blas from Mexico in December, and the vessels to sail in February. *Id.*, xix. 210; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xxxvii. 46. Feb. 22, 1809, habilitado cannot make any payment or incur expenses, except in very urgent circumstances, without the commandant's approval. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 131.

[35] This is the statement for Dec. 1, 1810, in ***Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.***,

of 1805 included three captains, one for each of the presidial companies except that of Monterey, but one of the three served in Mexico as habilitado general. No successor to Carrillo was appointed, and thus Captain José Argüello was the only officer of that rank actually serving in California during this decade. The chief events of the period from a military point of view were the battle at San Diego with the *Lelia Byrd,* the departure of the volunteers, the reënforcement of the presidial companies, and the formation of a company of militia artillery in 1805,[36] all of which have been sufficiently described; and in the current communications on matters of military system and routine I find nothing that requires notice here.

As the proposals to separate the political and military jurisdictions of Upper and Lower California were a leading topic of consideration in the last decade, so the carrying-out of that separation in 1804 was a leading feature of this, so far as affairs of government were concerned.[37] But this division involved no change whatever in the civil government of Alta California. Both in 1801 and in 1809 there are indications that California was accorded a right of representation in Spain, but there is no evidence that any steps were

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MS., xliv. 2, 3, and agrees very nearly with the summaries given in previous chapters for each of the four presidios. Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, ii. 812, gives the total force for about 1804 as 223. In *Virreyes, Instrucciones*, 185, it is given as 294 for 1803. The increase of force ordered in April 1805 included 3 captains, 2 sergeants, 16 corporals, and 75 privates. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 47–9. The volunteer company left the country in 1803. In 1801 it included 3 officers, 3 sergeants, 8 corporals, 2 drummers, and 55 privates, 71 men in all. *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xxvi. 16; xxxii. 1. The artillery detachment numbered 18, except in 1804, until 1809 when the number is given as 15. *Id.*, xl. 14. Aug. 21, 1807, Lieut. Roca asks for permits for 4 men to go with him to Mexico, to be replaced by others. Only 2 seem to have sailed. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 206, 217. The pay of the new forces was: captain, $1,500; alférez, $400; sergeant, $262.50; corporal, $225; soldier, $217.50. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., ii. 20.

[36] See chap. ii., this volume, on the artillery company. José María Romero was a member of the company, and he says he served three years, receiving pay and rations like other soldiers. *Romero, Memorias*, MS., 1, 2. This is the only evidence I have seen to show that any actual service was performed by the militia.

[37] See chap. ii., of this volume.

taken to utilize that privilege.[38] In the matter of local or municipal government, as illustrated by the archives of San José, I append in a note a few minor communications which as will be seen show no special modifications of system or methods,[39] unless it may be in the election of pueblo alcaldes by lot from three candidates.

There were no civil nor criminal cases in the Californian administration of justice, which merit citation as *causes célèbres*, though a few may be noted as illustrating public morals.[40] The use of intoxicating liquors and indulgence in gambling propensities caused but little trouble to the authorities in these years so far as the archives show. Let us hope that this may be taken as an indication of sobriety on the part of the people rather than imperfection of the records.[41]

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[38] Dec. 12, 1801, governor to viceroy, learns that the king allows him to appoint a delegate for the presidios of Alta California. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 13. 1809, decree that the provinces of the American dominions shall have national representation. *Id.*, ix. 116.

[39] April 4, 1801, choice of regidor disapproved by commandant, and new election ordered. *Monterey Diario*, MS., 28. Nov. 6th, the alcalde has not given satisfaction, and an invalid may be chosen. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., v. 19. Feb. 20, 1802, a *vara de justicia* may be bought for $2.50. *Id.*, iv. 42. 1802, invalids may be chosen for pueblo officials if they are willing, but they cannot be forced to serve. They must, however, perform their part of community work. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 161; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 17; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iv. 39. Jan. 1, 1804, the carrying of 'belduques' or daggers in boot or belt prohibited. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 353. Election of town officials at Los Angeles approved by commandant of Santa Bárbara. *Id.*, xviii. 370. 1804–5, alcaldes to be chosen by lot from three candidates in public junta. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 22, 85; v. 3. Dec. 1806, the commandant must see how every settler lives and supports his family, correcting him if need be. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 109, 111. Police measures for Angeles, June 21, 1809. No one must go through the town on horseback after 8 P. M., unless he can prove the honesty of his errand. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xl. 26. 1809, choice of alcalde and regidores disapproved by comandante. *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 80.

[40] 1801, sentence of a man for having stabbed Lieut. Sal. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxx. 21. Cost of supporting Indian prisoners in 1802, $693. *Id.*, xxx. 22. Jan. 1803, there were 27 *presidiarios* at S. Diego, four for murder, but most for stealing horses. *Id.*, xxxi. 3, 4. Dec. 4, 1803, Padre Ciprés asks that an Indian murderess be allowed to serve out her time of six years in the mission *monjería*. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 32. 1804, Indian murderer of San Francisco given eight years in chains at S. Diego. *Id.*, xxxiv. 14, 15. Governor proposes torture of a woman who refuses to confess a murder. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 43. 1805, murderer, Ignacio Montes de Oca, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for murder of Tomás Matamoras. *Id.*, ix. 60–1. Soldier for violating his step-daughter sentenced to public works, and died in a year working as a tailor in chains. *Amador, Mem.*, MS., 220. 1806, a woman killed her cousin because that cousin reminded her of her dead daughter. As the Indians were always incensed at being reminded of dead friends; as there was no premeditated murder; as the woman was a Christian of only four years' standing; and as she had taken church asylum, Fiscal Ruiz asked that the sentence be six years in shackles. Cárlos Antonio Carrillo, then a *soldado distinguido*, was clerk in this case. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 9–11. Indian murder case at San Miguel. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 166–8. Two citizens of Los Angeles on trial for crim. con. with married women and

We have seen that by the exertions of Borica several schools were established in California before 1800;[42] but that in the last years of the past decade the records throw no light on their condition. During the present decade under Arrillaga's rule there is not a word to show that any one of the schools established

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for vagrancy. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxv. 12. Long investigation by Corporal Cota of an incest case between father and daughter at S. Fernando. Opinion of Fiscal Carrillo, but no sentence. *Id.*, xxxvii. 21–35. A militiaman arrested for a *crimen nefando con bestia*. *S. José*, *Arch.*, MS., iii. 78. Inventory of shackles, handcuffs, stocks, fetters, etc., at the seven presidios. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvii. 14. 1807, a neophyte petitions the viceroy for 200 lashes and 10 years in irons at San Francisco as a warning to others! He had committed rape. *Mont. Co. Arch.*, MS., i. 1. Case of attempted fornication at Branciforte. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 213–14. Miguel Ortega of S. Francisco sent to Loreto for killing Tomás Prado. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 103, 108. Three neophytes of S. Diégo sentenced to six and eight years in presidio for murder. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxvi. 8. 1808, Gomez at S. José, for getting drunk and threatening everybody until Vazquez broke his head in self-defence, sentenced to fasting, with plenty of water, and his head and feet alternately in the stocks two hours each day for a month. *S. José*, *Arch.*, MS., iii. 83. Higuera to have his head in the stocks for eight days and then his feet until further orders. *Id.*, iii. 76. 1809, murder by neophytes at San Francisco, with some details of criminal proceedings. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xl. 1–10. Estudillo went down to San Fernando to act as defender of a soldier, who had chosen him. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 261. A soldier given stocks, chains, and sweeping for fornication with an Indian woman. *Estudillo*, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 84. A married woman at Branciforte threatened with exposure, hair-cutting, and imprisonment, if a soldier were found again at her house. *Sta Cruz*, *Arch.*, MS., 19, 20. The penalty that Indians dread most is exile. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xl. 8. 1810, incest case at Santa Bárbara. *Id.*, xli. 1, 2. Indian murder case at San Diego. *Id.*, xliv. 6.

[41] 1802, the comandante of Monterey imposed a duty of $6 per barrel of mescal introduced which the governor disapproved, because such an act was beyond a commandant's power, because imports and exports were free of duty, and because mescal could not be admitted at all. Subsequently, however, there came an order from the viceroy favoring the duty, and the $6 was on several occasions paid. This is the only record extant for the decade. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 213, 308–9; ii. 37; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxxiii. 18; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 139, 181; ix. 24; *St. Pap.*, *Sac.*, MS., vii. 73; *S. José*, *Arch.*, MS., iii. 78. Aug. 17, 1807, justices must take the names of military men found playing forbidden games, and their chiefs must impose fines, taking one third of their pay until it is settled. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 234.

[42] See *Hist. Cal.*, vol. i. chap. xxviii., this series.

by Borica was still in existence,[43] though one or two of them may still have been kept alive in a feeble way.

Thus the pages of this chapter show, respecting Californian institutions and industries, that Borica's efforts had produced hardly a trace of permament effect. Hemp-culture flourished; the neophytes were perhaps better weavers and mechanics by reason of the teachings of the artisan instructors; some soldiers and settlers had a knowledge of reading and writing gained in the schools; but in the main all had settled back into the old condition of inertia. Arrillaga was a very different man from his predecessor, though the prevalent stagnation should by no means be attributed altogether to his neglect.

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[43] In 1806 the governor stated that five school-masters were needed. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 86-9. Véjar, *Recuerdos de un Viejo*, MS., 1, 2, says a sergeant taught school at San Diego about 1810, but there is no certainty about the date.

CHAPTER X.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD—HARD TIMES.

1811–1817.

The Revolution in New Spain—Effect in California—Firm Allegiance to the King—Arrival of the News—Non-arrival of the Supply-vessel—Capture of Guerra—Dependence on Foreign Vessels—The Earthquakes of 1812—Beginning of the Lima Trade—A Windfall from the 'Mercury'—Death of Arrillaga—Argüello Acting Governor—Sola's Appointment and Arrival—Foreign Policy—Surrender to the Inevitable—Trade with the 'Colonel'—The Insurgents Coming—The 'San Cárlos' with War-stores and Memorias of 1816—Sola's Report of 1817—Lima Ships and Tallow Trade—Trouble with the Friars about Supplies from the Missions.

The decade 1811–20 was in New Spain and many other parts of Spanish America a period of strife growing out of the revolution by which the colonies sought to throw off the yoke of Spain. It might seem that a study of this revolution, at least en résumé, should be a necessary element in the history of any Spanish province; yet such is not the case so far as California is concerned. The fact that Mexico was in trouble, and either could not or would not aid this distant province with money or supplies, was the sum and substance of the rebellion so far as it had effect in California. From a political and military point of view, the 'grito de independencia,' and the fierce waves of contention that followed it, died out in the south, nor sent so much as a faint ripple of popular excitement to this distant north-western shore. The succeeding phases of the struggle were not even known there.

The subject of the revolution was designedly kept quiet in California. Save in an occasional indirect allusion, chiefly in the private correspondence of officers and friars, the archives, both secular and missionary, are silent. It would be difficult from the closest study of the Californian records to form any definite idea of what the national trouble was. Yet mail communication was comparatively uninterrupted, and it is hardly possible that the friars and officers were not constantly informed in private letters of the course events were taking in Mexico. All were strong in their allegiance to Spain. There was as yet not the slightest indication of any popular feeling in favor of independence. Nothing could be done to aid the cause of royalty, and it was deemed wise to say nothing and await results. The viceroy was cursed again and again for his neglect of California, but that vice-regal authority was endangered was too absurd an idea to be entertained for a moment in public. When foreign visitors inquired about the troubles in Mexico, they were told that the rebellion was entirely crushed.

Yet in the one respect in which the revolution made itself felt in the province, it was the all-absorbing topic of the period. That the memorias no longer came, that the soldiers received no pay, were stern facts patent to all, and they furnish the key-note of the decade's annals. There was hardly an official communication written during the ten years that did not allude directly or indirectly to the prevalent want and suffering, and the great question of the time for the provincial government was how to devise means for feeding and clothing the troops, all thought of paying wages and salaries being abandoned at an early stage of the struggle. The only resource of the authorities was to obtain mission produce, practically on credit, to be served out in rations, and to be traded for clothing and other necessary articles, which were purchased legitimately sometimes from Spanish vessels, but oftener more or less illegally from the Russians and Americans.[1] The situation for the missionaries was a trying one indeed. Not only were they deprived of their stipends and their missions of the articles which those stipends had formerly furnished, but they were obliged to exchange the mission products, the proceeds of which had also been devoted to the same end, for orders on the royal treasury which they had every reason to fear would never be paid, as indeed they never were; and this too at a time when the frequent visits of vessels to the coast afforded them a better market for their products than there had been before. Yet the friars, more vitally than any other class, were interested in sustaining the cause of royalty, in maintaining the dependence of the province on Mexico, and in keeping California from the grasp of any foreign power. They knew that without a military force the missions could not be sustained, and that by the missions only could the troops be fed and clothed. Their submission to the inevitable was perhaps on the whole as cheerful as could be expected; that they sometimes gave grudgingly, that there were exhibitions of ill temper, and individual instances of partial revolt against the necessity of giving, is by no means to be wondered at. And after all, if they did have to support the whole province, and notwithstanding their troubles, they were much better off than any other class, and their establishments were in some respects more prosperous than ever. I have no doubt that several of the friars accumulated by their irregular commercial operations large sums of money during this period and a little later. Neither did the settlers suffer seriously save from their own indolence and improvidence. The soldiers had the worst of it, as they had nothing to sell; and what wonder they complained, if not always justly, when they turned from contemplating the missions' plenty to look at the rags that meagrely covered the backs of their wives and children. Here, rather than in the old-time controversies of Serra, Fages, and Neve, was laid the foundation for the bitter feeling of later years.

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[1] The visits of foreign and Spanish vessels are fully described in chronological order in chapters xiii. and xiv. of this volume, and alluded to as needed in this without references.

Neither the regular supply-ships from San Blas nor any other Spanish craft made their appearance in California in 1811. But in September there came two letters from Guardian Garijo to the president, dated February 20th and April 18th. In these letters the outbreak of Hidalgo's revolt was announced with its rapid progress across the continent. In them was also narrated the capture of the transport on her return from California in the autumn of 1810, with the adventures of fathers Carranza and Santiago, who had been passengers on that vessel and had been captured with her. The writer noted with joy the reported success of the royalists, who had slaughtered thousands of insurgents with slight loss to themselves. He spoke of the recapture of the vessel and the release of the friars, and announced his firm confidence that as God was on the side of the friars, victory was certain at an early day. But at the same time he explained the impossibility of sending missionaries or supplies this year, and the uselessness of trying to bring to the viceroy's attention any measures for the good of California. There was nothing for it but to wait.[2] Don José de la Guerra was also taken by the insurgents at San Blas, he having sailed in the transport to take the position of habilitado general in Mexico. He was rescued by General Cruz in February 1811, and served for a time at Tepic against the rebels.[3] He probably returned to California later in the year, and doubtless had much to say that is not in the records.

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[2] *Garijo, Cartas del P. Guardian en que da noticia de la Revolucion en Mejico, 1811*, MS. After referring the president to the public papers for particulars, Garijo says: 'It is enough to say that God has declared himself on our side, and in all the battles the number of insurgents killed has been infinite.' He announces the death of the archbishop on March 3d. These letters were received Sept. 17th and answered Oct. 4th. In a communication of the guardian of Jan. 18, 1819, it is stated that the supplies collected in 1810 (for 1811) in Mexico and charged to California were seized for the Mexican troops and never replaced. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 101.

Meanwhile Kuskof was making explorations in the region of Bodega in the interests of the Russian company, without, however, coming into contact with the Spaniares. Several American vessels were flitting up and down the coast, engaged in taking otter by the aid of Aleut hunters and the contraband trade, but without entering the ports or leaving any record of particular operations in smuggling. The Indians were quiet, if we except some not very well-founded alarms at San Gabriel and the attempt of a neophyte cook to poison the minister at San Diego. And finally, by way of inland exploration Father Abella made a boat voyage to the Lower San Joaquin and Sacramento. These are general statements, for the details of which I refer the reader to other chapters which I have found it necessary to devote to special topics.[4]

The records of 1812 furnish but a single item to show that the Californians were thinking of the revolution. The commandant of San Diego informed the governor that on receipt of the news he had at once strengthened the defences of the port; yet although a 'seditious paper' was found on the shore, the people showed no signs of swerving in their loyalty.[5] Correspondence from Mexico explained that attempts had been made to send the presidial supplies to Acapulco, but that they had returned after a narrow escape from falling into the hands of Morelos' men. The friars learned also that while their supplies of groceries for 1811 were lying at San Blas awaiting transportation, there was no money in the treasury to pay mission drafts, of which the síndico had already on hand $14,000. On May 22d, Arrillaga wrote the first of a long series of letters to the viceroy, in which was depicted the sad condition of the troops, deprived for two years of their supplies.[6] And now, when want was beginning to make itself felt in earnest, there came a proclamation from the directors of the Russian company at St Petersburg, proposing to trade for California products, protesting the most friendly feeling for all that was Spanish, and presenting the proposed barter in an attractive light. This was followed almost immediately by the news that the Russians had actually formed a settlement on California soil near Bodega, confirmed by Gabriel Moraga, who was sent to make investigations, and learned but little beyond the strangers' desire to trade. The first temptation was bravely resisted by Arrillaga, for there was no trade this year beyond the limited contraband operations of the otter-hunters. Éyres in the *Mercury* was on the coast, and Winship in the *Albatross* was at Drake Bay and the Farallones, as elsewhere recorded; but not a single vessel, national or foreign, entered any of the Spanish ports.

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[3] Certificate of Argüello of Aug. 20, 1815, in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 114–16. May 16, 1811, viceroy's permit to sail from San Blas. *Id.*, vi. 151.

[4] These special topics for this decade are: foreign relations and maritime affairs, Indian affairs and exploration, Russian relations, missions and institutions, and local events. Some such subdivision is an absolute necessity in writing provincial history. No two writers and perhaps hardly two readers would agree exactly upon the system best calculated to present the annals of a decade in the clearest possible light. After a careful study of the difficulties attending different methods in different cases, I have used my judgment as to the best way of presenting the events of each period, without attempting too rigid an adherence to chronology or any other system, or even to unvarying uniformity of method for successive epochs.

[5] June 19, 1812, commandant of San Diego to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 321. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, i. 108–16, says that many incendiary documents were sent to California from unknown sources.

Father Quintana was brutally murdered at Santa Cruz this year by some of his neophytes, and two other friars died; but a company of five missionaries newly arrived from Spain succeeded, after much trouble from the insurgents, in reaching Loreto by water from Acapulco, and thence came up overland, reaching San Diego in July.[7]

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[6] Nov. 7th, 21st, Hab. Gen. Ormaechea to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xliv. 7, 8. July 17th, Procurador Martinez to president. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 308–11. May 22d, Arrillaga to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 128.

[7] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 42–5.

A series of earthquake shocks, the most fatal if not the most severe that have ever occurred in California, caused this year the wildest terror throughout the southern part of the province.[8] 1812 was ever after known as "el año de los temblores." The first shock was felt on the morning of December 8th, from San Diego to Purísima.[9] It is not quite clear, however, that it was felt at San Diego or San Luis Rey; if so, it did no damage. At San Juan Capistrano a part of the neophytes were at morning mass, it being Sunday, in their grand temple, the finest structure in California. At the second wave of the *temblor* the lofty tower fell with a crash on the vaulted roof of masonry, and in a minute the whole mass of stone and mortar came down upon the congregation. The officiating minister escaped by the door of the sacristy, and six neophytes were saved as by a miracle; but the rest—forty in number according to the official reports, though the mission records show that thirty-nine were buried in the next two days, and perhaps that four more bodies were found later—were crushed to death. No special damage to other buildings is recorded, nor is it probable that the shock was a very severe one, the fall of the church being due chiefly to faulty construction. Nothing is said of any subsequent shocks, and the church was never rebuilt, an apartment in the adobe buildings being used for religious services thereafter. At San Gabriel the church was badly cracked, losing the top of its tower. Some images fell from the altar and were broken, and most of the mission buildings were considerably damaged. Here the quake came at sunrise. At San Fernando no shock is reported on the 8th, but on the 21st the church received serious damages. For San Buenaventura and Santa Bárbara we have no clearly recorded dates; but if light temblores were felt on the

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[8] For particulars, see the local annals of the various places within the district indicated, in chap. xvii. of this volume.

[9] There are vague reports that shocks were also felt in the north at Santa Clara and other points, but they can be traced to no reliable authority.

8th, I think no damage was done till the 21st. At San Buenaventura there were three heavy shocks before January 1st, which injured the church so that the tower and much of the facade had to be rebuilt. The whole mission site was thought to settle, and the fear of being ingulfed by the sea drove all to a spot a mile or two away, where they remained until April. At Santa Bárbara the buildings of both mission and presidio were damaged by a long series of shocks which began probably on the 21st, and lasted for several months. The sea was troubled, new springs of *chapapote*, or asphaltum, were formed in all directions, the so-called volcano developed new openings, cracks were reported in the sierra, and the people ran away in terror to spend two or three months in the open air. At Santa Inés there were two shocks fifteen minutes apart, beginning at 10 A. M. on the 21st. The corner of the church came down, as did all the roofs in the mission. At Purísima several slight shocks between 7 and 8 A. M. on the 8th did no harm; but at 10:30 A. M. on the 21st the earth shook for four minutes so violently that it was difficult to stand. A brief examination showed the minister that the church walls had been thrown out of plumb; and half an hour after the first there came another more violent shock, which brought down the church and nearly all the adobe buildings. Several neophytes were wounded but none killed. A succession of light shocks followed this day and the next, and the work of destruction was completed by the rains that followed and the bursting of the water-works. The mission was subsequently rebuilt on another site.[10]

In 1813 no supplies, and no prospect of any in the near future, so far as rare letters from Mexico threw light on the subject. The comandantes represented to the governor the destitute condition of the troops. The governor could do nothing but express his sympathy, and echo the complaints in letters to the viceroy.[11] Yet the friars had as yet shown no unwillingness to take the regular drafts on Guadalajara in payment for such supplies as they could furnish, and moreover partial relief was obtained from several different sources this year. The Lima trade began with the arrival of the *Flora* and *Tagle*, which brought up cargoes of cloth and miscellaneous goods to barter for tallow, hides, and other produce; and not only did the government get these cargoes in exchange for produce, but even induced one of the captains to take a draft on the treasury for $2,000. Captain Noé of the *Flora* also brought another windfall into the coffers at the capital by his seizure of the American smuggler *Mercury*, Captain Ayres, from which the friars had doubtless already drawn some contraband stores. It was not deemed legal to confiscate for California use the cargo of the prize, strong as was the temptation. But neither did it appear quite safe to intrust to the ocean again $16,000 in money found on board, and therefore a draft on the treasury was sent to Mexico instead! By this shrewd operation California was a gainer, and the treasury officials had no just cause of complaint.

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[10] Feb. 4, 1813, Arrillaga to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., iv. 130; April 9, 1813, report of president. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 90-1. See, however, the more important references in the local annals of the places named. Accounts of this earthquake in books aud newspapers have been numerous but never accurate.

Another source of relief was found at Ross. Gabriel Moraga repeated his visit of investigation to the Russian settlement, and once more the advantages of mutual trade were urged to a not unwilling listener. The result was that, officially, Arrillaga simply reported to the viceroy the proposition in connection with provincial needs. Whether he consented personally to the proposed trade is not clearly known; but, with or without his consent, Luis Argüello allowed Kuskof to send to San Francisco in bidarkas goods to the amount of $14,000, and commercial relations with Ross were rarely interrupted later. Argüello's arangements with the friars and settlers in this enterprise, by which he obtained the supplies for Russian trade, are as mysterious as his understanding with the governor.

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[11] Commandants of San Francisco and Santa Bárbara to governor, no shirts and little food. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 341, 344. Feb. 4th, Arrillaga to viceroy. No pay for three years. Presidios in a sad condition. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 129. May 3d, Arrillaga to Guerra, no money; 10 ships like the *Flora* could not supply the presidios. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 218-19. March 3d, Juan José Zestaje from San Blas, says there have been no letters received from Mexico in six months, and there is no hope of *memorias*. *Id.*, vi. 112.

That the authorities, secular and missionary, were more anxious about the condition of affairs in Mexico than they wished to appear, is evident from the flurry caused by the affair of the cannon at San Pedro. Noé left the guns to make room for more tallow; but strange rumors were circulated of insurgent or American plots, and it was deemed best to have the cannon spiked.

In 1814 there were few official communications from Mexico, and these contained no news of public affairs[12] or the probability of relief for the soldiers. Neither do I find any complaints on record. Arrillaga notified the commandants in June that their companies would be furnished with supplies by the missions of their respective jurisdictions, and a circular of similar import from the president to the friars shows that the epoch of controversy had not yet begun. The *Tagle* came back from Lima with a cargo of merchandise, and captured the American *Pedler;* but the capture did the Californians no good, since no proof of smuggling could be produced, and the vessel had to be released. The brig *Santa Eulalia* sold the presidios goods to the amount of $16,000 for treasury drafts.[13] A small amount of money was probably obtained from the English vessels *Isaac Todd* and *Raccoon*, which touched at Monterey and San Francisco respectively, and the former of which left in California its first foreign resident, John Gilroy. As to the Russian source of relief, though Moraga was despatched a third time to Ross, and this time with the strictest viceregal and gubernatorial orders that the settlement must be abandoned, yet Kuskof found it hard to understand an unwelcome order in a foreign language, and he sent his clerk Slobódchikof to San Francisco with the usual cargo as if nothing had happened, and under Argüello's protection it was disposed of without difficulty.

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[12] A royal appeal to the insurgents seems to have been sent over from Sonora for publication in California. *S. José Patentes*, MS., 126-7. Oct. 10th was received the joyful news of the return of Fernando VII. to Spain from his captivity in France, also the arrival of the allied army in Paris. The news was taken from a Habana paper. It was celebrated at San Cárlos by ringing of bells, illuminations, and te deum. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 15.

Meanwhile the attention of both friars and soldiers was turned toward the great valley of the Tulares, as a tract that it would be necessary to occupy with missions and a presidio at an early date for the protection of the coast settlements against the scourge of an Apache-like warfare. The gentiles were becoming accustomed to the use of horses, and their country was too rapidly becoming a place of refuge for runaway neophytes. Sergeant Soto had fought a sharp battle on the lower San Joaquin the year before. Father Martinez explored the valley farther south this year, and in the following years, as related in another chapter, expeditions for war and exploration were not infrequent. The missionaries thought that the rancherías of the late region might be converted into Christians and allies before they became entirely bad by association with northern tribes and apostates, but nothing was accomplished.

The province had now to part with its ruler, Colonel Don José Joaquin de Arrillaga, who died at Soledad Mission on July 24, 1814, at the age of sixty-four.

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[13] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 99–100; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 110–12.

Earlier in this year he had suffered from an attack of malignant fever, but had recovered. In June, however, while on a tour of inspection, he was again attacked by a serious illness, and hastened to Soledad so as to be under the care of his old friend Father Ibañez. He had never married, and by the terms of his will, dated July 15th, a sister inherited most of his property. His remains were interred on Tuesday, July 26th, at 10 A. M., under the centre of the mission church, with appropriate ceremonies conducted by Ibañez.[14]

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[14] José Joaquin de Arrillaga was born at Aya, province of Guipúzcoa, Spain, of noble parentage, in 1750. He entered the military service as volunteer in the presidial company of San Miguel de Horcastias, Sonora, on Nov. 25, 1777, became alférez March 30, 1778, served as lieutenant from July 14, 1780, in the companies of San Sabas and La Bahía, Texas, was promoted to be captain on June 12, 1783, and in November of that year arrived at Loreto to take command of the presidio as lieut.-governor of the Californias. At this time he had merited the praise of his superiors in three campaigns under Col. Juan Bautista de Anza, and in two battles against the Seris and Pimas. *Arrillaga, Hojas de Servicio, 1791, 1795, 1798*, MS. On the death of Gov. Romeu, April 9, 1792, Arrillaga became governor *ad interim* of the Californias, and by the viceroy's order came to Monterey in July 1793. He held his position until Borica took possession as proprietary governor at Loreto on May 14, 1794, though he remained in charge at the north until Borica's arrival in October of the same year. Then he returned to his old position of lieut.-governor at Loreto, being commissioned lieut.-colonel on Nov. 15, 1794. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., i. 55; xvii. 1. His chief work for the next five years was the tedious and difficult one of regulating the presidial accounts of both Californias, which were in a sad state of disorder. He toiled patiently and long, showing much skill as an accountant. He also made in person several exploring expeditions on the north-eastern frontier, toward the Colorado River, involving several fights with the Indians. In December 1798, Gov. Borica credited him with ability, experience, zeal, prudence, courage, and irreproachable conduct. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vii. 70. Dec. 2, 1799, Arrillaga petitioned the king for the governorship of the Californias or of some other province, recounting his past services. Borica warmly indorsed the petition. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxvi. 10–13. Before the petition was answered Arrillaga became once more governor ad interim of the Californias on Borica's departure in January 1800. But his power was purely political until the death of Alberni, the comandante de armas, in March 1802, when the military command also devolved on him, though he remained at Loreto instead of coming to the capital. On March 26, 1804, he was appointed by the king military and political governor of Alta California, the news reaching that province in December, and he was at once formally recognized, but did not come to Monterey until January 1806. In 1809 he was warmly thanked by the guardian of San Fernando for his many favors to the Franciscans. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 72. A little later, as age and infirmities crept upon him, he asked the king to be retired from the service and allowed to return to Spain; but the reply, accompanying a colonel's commission, was that his services could not be dispensed with in California. His will of July 15, 1814, after the usual declaration of faith in the trinity, orders his body to be shrouded in the Franciscan habit and buried at the mission where he may chance to die. One hundred masses were to be said for his soul at San Miguel and also at San Antonio. Various sums from

Arrillaga's character and abilities as a man and an officer may be deduced from the annals of his time already before the reader. From the day of his enlistment to his death no fault was found with his conduct by superiors, by subordinates, or by the friars. As a soldier, officer, and provincial ruler, he obeyed every order and performed every duty with zeal, courage, and good faith; and he did this with so much tact that as a rule he made no enemies. Extremely pious and attached to the missionaries, he yet seems to have escaped the reputation of *frailero* in its offensive sense. In every station he was a model, and like other models of good conduct, could make no claims to originality or greatness. Beyond the obedience of orders and the faithful performance of routine duties, his abilities, or at least his ambition, did not carry him. Like Portolá and Rivera of earlier times, he could execute, but he could not, like Neve and Borica, devise. His weakest or least agreeable quality was his comparative apathy, his lack of enthusiastic confidence in the future of his province, his tendency to throw cold water on every measure proposed for the welfare of California. He had reason enough perhaps for his discouragement, but so ready an admission of it ill became a ruler. Of foreign visitors Vancouver is the only one who said anything unfavorable of Arrillaga, and he wrote in a peevish spirit, without just cause of complaint.

$25 to $100 were bequeathed to different servants. Sums aggregating $2,182 were named as due him. He says he had one older brother, Miguel Ignacio, three married sisters, and one unmarried, María Josefa, whom he had promised to aid, and whom he named as his heiress. Alférez José Mariano Estrada was named as executor, and directed to sell all his effects at auction. *Arrillaga, Testamento, 1814*, MS. The cause of his death was intestinal hemorrhage. Dorotea Valdes, *Reminiscences*, MS., 1, 2; Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 38; and J. J. Vallejo, *Reminiscencias*, MS., 68–9, speak of the ceremonies at Arrillaga's funeral and the decoration of his grave in later years. His burial is briefly recorded by Ibañez in the *Soledad, Lib. Mision*, MS., 21. His furniture, plate, etc., brought $2,869 at auction; but as late as 1819 the estate had not been settled, on account of the delay in adjusting his arrears of salary. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 140; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 30–1. On his character, in addition to the authorities already cited, see *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 98–9; *Romero, Memorias*, MS., 11, 12. Arrillaga had, so far as I know, no kindred in California.

In person, the governor, as remembered by those who knew him and are still living, was tall, with fair, ruddy skin and blue eyes. In manner he was abrupt at times, but usually courteous and affable; generous to all, cordial and frank in his intercourse with the officers, kind-hearted and witty; popular with the soldiers, who used to call him Papá Arrillaga, but always ready in official transactions to put on that sternness of demeanor so essential from a Spanish point of view to dignity. He was very fond of serving as godfather and groomsman, and no baptism or wedding in the highest circles was deemed altogether complete and satisfactory without his services. He had also a weakness for silk in clothing and ornament. Most of his gifts to friends was of that material, and after his death large quantities of silk handkerchiefs and stockings were found in his trunks. He was a fairly good writer, as is shown in his official correspondence, and his accomplishments included a knowledge of the French language.

Captain José Argüello, comandante of Santa Bárbara, by his seniority of rank, became acting governor on Arrillaga's death, without any formal appointment or recognition, so far as the archives show.[15] Neither is there any record of his official acts and policy during his brief rule, beyond a few routine communications of trivial import. He remained at his post at Santa Bárbara most if not all the time, instead of coming to reside at the capital.[16] On the same day that a proprietary governor was appointed, the last of the year, Argüello was named as governor of Lower California; but he remained of course in charge until his successor arrived. Some of the Californians, such as Vallejo and Alvarado, who subsequently became fiery republicans, looking at the past days of their boyhood through the colored glasses of later opinions, allude to a party of independents who favored Argüello, and were displeased that he was not made governor. That many would have preferred Argüello to a stranger is likely; but not that political views had anything to do with this preference, or that there was any independent party in California at the time; while it is certain that José Argüello was the last man in the province who would have entertained revolutionary ideas, being preëminently Spaniard, loyalist, conservative, and a friend of the friars.

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[15] It is not unlikely that the letters of the commandants recognizing Argüello may have been lost or have escaped my notice; but the viceroy's approval may never have come, or only with the appointment of a successor.

[16] He was at Santa Bárbara as late as June 17, 1815, when he writes to Guerra to come and take the command. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 108. See also chap. xiv. of this volume, for some of his communications on the Russian question derived from Russian sources. Argüello's succession is mentioned in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 107–8; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 372.

The new ruler appointed by Viceroy Calleja on December 31, 1814, was Lieutenant-colonel Pablo Vicente de Sola, of whose past life and services we know only that he was a Spaniard, an officer of the royal army; had a brother who was a friar in the college of San Fernando; and had served temporarily as habilitado general of the Californias in Mexico.[17] Sola took the oath, and in a sense formal possession of his office before General José de la Cruz, under whom he had served, at Guadalajara on March 31, 1815. He arrived at Tepic May 16th, and landed at Monterey from the *Paz y Religion*, after a voyage of seventy-five or eighty days, the 30th of August.[18]

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[17] Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 140–3, and Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 42–3, states that Sola, being a man of liberal ideas, was selected by the viceroy to reorganize the government of California according to the Spanish constitution of 1812, secularize the missions, etc., but I find no foundation whatever for such a statement.

[18] I have Sola's original letter of Sept. 5, 1815, to the padres of San Antonio, in which he announces his appointment, arrival, etc. *S. Antonio, Doc. Sueltos*, MS., 71–2. Same date to President Señá, to viceroy, and to the commandants, conveying the same information. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 107; ix. 134–5; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 372; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xlix. 41; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 160. April 17, 1815, the president addressed a circular to the padres announcing that Sola had a brother in the college, which fact promised well. In August he had found sentiments of piety, etc., in the new governor. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 159–60. In a letter of Nov. 14th, Sola signs himself, 'Don Pablo Vicente Sola, teniente coronel de los Reales Ejércitos, Gobernador Político y Militar de la Alta California, y Comandante Inspector de las tropas que guarnecen sus Presidios.' *Prov. Rec.*, xii. 112.

Juan Bautista Alvarado narrates in considerable detail the ceremonies and festivities of the next day or two by which the new ruler was welcomed. Friars, settlers, and Indians came to Monterey from all the country round. President Señan, with twenty padres and thirty native musicians and singers, headed by 'José el Cantor,' marched in procession to the presidio chapel to chant a te deum, and were soon joined by Sola with the officers and soldiers, whose advance was amid salutes of artillery. After mass the president made a speech suitable to the occasion. Then after the religious ceremonies there was a review of the troops in the plaza, and a discourse by the new governor, received with loud vivas.

In the executive mansion Sola was waited on by a delegation of twenty young girls, who, through Doña Magdalena Estudillo, delivered an address of welcome, all kissing his hand and receiving gifts of bonbons. A feast followed, the tables being laden with the delicacies of the province, game and other meats, the olive of San Diego, the orange of San Gabriel, the wines of San Fernando, and the 'oven-fruits' of the famous San Antonio flour. The dishes were decorated with flowers from the garden of Felipe García, whose daughters waited on the table. After the repast soldiers in vaquero costume gave exhibitions of horsemanship; the inevitable bull and bear fight took place, and in the evening a grand ball was given by the ladies of Monterey at the commandant's house, which lasted till dawn. Two days later Sola was entertained with much ceremony at San Cárlos by the missionaries and neophytes.[19]

That Sola found the province, or rather the troops, in a state of destitution the reader already understands. It does not appear that the *Paz y Religion* brought any supplies,[20] and Sola's first letter to the viceroy announcing his safe arrival contained a complaint of serious want among the soldiers and the defenceless condition of the ports. For years no official communication was sent to Mexico which did not embody a similar complaint. Coming from the tumults of New Spain, Sola naturally gave his attention largely at first to coast defences, and early took a decided stand on all matters connected with foreign relations, though this did not last long. Early in 1815 Argüello had forwarded peremptory orders to Kuskof at Ross that the Russian settlement must be abandoned; but as usual no definite reply was elicited, and only ten days before Sola's arrival the *Suvarof* had touched at San Francisco, brought a new proclamation addressed by the company to the people of California, and found no difficulty in disposing of her cargo. About the same time the *Chiríkof* and *Ilmen* had obtained large quantities of grain at San Francisco. The new ruler at once took steps to investigate the acts of Luis Argüello in this connection, administering at the same time a sharp rebuke. In September he also showed his strict devotion to Spanish laws by ordering the arrest of Eliot de Castro and Boris Tarakánof of the *Ilmen*, who, enboldened by past success, were pushing their contraband and otter-hunting enterprise with impunity in the south. The two captives were sent to San Blas on the same vessel that had brought Sola, though they were brought back next year. While the governor, however, would abate nothing of his patiotic zeal against the existence of a foreign colony on California soil, it did not take him more than a month or two to appreciate the needs of the province and the extreme desirability, or rather the utter necessity, of a foreign trade. The British ship *Columbia* in July and August had obtained from Argüello a promise to submit a commercial proposition with his recommendation to the viceroy. And we soon see Sola willing to go even further in the matter; for when the *Colonel* came in August 1816, instead of the *Columbia*, notwithstanding the viceroy's positive orders lately received to permit no trade, the governor yielded to the solicitations of his officers and men, and bartered for needed articles about $7,000 worth of supplies obtained from the missions for that purpose, confessing to the viceroy his deliberate disobedience of superior orders, but pleading necessity as his justification.[21]

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[19] *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 47-68. The author was a young school-boy at the time; but his memory of details, most of which I omit, was probably refreshed by later conversations with his elders.

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[20] Though the captain 'happened to have' $2,000 worth of cloths which the governor bought with his own money. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 167–8.

The prevalent want was increased by the non-arrival in 1815–16 of the Lima ships, which before had brought goods to exchange for tallow. The failure of this source of relief also indicated that something was amiss in the south; and in June 1816 the reason was known through despatches from Mazatlan by way of the peninsula, recounting the hostilities of the Buenos Aires insurgents at Guayaquil and Callao, and the imminent danger of an attack on the northern coasts. If Sola had before felt anxious about the weakness of California coasts defences, his fears were multiplied on receipt of this alarm. The news was immediately forwarded to each comandante with orders to prepare for defence. A sharp lookout must be kept; cartridges must be made of the least valuable of the archives if necessary; the men of the artillery militia company must be summoned to the presidios for instruction; and if the insurgents appeared they must be resisted to the last drop of blood. These orders were issued on June 23d, and on the same day circulars were sent to every mission so expeditiously that in seven days every friar had received the document and sent a favorable reply. At each mission fifteen or twenty native vaqueros were to be ready at a moment's notice to go armed with *riatas* to their respective presidios; the Indians were to be praised and exhorted to loyalty; the most valuable of the church property was to be boxed up for concealment; and on the approach of a suspicious vessel cattle were to be driven to the interior. The answer from all came promptly that they would obey instructions and do all that was possible, but each comandante deplored the lack of an effective armament, and called for aid which could not be furnished.[22] The insurgents did not yet appear; but in October the *San Cárlos* brought up to Monterey a cargo of war-stores sent by the comandante general of Nueva Galicia from San Blas, in response to Sola's demands and by the viceroy's order.[23]

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[21] See chap. xiii., this volume.

Want prevailed at the presidios, and complaints were continual.[24] The ordinary or irregular sources of supply were more limited than for several years past. As I have remarked, no Lima ships came in 1816. Neither is there any evidence of trade with the Russians; for in the interview between Sola and Kuskof during Kotzebue's visit at San Francisco, attention was given exclusively to the subject of territorial encroachment, and not at all to the more vital one of commerce. Two American vessels, the *Lydia* and *Albatross*, were at El Refugio at the beginning of the year, the former being captured by the Spaniards; but while the friars had doubtless obtained some contraband supplies from those vessels, the seizure was of no advantage to the government or troops, because no proof of smuggling could be adduced, and the prize had to be released. The *Columbia* yielded a small harvest; but the records do not show whether or not anything was obtained from the American vessels *Sultana* and *Atala*, which touched at Monterey and Santa Bárbara in August and November. The missions were of course the main source of relief, and the friars contributed for the most part cheerfully, though rarely without a prefatory plea of poverty.[25] Meanwhile, after much correspondence from the authorities in Mexico, goods amounting to $34,840 were at last shipped from Acapulco and brought to Monterey on the *San Cárlos* with the war-stores already mentioned, but in such a damaged condition as to afford but little relief.[26] Alférez Gervasio Argüello seems to have sailed on this transport to assume the position of habilitado general in November. During the last half of the year some reassuring promises were made about supplies in the future, and the headquarters of the department were for a time transferred to Guadalajara without anything practical being effected.[27]

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[22] June 23, 1816, Sola to commandants at San Francisco and Santa Bárbara. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 37; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 35–6. June 23d, Sola to padres. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 55–60; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 128–30. June 28th, Sola to the prefect. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 357–8. June 26th, Guerra to Sola, asks authority to enlist 500 or 600 Indian archers. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 104–5. July 6th, Guerra to the padres calling for the archers and vaqueros. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 129–31. July 6th, Id. to Id., has brought in the guns from the missions. Approves of red-hot balls, but nobody knows how to manage them. *Id.*, xx. 111. June 25th, Argüello to Sola, asks for ammunition. Will call in the militia from San José. *Id.*, xx. 2, 3. July 6th, Ruiz to Sola, has plenty of ammunition and will keep a close watch. *Id.*, xx. 118. Nov. 15th, Ruiz has sent home the militia sufficiently instructed. *Id.*, xx. 124. Aug. 26th, Sola orders Guerra also to send home the militia. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlvii. 9. July 7th, Padre Escudé has sent 12 vaqueros to San Francisco and at Santa Cruz, 'no hay un perro que se pueda ver de la mar.' *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 100–1.

[23] The stores included 8 guns of 8 lbs. caliber with 800 balls; 100 English muskets with bayonets; 20 cases of powder, 3,000 lbs.; 1,000 flints, 20,000 ounce musket-balls, 20,000 cartridges. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 133; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxvii. 61–2. An officer had been promised with the ammunition. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 153.

[24] March 5, 1816, Sola to viceroy on the pitiable condition of the troops and families. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 138. April 16th, viceroy has heard the complaints of want resulting from the non-arrival of the memorias. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 5. June 21st, Argüello from San Francisco to Sola, begs for dry goods, since he and his family are suffering. *Id.*, xx. 103. June 29th, Guerra says his men are suffering for clothing. *Id.*, xx. 108. Prevalent want this year mentioned in *Kotzebue's Voy.*, i. 285–6; iii. 42–3; *Chamisso Werke*, iii. 130–1; and nearly all MS. statements of the epoch.

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[25] In January the prefect sent a circular to the padres of the central missions, calling for cloths for the presidio of Monterey. Each friar promises to do his best, after various excuses of scarcity. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 7–10; also many scattered communications of minor importance on similar topics. *Id.*, passim. March 11th, Payeras of Purísima to Guerra, enumerates the sacrifices already made by the missions for the troops, but says all that is possible will still be done for the support of prisoners, etc. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 16. April 22d, the same padre offers one sheep per week to the lieutenant, 10 per year to the alférez, and 8 to the sergeants. *Id.*, v. 17, 18. June 28th, Sola to prefect. Wants 1,000 deer-skins and hemp-thread to make breeches for the soldiers; also 30 mule outfits and 50 loads of sacks. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 358. July 6th, prefect to padres on the same subject. Calf-skins would answer the purpose. *Id.*, xii. 356–7. Sept. 20th, Sola writes to Jaime of Soledad, 'Si hubiera sabido los muchos y malos ratos que está pasando, por las presentes miserias y otras cosas con que se ha encontrado, esta provincia, ni el vireinato de N. E. que me hubieren ofrecido dar habria admitido.' *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 110. Nov. 10th, Señan writes to Guerra about the manufacture of lance-heads at the missions. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 150.

[26] Dec. 30, 1815, April 16, 1816, viceroy notifies the governor that the memorias are detained at Acapulco. Orders to be sent to the intendente of Guadalajara. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 384; xx. 5. Aug. 24th, viceroy says the *San Cárlos* has orders to bring the memorias. *Id.*, xx. 22. July 16th,

At the beginning of 1817 Sola made a general report on the condition of California, with particular reference to its capabilities for defence. While urging the impossibility of dislodging the Russian intruders without large reënforcements, he explained that the presidial cavalry companies not only were barely sufficient for the protection of the missions, but that by their long experience in the peculiar tactics of Indian warfare the troops were unfitted for effective service against a foreign foe armed with weapons more deadly than bows and arrows. The artillerymen at the presidios were few, disabled, and unskilful; the guns were defective, and munitions were wanting. For coast service against the Russians or any other foreign foe, a new force of infantry and artillery, with new guns and a new supply of war-stores, was absolutely necessary, while an armed vessel to remain on the coast as a cruiser and transport was hardly less essential. The Anglo-Americans who for years had frequented the coasts, had acquired, said Sola, a knowledge of the country, both of its natural richness and its defenceless condition. That their purpose was not as pretended merely to obtain supplies was well known, and it was to be feared that smuggling even was not their only aim. They came well armed, kept

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Moran from Mexico says the stores will probably reach California in a fit condition to be thrown into the sea. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 116. Arrival and amount of the invoice. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 29. Their damaged condition, according to Sola and Lieut. Estrada. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 153-4; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Mex.*, MS., vii. 76.

[27] Oct. 1815, Nov. 6, 1816, orders to be sent to Guadalajara. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 371; xx. Nov. 21st, Com. Gen. of Nueva Galicia to aid. *Id.*, xx. 23. Dec. 10th, better prospects. *Id.*, xx. 130. Dec. 30th, Guerra complains of the Guadalajara change. *Id.*, xx. 119.

away from the presidios, frequented the smaller bays, landed with impunity, and came into contact with the people. The Indians naturally could not be counted on to give their lives in defence of a people whom they charged with having deprived them of their liberty. They could easily be brought from their allegiance, and the strangers were very free with their beads. Yet Spain could by no means afford to abandon the province, which, to say nothing of its own intrinsic value and the duty of maintaining so grand a spiritual conquest, was an especially important possession just at this time as a commercial frontier barrier to keep the scheming and aggressive English and Russians from interfering in the trade of New Spain.

Sola appended to this report his views on the agricultural and commercial resources of California, and on the measures necessary for their profitable development, among which the most essential in his opinion were the introduction of five hundred Spanish families, the opening of the long-closed Colorado River route, and the furnishing of at least two ships to carry away the produce of the country. Regretting that he had not the talent to devise ways and means to settle and protect the province confided to him without imposing expense on the royal treasury, the governor concluded by insisting that, while expensive fortifications would be useless, two hundred infantrymen, four field-pieces with men skilled in their use, and an armed cruiser were absolutely necessary, not only for the expulsion of the Russians, but for the safety of the province.[28] Subsequently he made a tour of inspection, visiting all the presidios and missions to acquaint himself more thoroughly with their needs.

Three vessels, the *San Antonio* and *Hermosa Mexicana* from Lima, and the *Cazadora* from Panamá, came this year to exchange their cargoes of goods for Californian tallow. The governor made a requisition on the missions for tallow or money, and thus secured a fair portion of the goods for his soldiers. He also held out the danger of attack from the South American insurgents as an incentive to get rid of the large amount of tallow on the coast.[29] The duties on exports and imports imposed by Sola not only proved an item worth consideration under the circumstances, but it obliged the pueblos, of which we hear very little in these days, to contribute a slight amount toward the support of the soldiers. From Captain Wilcox of the American *Traveller* about $1,400 in cash and cloth, perhaps much more, was obtained. Russian trade was also reopened after a temporary interruption of one year. Padushkin in the *Chiríkof* came to San Francisco and Monterey in the spring; and although Sola would give no formal consent to barter, refused permission to hunt otter in partnership, and insisted peremptorily on the abandonment of Ross—yet all the same the *Chiríkof's* cargo was in one way or another traded for grain and meat. In the autumn Hagemeister in the *Kutuzof* came down to San Francisco, and Sola made an effort to purchase the cargo to the amount of $25,000 or $30,000 with drafts on Guadalajara,[30] but the Russian commander declined such doubtful securities. Then Hagemeister offered to sell the goods and take his pay in otters to be caught then and there, which terms Sola would not accept; yet now as before the *Kutuzof* carried away produce in place of the effects she brought.

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[28] *Sola, Informe General al Virey sobre Defensas de la California, 1807*, MS. Dated Monterey, Jan. 2, 1817.

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[29] Aug. 26, 1817, Firmin de Genoa y Aguirre to Sola, agrees to pay the duties established on goods urgently needed for the troops. Is ever ready to serve the king. Places at the governor's disposal his whole cargo—that of the *Hermosa Mexicana*. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 154–5. Sola obtained cloths for the troops to the amount of $8,000. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ix. 1–3, 6, 7. Sola's decree of Aug. 19th calling for import duties equal to those of export as shown by the vessel's register; and fixing the export duty of tallow at 18 cents per arroba, the duty on other produce to be fixed by Lieut. Estrada. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 26; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 44. Aug. 23d, Sola from San Diego, explaining that the insurgent operations in Chili would open a market for California tallow. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 39; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 244.

[30] Sola to Argüello. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 210–11. See also the chapter on Russian relations for this decade.

While supplies were thus abundant in comparison with those of the preceding year, complaints of destitution continued, and from Mexico no relief was obtained.[31] The missions were of course heavily taxed, and still furnished food and such other supplies as they had; but this year for the first time manifestations of ill feeling appear on the part of the friars. It is evident that the extent or manner of Sola's demands gave offence, the dissatisfaction first appearing in connection with the call for a ton of tallow for each presidio to be traded for the cargoes of the Lima ships and for the benefit of the troops. Prefect Sarría refused to contribute so much, and after a rather bitter correspondence Sola was obliged to reduce his demands far below the original figure, and the amount finally levied on the missions seems to have been $2,800 in cash or its equivalent in tallow.[32]

[31] Feb. 26, 1817, Sola advised from Mexico by a friend that an active and efficient agent is much needed to agitate California interests. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 151. Guerra complains of the great poverty of the inhabitants of his district. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 73. June 4th, Sola to Gen. Cruz, his heart bleeds for the indigence and suffering of officers, men, and families, to cover whose nakedness he had already given away nearly all his own clothing. Not $100 to be borrowed in the province. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 148, 150. June 28th, private letters to Sola from Tepic, the invoice of goods ordered has not been sent, because the merchants of New Galicia will not venture unless with a certainty of large returns. *Id.*, xx. 173. Aug. 14th, Gervasio Argüello to Sola from Guadalajara, says he makes daily appeals to treasury officials, viceroy, general, and intendente; but no attention is paid to his claims. There is great want in Mexico, and no likelihood of obtaining relief for California unless great influence is brought to bear on the V. R. *Id.*, xx. 188–92. Aug. 19th, Sola to Guerra, speaks of more encouraging prospects. The habilitado general has received a little money. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 244. Oct. 8th, Argüello says the V. R. has ordered the treasury officials to relieve California, but nothing has been done. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 194–5. Dec. 8th, Wilcox says at the time of his visit at Monterey 'the most of the troops and other inhabitants could not attend mass for want of clothing; and the padres had neither wearing apparel, ornaments for the churches, nor implements to till the soil.' *Id.*, xx. 168–9.

[32] Sarría's first reply was an offer of $4,000 or 4,000 arrobas of tallow, free from duties. Sola offered them to take 6,000 arrobas and $4,000 in cash. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 249; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 61–3. Sept. 23d, Sarría by circular calls for contributions as follows—given in full as an illustration of the comparative resources of the different establishments: San Francisco, Santa Clara, San José, Santa Cruz (?), San Cárlos, Soledad, San Antonio, and San Diego, $50 each; San Juan Bautista, San Miguel, Santa Bárbara, San Luis Rey, $100 each; San Fernando, $150; San Luis Obispo and Santa Inés, $200 each; Purísima, $300; San Juan Capistrano, $350; San Buenaventura and San Gabriel, $400 each. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 207–12. Later in the year the governor called for cloth, serapes, and blankets, and the

In a communication of August 24th, Sarría declared that the destitution was by no means as great as in past years when the supplies failed to come; that the missions were disposed to do all they could for the troops; that the governor's information to the effect that the missions could export 100,000 arrobas of tallow was inaccurate, though it might be true that Cavenecia had by extraordinary exertions obtained 30,000 arrobas; and finally that consolation and relief were coming "in the news that the insurrection by which the face of the world was threatened was already drawing its last breath."[33] Writing to Guerra on this subject, Sola said: "I had to write to the padre prefecto a second time, and pretty plainly, because he, wishing to play the part of a good bull-fighter, thought he could get the best of me by holding out the hope that after the missions had supplied themselves with such goods as they fancied, they would give something for the troops, as they did in the time of Arrillaga. But that kind of thing did not please me, and I told him very plainly that the neophytes had no use for such goods as were offered."[34] A little later Sarría, Amorós, Duran, Viader, and Marquinez protested against the attempt to collect any export duty or any tax on mission produce. Sarría reminded the governor of a decree of excommunication against any who committed so sacrilegious an act. Amorós declared that vessels ought to be thanked for coming, not taxed, hinting mysteriously at the prevalent popular excitement and the need of precaution on the part of the authorities, while Duran proposed to appeal the matter to the supreme government.[35]

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missions from San Juan Bautista to San Luis Obispo gave 600 varas of *jerga*, 380 blankets, and 105 serapes. *Id.*, ix. 204–6.

[33] Aug. 24, 1817, Sarría to Sola. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 12–16. Father Martinez writes to Sola in sending some blankets: 'Si quiere V^d que vayan de balde, para mi es lo mismo porque este comercio de California engorda poco y á mi menos que no soy mas que apoderado.' *Id.*, iii. pt. i. 149. In another letter Sarría alludes to the fact that the presidios owe the missions a great deal of money for supplies, although the king has declared that nothing must be taken from the Indians without immediate payment. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 88.

[34] Aug. 23, 1817, Sola to Guerra. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 244–8.

[35] *Protesta de los Padres contra Gabelas, 1817*, MS.

Not much was said, or at least written, about the revolution during these days. Father Martinez wrote often to Sola in a jocular view, always ready to contribute anything he had, especially money, which he said the neophytes could not eat; sending supplies not as a loan but as a gift, "that all the world may know that here we attend to public necessities with proper integrity." He was more or less disgusted with prospects in general, but he was convinced that "now is the time to eat well while we can and the country is full of fat cattle." Señan called on God to pardon and save the misguided insurgents of New Spain and South America, who without divine interference were sure to ruin all and be ruined. The good news alluded to by Sarría seems to have been derived from a number of the *Gaceta de Mexico*, which was widely circulated among the friars, greatly to their comfort. The prefecto points with pride to the fact that California had remained true to the king, and that by the efforts of friars and government perfect peace had been maintained. Evidently the impression was prevalent that the rebellion was drawing near its end.[36] Some time in 1817 there was probably received in California the pastoral address of the newly appointed commissary-general of the Franciscan order in the Indies, addressed to all the friars in America, and dated at Madrid, August 28, 1816. This document was in substance an appeal to the friars to remain firm in their loyalty to the king; and there were none certainly in California who were likely to waver in their allegiance.[37]

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[36] Nov. 5, 1817. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 61, 111-15, 148; iii. pt. ii. 12, 15; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 78.

[37] *Bestard, Pastoral del Comisario General de Indias á sus Súbditos 28 de Agosto, 1816*, MS.

CHAPTER XI.

BOUCHARD AND THE INSURGENTS.

1818.

El Año de los Insurgentes—The Revolution in South America—The Lima Ships—Gyzelaar's Warning—Sola's Instructions—Preparations for Defence—Bouchard's Arrival—The 'Argentina' and 'Santa Rosa'—A Russian Story—Authorities—Attack on Monterey—Artillery Battle—Vallejo and his Battery—Sola's Retreat to Rancho del Rey—the Presidio Burned—The Pirates at El Refugio—Prisoners Taken—At Santa Bárbara—An Insurgent Trick—Alarm at San Buenaventura—Bouchard Lands at San Juan Capistrano—Deserters—Friars and Santiago Argüello—The Tumult at Santa Cruz—Departure of the Pirates—Results and Conclusions.

"El año de los insurgentes," 1818, was a memorable year in the annals of California, being the only occasion on which the province was ever invaded by a foreign foe before the exploit of Commodore Jones in 1842. The operations of the insurgent Captain Bouchard, more commonly known to Californians as "the pirate Buchar," although involving the only manifestation in California, from a military point of view, of the great struggle of Spanish America for independence, and the destruction of the provincial capital, have received from modern writers only bare and inaccurate mention by a few, being entirely omitted by most.[1]

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[1] The strength of the fort 'may be judged of from its having been taken by a small party of seamen, who landed from a Buenos Ayrean pirate in 1819, destroyed the greater part of the guns, and pillaged and burnt the town.' *Beecher's Voyage*, ii. 86. 'En el año de 1819 tambien fué invadido Monterey por una escuadrilla argentina al mando de un tal Buchár.' *Castañares, Coleccion de Doc.*, 41. 'En 1819, un pirate, portant le pavillon des insurgés de Buenos-Ayres, canonna le Presidio, et ayant débarqué du monde, s'empara de quelques bœufs dont il avait besoin pour son équipage.' *Mofras, Explor.*,

The revolutionary movement on the western coast of South America, as in New Spain, began in 1810. The struggles of the following ten years and more have never been recorded sufficiently in detail to throw light on the one or two points affecting the story I have to tell. Neither is it necessary for my purpose to relate even in general terms the revolutionary annals of those southern provinces. It is enough to explain that the Pacific provinces derived important aid from those on the Atlantic, and especially from Buenos Aires; that General José de San Martin came across the cordillera in 1817 with an army to fight for the independence of Chili; and that for a year or two before and after that date many of the privateers cruising on the coast sailed under the Buenos Aires flag. These vessels seem to have carried letters of marque regularly issued by San Martin. Their rights as privateers and insurgents were generally admitted by the nations, and it was only the popular voice in provinces attacked that termed them pirates, though it must be admitted that their

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i. 401. '1818–19, great excitement about this time concerning the expected visit of Bouchard, the Buenos Ayres privateer, who afterwards plundered Monterey and scared Santa Bárbara to death.' *Browne's L. Cal.*, 74. 'Bouchard, the privateersman, ruins the presidio of Monterey and the Rancho Refugio of Ortega, near Santa Bárbara, in December 1818.' *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, March 21, 1862. 'One day in 1818 a vessel was seen approaching the town of Monterey. As she came nearer she was seen to be armed, and her decks swarming with men, and she flew some unknown flag. Arriving within gunshot she opened fire upon the town, and her fire was answered from the battery, while the lancers stood ready to repel a landing if it should be attempted, or cover the retreat of their families in case their effort at repulse should be unsuccessful, for Spain was at peace with every maritime nation, and the traditions of the atrocities committed by the Buccaneers at the end of the 17th century on the Spanish main were familiar to the people. After some firing the strange vessel appeared to be injured by the fire from the battery, and bore away, and disappeared. The alarm spread along the coast as fast as swift riders could carry it, and all the troops at every point were ordered to be on the alert. The strange craft next appeared off the Ortega ranch and landed some men, who while plundering the ranch were surprised by some soldiers from Santa Bárbara, and before they could regain their boats some four or five were captured. She next appeared off San Luis Capistrana, landed and plundered the mission and sailed away, and never was heard of more. All that is known of her is that she was a Buenos Ayrean privateer, and that her captain was a Frenchman named Bouchard.' *Foster's First American in Los Angeles.* How inaccurate the information quoted is may be judged from the following pages.

acts in more than one instance afforded foundation for the less flattering epithet.

The Buenos Aires vessels, by blockading Callao and the Chilian ports, kept the tallow traders away from California in 1816, and there came a letter from Cavenecia of Lima explaining the reason of the non-arrival of the ships.[2] Not only this, but there came in June despatches from the peninsula and Mazatlan, with a warning that the privateers were likely to visit the northern coasts. I suppose there was no special foundation for such a warning at the time; but we have seen what a flurry it created in California, and what preparations were made for defence.[3] Next year the Lima ships came again, and the news was probably reassuring, since we find no record of further alarm. In fact, the blockade of the ports of Chili was regarded as a benefit to California by furnishing an improved market for her tallow. Roquefeuil on his arrival from the south in the autumn of 1817 could have given reports somewhat less favorable perhaps, but there is no evidence that he did so.[4]

On the afternoon of October 6, 1818, the American brig *Clarion* arrived at Santa Bárbara, under the command of Henry Gyzelaar, formerly of the *Lydia*,[5] who imparted to Commandant Guerra the startling news that at the Hawaiian Islands two insurgent ships were being fitted out for a cruise on the American coast. Guerra immediately despatched a *correo violento* to Monterey, and assembled his men that evening to announce the report and authorize those who wished to do so to send their families to the interior. Next day he sent a circular to the friars of the southern missions ordering every precaution.[6] Sola received the despatch from Santa Bárbara on October 8th, and the same day issued instructions and orders to all the commandants, as follows:[7] all articles of value, such as sacred vessels and church ornaments, must be boxed forthwith and sent away, from the San Francisco jurisdiction to the pueblo of San José; from the Monterey district, except San Antonio and San Luis, to Soledad; from Santa Bárbara to Santa Inés; from Purísima to Rancho de San Antonio; from San Buenaventura and San Gabriel to San Fernando; from San Diego district to Pala. Stores of provisions must be collected for the four presidios at San Mateo, Rancho del Rey, Santa Inés, and Pala, for use in case of emergency. Women and children must be ready to retire at the first warning of attack to the places designated, with neophytes enough to prepare food for them. All live-stock, except horses fit for use, must be driven inland as far as possible whenever vessels are descried. Invalids, settlers, and rancheros must come forthwith to their respective presidios, or hold themselves in readiness to obey the commandants' orders. Immediately on sight of a vessel a flying company must be sent out to reconnoitre all points and to see that each man has 500 cartridges. Two thirds of all available gunpowder, except thirty or forty charges for each cannon, must be removed to the interior, and spikes must be prepared for the guns in case of abandonment. Sentinel parties of one soldier and two Indians must be stationed at convenient points. Two mounted couriers for the speedy transmission of despatches must be stationed at each of some twenty-five points

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[2] April 20, 1816, to Guerra. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xi. 124.

[3] See chap. x. of this volume.

[4] In the early part of 1818 there were a few minor communications between Sola and his commandants about precautions for coast defence, but there is no indication that any special danger was apprehended. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 151; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 64, 72–3.

[5] On the movements of vessels, see chap. xiii., this volume.

[6] Arrival of the *Clarion*. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 110. Oct. 7th,

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Guerra to the padres. *Id.*, iii. 134-5. Mrs Ord, daughter of Guerra, says that Gyzelaar, or Don Enrique as she calls him, had lived at their house during his former detention, and in return for kindness shown him had hastened to California with this warning. *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 2, 3. Gonzalez, *Experiencias*, MS., 6, 7, was one of the soldiers who met Gyzelaar at the beach when he came ashore in his boat, and he gives some particulars of what happened that afternoon. Roquefeuil at San Francisco heard the news on Nov. 10th. *Roquefeuil's Voyage*, 108-9. Gyzelaar reported that the two vessels had 34 and 20 guns respectively, 250 men, and were under a Frenchman named Visart. They were to sail in 4 or 6 days.

[7] *Sola, Instruccion General á los Comandantes sobre lo que debe practicarse contra los Insurgentes, 1818*, MS.

named. The neophyte archers previously organized must be sent to the presidios. The strictest precautions must be taken to prevent the hostile vessels from effecting a landing under a friendly flag or on pretence of obtaining supplies. Settlers and retired soldiers must be made to understand in the governor's name that the safety of their families and of the province depends largely on them. The mission guards must be replaced temporarily with invalids. In case of actual hostilities, prisoners may be liberated to fight for the country; and in the event of Sola's death, Don José de la Guerra is to be recognized as acting governor.

On the same day Sola notified the missionaries officially of the impending danger, and entreated them to obey the orders of the commandants. A few days later the governor's instructions were forwarded from each presidio to its missions, and were promptly obeyed.[8] "Under the protection of the God of battles I believe I can destroy all such villains as may have the rashness to set foot upon this soil," wrote the valiant Guerra. But a month passed without any sign of hostile vessels, and Sola, beginning to think the alarm, like that of the year before, unfounded, ordered Guerra and perhaps other commandants to send home the civilians to attend to their agricultural and domestic affairs, since he believed the season too far advanced for hostilities to be apprehended. Still in other respects vigilance was not to be relaxed.[9] Padre Olbés wrote from Santa Cruz late in October, however, that all were astir in the mission and villa, expecting the insurgents, "not to fight, but to join them, for such is the disposition of the inhabitants," it being expected that of course the insurgents would harm only the *gachupines*, or Spaniards, and friars;[10] but Olbés was not disposed to look on the bright side of things, and I shall have occasion a little later to notice some interesting doings at Santa Cruz.

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[8] Oct. 8, 1818, Sola to padres. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 164. Oct. 11th, commandant of Santa Bárbara to padres. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 120-3; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 135-7. Oct. 11th, Sola orders Guerra to put the artillery militia in active service, receiving pay from date. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 45. Oct. 12th, Purísima sends its quota of archers and vaqueros. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 36; vii. 45. San Buenaventura did the same on the 13th and 14th. *Id.*, v. 67-8. Oct. 16th, Guerra announces progress; 80 de razon and 140 Indians ready; Los Angeles men left at home to attend to their crops and defend San Pedro; no faith in the artillery. *Id.*, iii. 110-13. Oct. 18th, Sta Inés responds with 25 men. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 376. Oct. 18th, Guerra to the padres. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 18. Oct. 22d, Padre Martinez complains that while there is much alarm and the other missions have strong garrisons, San Luis Obispo, the most exposed of all, has only two soldiers. 'It may be that all are aware the Chano encampment will never surrender.' *Id.*, iii. 5. Oct. 24th, Sola to Guerra, urging vigilance and approving the sending away of families and other measures. *Id.*, iv. 19; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 18. Padre Martinez made every preparation for defence, and even was ready to burn the mission if necessary. *Id.*, vii. 98-9.

On the afternoon of November 20th, at a time when the governor has almost ceased to fear, the sentinel on Point Pinos reports two vessels in sight,[11] approaching Monterey. The available force is forty men, twenty-five cavalrymen of the presidial company, four veteran artillerymen, and eleven of the artillery militiamen. While Sola is posting his men at the shore battery under the command of alfereces Manuel Gomez and José Estrada, and while he is preparing the families for a retreat to the interior, it is well to place before the reader the little that is known of the two vessels that are drawing near the capital. The larger of the two is the *Argentina*, or perhaps *La Gentila*, better known among Californians as the 'fragata negra,' carrying thirty-eight heavy guns and two *violentos*, or light howitzers, and commanded by Captain Hippolyte Bouchard, a Frenchman, of whom I have been unable to learn anything beyond his connection with this expedition. The smaller vessel is the *Santa Rosa, Libertad*, or the 'fragata chica,' with twenty-six guns, under Lieutenant Pedro Conde. Both had sailed originally from Buenos Aires, and carry the flag of that revolted province. Their force is two hundred and eighty-five men, made up of representatives of many nations. Of their operations before coming to California nothing is known beyond the outfitting at the Hawaiian Islands.[12] The information just given rests mainly on the somewhat conflicting testimony of two prisoners from the vessels, of whom I shall have more to say later, and it is by no means unlikely that it is inaccurate and exaggerated in respect of the force and armament.[13]

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[9] Nov. 12, 1818, Sola to Guerra. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 230-1. Nov. 20th, Guerra announces his obedience, and asks for additional instructions. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 115-16. According to Mrs Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 2, 3, Sola's letter, the one alluded to above or another, was regarded as insulting, accusing her father of being over-credulous in listening to unfounded rumors; but subsequent events abundantly justified Guerra's zeal.

[10] Oct. 19th, Olbés to Guerra, in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 92.

[11] Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 182-3, says that the vessels were first sighted off San Francisco, where the alarm was given and a gun was fired from the fort. Both this author and Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 146, state that the insurgents attempted to land at Santa Cruz, but were prevented by the strong wind; also that messengers—two of whom, Teodoro Mexica and Cayetano Esquerra, were drowned on the way in crossing Pájaro River, according to Vallejo—were sent to Monterey to announce the approach. That messengers were so sent is very likely. The presence of the insurgents at San Francisco is doubtless an error.

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[12] One of the men on the larger vessel said they had captured on the way a brig in ballast, which had run away and discharged her cargo before being taken. This may be made an excuse for introducing here a mysterious story from Russian sources. Tikhménef, *Istor. Obosranie*, i. 234, states that the *Fortuna* was added to the company's fleet in 1819 under the following circumstances: A schooner in distress seen near New Archangel was towed into port and found to contain only seven kanakas, who said they had been pressed into service as sailors by the commander of two insurgent frigates; that while those frigates were bombarding Monterey and San Francisco one of them had captured the schooner, the Spanish crew of which escaped to the shore; and that the Islanders with three Europeans had been put on board the prize. During a mutiny on the frigate the commander and officers were killed, and the Europeans on the schooner transferred all that they wanted of her cargo to the frigate and left the kanakas to follow as they could; and the latter, after a voyage of 82 days, reached, not the Islands, as they hoped to do, but Sitka. I have no explanation to offer of this remarkable narration. But now that I am recording such matter, I may add the statement of Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 132-46, to the effect that the year before, in 1817, a large ship, really that of Bouchard, anchored at Monterey, claiming to be an English man-of-war engaged in a scientific exploration. First the second officer, named Gomez, and then Bouchard himself, were welcomed warmly by Estudillo and Sola, the latter accepting an invitation to visit the ship the next day. But some of the sergeants and corporals, noticing the fluent Spanish of the officers, investigated the boat's crew by offering them cigarritos and brandy, and noted their very un-English use of both. They made known their suspicions; a council of war was held; and it was deemed safest for Sola to make excuses and not go on board. Bouchard saw that suspicions had been excited, but was confident in his strength, and sent his band on shore to play for the people in the evening, and next day came to a feast. At his departure Bouchard saluted the fort with 21 guns, and received the same honors. He had failed to capture Sola and thereby obtain a heavy ransom, but he had studied the defence of Monterey. A dance called the *remadora* was invented to celebrate the departure of the 'fragrata sospechosa.' It is perhaps needless to say that there is not the slightest foundation in the records for this statement

At nightfall the strange craft drew near the port, and at 11 P. M. the smaller one anchors near the shore, while the other remains at some distance. To the usual questions shouted through the trumpet, an answer is returned in English that nobody understands. The demands are repeated, with orders to send a boat ashore to bring the ship's papers. The stranger replies as nearly as can be made out that he will attend to all formalities next morning. I follow Sola's official report to the viceroy[14] as the best authority for the preceding and following occurrences in the north. The only other authorities are statements that have been written for my use from memory, both of the events and of what was said about them then and a little later, by the oldest of the native Californians then living. These statements, however, differ so widely in certain respects from that of Sola and from each other that they can be utilized for the most part only in detached notes or with special reference to each writer.[15] It is only for events at Monterey that this discrepancy is to be noted; for on events in the south Sola says but little, the statements referred to are not very contradictory, and the evidence from the archives is tolerably complete.

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[13] *Bouchard, Testimonio de dos Prisioneros acerca de los Insurgentes de Bouchard, 1818,* MS. One witness said both ships belonged to Bouchard; the other that they were owned by Chavarría of Buenos Aires. Conde is said to have been an American who took command at the Islands. There was another vessel, the *Chacabuco,* bound for Peru. Wm. Taylor, a lieutenant on the larger vessel, was from Boston. A later prisoner said the larger vessel was named the *Consecuencia. Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.,* MS., xlix. 70.

[14] *Sola, Noticia de lo Acaecido en est Puerto de Monterey con dos fragatas pertenecientes á los Rebeldes de Buenos Ayres, 1818,* MS., dated Dec. 12, 1818 (this would seem an error, since the document mentions events of as late a date as Dec. 15th at least; but the archive records, *Prov. St. Pap.,* MS., xx. 70; *Id., Ben. Mil.,* l. 25, name the date also as Dec. 12th or 13th), and published by the viceroy's order in an 'extra' of the government newspaper of March 12, 1819. *Gacetas de Mex.,* xxxix. 283-6. It was subsequently reproduced in *Bustamante, Cuadro Histórico,* v. 62-4. Sola made a supplementary report dated July 6, 1819. *Sola, Informe Suplementario sobre los Insurgentes 1818,* MS., of no special importance, being chiefly an acknowledgment of the padres' services. The governor also made a brief report to Gen. Cruz, dated Jan. 6, 1819. *Sola, Informe dirigido al General José de la Cruz sobre los Insurgentes de Bouchard, 1818,* MS. In *Payeras, Informe Bienal de Misiones, 1817-18,* MS., 304-5, a résumé of the whole affair is given. The above, with one or two brief letters in the archives, are the original and contemporaneous sources of information which include events at Monterey; other documents relating to affairs in the south will be noticed later.

[15] These statements, most of which are made by persons who write from

At dawn on November 21st[16] the 'fragata chica,' instead of sending a boat ashore, as promised, opens fire[17] on the shore battery. The Spanish guns, eight in number, of six and eight pounds caliber, not all of which were serviceable, return the fire; and with so much skill and good luck are they aimed by the veterans and amateurs under Gomez, that after "an obstinate combat of two hours," during which "the two artillerymen with their alférez kept up a constant and effective fire, doing much damage to the frigate, aided by the soldiers of the presidial company, who bore themselves at the battery with an unspeakable serenity despite the balls that were falling round them;" while the foe lost five men killed and more wounded, the insurgents lowered their flag in token of surrender and begged for a suspension of firing, though not before having sent away six boats to the other ship with most of the men. The result of this artillery duel was certainly wellnigh inexplicable, except on the supposition that the armament of the *Santa Rosa* was greatly exaggerated, or, what is more likely, that the surrender was merely a pretence to avoid a method of attack which involved needless risks. As soon as the flag was lowered the Spaniards ordered that the commander should be sent ashore. The reply was that

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memory of actual events, are as follows: *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 182-241; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 146-80; *Osio, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 32-53; *Vallejo, Reminiscencias*, MS., 70-6; *Amador, Memorias*, MS., 50-6; *Romero, Memorias*, MS., 11, 12; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 15-17; *Gonzalez, Experiencias*, MS., 5-11; *Ávila, Recuerdos*, MS., 17-19; *García, Hechos*, MS., 44-8; *Boronda, Notas*, MS., 3-6; *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 3-7; *Pico, Acontecimientos*, MS., 3, 4; *Castro, Relacion*, MS., 6-9; *Ávila, Notas*, MS., 2-8; *Valdés, Memorias*, MS., 3, 4; *Lugo, Vida*, MS., 5-6; *Valdés, Remin.*, MS., 5-7; *Rodriguez, Narracion*, MS.; *Larios, Convulsiones*, MS., 4, 5.

[16] In *Payeras, Informe Bienal*, and in several of the miscellaneous statements, the date of the attack is given as Nov. 22d.

[17] The captive witnesses before alluded to—*Bouchard, Testimonio*, MS., etc.—testified that they fired only after and because of Sola's refusal to furnish supplies which they asked for and which they needed for their voyage.

that officer had gone to the other ship; whereupon it was announced that the firing would be resumed if some responsible officer was not landed at once. The second officer, an American, then came in a boat with two sailors.[18]

Unable to obtain from these men anything but "lies and frivolous excuses," Sola put them in the guard-house and directed his attention to preparations for defence against the 'fragata negra,' which was approaching under full sail and soon anchored just out of reach of the battery's guns. Bouchard now sent an officer with a flag of truce bearing a formal demand for the surrender of the province; "to which," writes Sola, "I replied, saying that its governor looked with due scorn upon all that the said communication contained; that the great monarch whom he served had confided to him its command to defend it and keep it under his rule; that if he should use force as threatened, I with mine would make him know the honor and firmness with which I would repel him, and that while there was a man alive in the province he could not succeed in his plan of taking possession, since all its inhabitants were faithful servants of the king, and would shed the last drop of blood in his service." Matters remained thus during the rest of the day and night of the 21st.[19] I am disposed to believe, from testimony which I give in the accompanying note, that it may not have been the guns of the regular battery, the castillo, which did such execution in the previous action, but those of a new battery on the beach under the command of Corporal José de Jesus Vallejo.

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[18] As to the names of the two sailors, or what eventually became of them, nothing is definitely known. One of them is described as a native of Buenos Aires and the other of Guinea—a negro (?). The American was Joseph Chapman, of whom more anon.

[19] Here I must introduce the version of this affair at Monterey given by the Vallejos and Alvarado, and supported more or less fully by the testimony of several other witnesses. The leading points are that Bouchard had either visited Monterey before or sent an agent to reconnoitre; that Manuel Gomez was a traitor, had sent to Bouchard a plan of the Monterey defences, had a nephew or near relation who was an officer on the vessels, and by ordering the fire suspended saved the small ship from being sunk; that the battery which did so much execution was not the old one, or the castillo, but a new one of three guns built by Sola's orders farther south, and not included in Bouchard's plan—whence the disaster; and finally that José de Jesus Vallejo was in command of this battery and entitled to the credit for the partial victory. Individual statements en résumé respecting details are as follows: M. G. Vallejo says that when she first opened fire the ship sent off six boats to land under cover of her guns, but Corporal J. J. Vallejo from his battery of three 18-pounders at the Mentidero fired grape on the boats and round shot on the frigate, driv-

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ing the boats back, sinking one; and killing 30 men. Several balls pierced the ship between wind and water. At the lowering of the flag Sola feared a trick and wished to continue the firing, but Gomez, commanding the castillo, ordered Vallejo to stop firing; Vallejo refused and Gomez ordered the guns of the castillo to be turned on the battery, though the men refused to fire on their friends. But Gomez induced Sergt. Ignacio Vallejo to go and influence his son to report to Sola. Bouchard meanwhile withdrew his vessel and prepared to land. He landed about 600 men at the Playa de Doña Brigida, later called Playa de los Insurgentes, at the modern steamer-landing, Alvarado says under Lieut. Luciano Gomez, nephew of Manuel. Sola sent Alférez Estrada with 80 men and a four-pounder to prevent the landing. One of the insurgent boats lay on her oars to return Estrada's fire, while the other two landed 400 men who attacked the Spaniards in the rear and forced them to retreat, though occasionally charging to gain time. Sola, seeing Estrada driven back, ordered the guns spiked and the powder-magazine blown up, which was done by Ignacio Vallejo and two soldiers. The enemy advanced slowly, fearing ambuscade, and thus escaped being blown up with the powder. Then Gomez burst the guns from which he could not remove the spikes, sacked the town, burned all except the church and custom-house, and then pursued Sola as far as El Saucito. Returning he was followed by Estrada and J. J. Vallejo, who harassed him, killed and wounded some, and took three prisoners, a mulatto Mateo, the Argentine Nicolás Chavarría, and the negro Norris. This was on the 22d; the insurgents slept on the beach and in the custom-house. Next day they went on board, but subsequently landed 300 men to protect workmen in making masts. They made every effort to arouse the Californians to revolt and to ransom the three captives, but in vain, finally sailing for the south. Sola established his headquarters at the rancho del rey, now Salinas city, where he was soon joined by Luis Argüello with reënforcements from San Francisco and San José. From here the families were sent to different missions. The Vallejo, Estudillo, Rodriguez, Pico, and other families went to San Antonio in ox-carts. 'How well I remember that night,' writes this author. 'My good mother was in a wagon which had two hides for a floor and two more for a roof, where after supping on half-roasted strips of dried meat without salt she gathered round her her whole family, Juana, Magdalena, Encarnacion, Rosalía, Salvador, and myself. Six blankets obtained from Padre Florencio at Soledad were our only bedclothes; and all were sitting or lying, weeping and shivering, cared for by my poor mother with inimitable patience. The oxen were hitched to the pole of the wagon at our first camp at Quinado, getting nothing to eat all night.' There was an attack by the Indians also, causing a scene of great confusion, but the party was kindly received at San Antonio. Argüello, Estrada, and Vallejo wished to have Gomez tried as a traitor, but Sola did not deem him guilty; especially as one of the insurgent balls had hit his house. The captives were brought to the camp at the rancho Nov. 23d at 9 P. M., and the women wished to burn them alive as heretics. At an examination they testified that Bouchard's object was to gain California to the insurgent cause; that he expected to find the officers in sympathy with his purpose; that a reward was offered for Sola's capture; and that it was intended to attack all the Californian posts, sparing neither private nor church property. The captives were pardoned by Sola, but sent away from Monterey. Norris became a cook at San Juan Capistrano and afterward escaped from the

The soldiers had remained under arms all night in a drizzling rain, and the families had already been sent away to the mission of Soledad. At 8 A. M. on the 22d the larger ship was seen to draw near the battery, and at the same time nine boats, four of which carried small cannon, started toward Point Potreros.

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country. Mateo went to Santa Clara. Chavarría went to San Miguel, married, and obtained a grant of land. All the men returned to Monterey Dec. 6th, the padres to purify the desecrated chapel by religious rites, and the rest to make preparations for rebuilding the presidio.

There is so much that is erroneous in this version that it is impossible to separate the facts; yet there is so much testimony in favor of some of the main points that I cannot disregard it. Alvarado gives substantially the same version as Vallejo. He says that the new battery was manned by 20 of the artillery militia under J. J. Vallejo. On account of danger from Indians, Sola had concentrated but a small part of his force at Monterey. Bouchard arrived Nov. 21st and approached the fort Nov. 22d at dawn. Non-combatants were ordered away, but some women did not get away until the balls began to fall in the presidio. The vessel first fired a broadside into the fort, which was returned, no harm being done on either side. Then Vallejo from the new battery on the water level opened fire at short range. A white flag was run up, but Vallejo paid no attention to it; would not obey the order of Gomez; and swore he would not stop firing until the foe should swim ashore to surrender! But he yielded to a peremptory order of Sola sent by his father, Ignacio Vallejo, and ceased his fire, saying sadly, 'All is lost.' Two neophytes were killed in the skirmish in which the three captives were taken. Sola would probably have surrendered Monterey at first if a formal summons had been made. Friendly tribes of gentiles rendered much aid to Sola at the rancho del rey. The men were divided into two parties for rebuilding Monterey, one under Estrada and the other under Ignacio Vallejo. It required about a year to prepare for the return of the families. Some of the men in the mean time slept in tents and *enramadas*, while others went every night to San Cárlos. which had not been injured.

José de Jesus Vallejo, who was at the time a corporal of the artillery militia, mentions the approach of Bouchard to San Francisco and Santa Cruz. His account of the fight and subsequent occurrences agrees substantially with that of Alvarado, neither saying anything of the firing on the boats as described by M. G. Vallejo. The insurgents in their advance to the presidio carried a red flag, were preceded by a band of music, and paid no attention to Estrada's handful of men. A few of the insurgents wandered away from the presidio but were driven back and three of them fell into the writer's hands. The padres vied with each other in relieving the wants of the exiled families. Gomez should bear all the blame. 'I know that there was an understanding between Gomez and Bouchard's lieutenant.'

A suspicion might somewhat naturally arise in the minds of some persons that the three preceding witnesses, in order to honor a relative, may have had an understanding with each other in preparing their statements of this affair for my use; but, to say nothing of the fact that if such be the case the work has been very bunglingly done, the statement of Antonio María Osio, agreeing with that of Alvarado in all essential points, proves, not necessarily that it is true, but at least that this version was current in early times. It is not unlikely, however, that Alvarado may have seen Osio's version. Osio omits some of Vallejo's exaggerations and inaccuracies respecting forces, etc.; says nothing of the boats or of any killed and wounded; attributes the weakness of Gomez to pity for the insurgents, who were calling for mercy, rather than to treachery; confirms the story that Gomez turned the castillo's guns

The intention of the foe was evident, and Sola at once sent Alférez Estrada with the twenty-five men of the presidial company to prevent the landing. But he could of course do nothing against four hundred men with four field-pieces, as Sola affirms the force to have been. At the same time the firing recommenced be-

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against the battery; and says nothing of any captives. He tells us that the new battery was a very weak affair of sand and branches, yet it received no damage, and Vallejo's guns were most effectively aimed, hardly a shot missing its mark.

José María Amador was a sentry at San Francisco when Dolores Cantúa arrived from Monterey with the news; and he was one of the men who went with Alf. Sanchez to reënforce Sola, whom they found 'con unas ojeras que le llegaban hasta la patilla,' at the rancho real. Luis Argüello came next day. After five or six days of drill and preparation they marched toward Monterey, one man, Cayetano Rios, being drowned on the way. The town was still burning. Bouchard was on the 'negra,' which opened the fight. Vallejo was ordered to stop firing by Estudillo. Bouchard landed 350 men. After the troops reëntered Monterey Bouchard again landed a party while Argüello sent 30 men to pursue, and captured 21 prisoners (!) without firing a shot. Amador remembers of these the following names: Acuña, Francisco, and Joaquin, Spaniards; Chavarría, a Mexican; Aguilar, a Chileno or Peruvian; John Rose, a Scotchman; and Francisco, an American negro. The men returned to San Francisco in January. Sola made his head-quarters at Soledad.

Canuto Boronda was at San Miguel when the news came, and hastened with others to the king's rancho. Most of the families fled to Soledad. 'Parecia el dia del juicio.' The insurgents stayed about eight days to repair the damages caused by Vallejo's guns. Narrator was for a time Sola's orderly, and one day an Indian came who claimed to have been captured by the enemy but had escaped, with the news that Bouchard was preparing to attack the camp. The insurgents carried away all the provisions and other goods they found. The presidio was fired at four different places. The families returned six months later. The narrator says the soldiers' furniture, etc., was piled up in the plaza by the foe and saved. Jacinto Rodriguez was six years old at the time. He confirms the statements of Alvarado and Osio. Says the first shot destroyed the house of Gomez; that the battery was near the site of the present custom-house; Gomez was alarmed because he had heard that a kinsman was on board; Bouchard landed 786 men at Mussel Point; and the name of one of the captives was Mateo Sagarra. Early in 1819 there came workmen from the missions who were not long in repairing damages. José de Jesus Pico was a young boy at the time living with his father at the rancho del rey. He heard of an understanding between Gomez and the insurgents. Inocente García in a brief narrative confirms the Alvarado version. So does Capt. José Fernandez, who arrived in California this same year just before the attack. He says both of Bouchard's ships were painted black. Doña María Inocenta Pico de Ávila was in Monterey at the time. She relates that in the terror of hasty flight many families became scattered, some of the children not being found by their parents for several days. Most stayed at San Antonio until April 1819. Manuel Castro implies that J. J. Vallejo merely managed one of the fort's guns, but most effectively. Dorotea Valdés was at San Cárlos, whence everybody fled as from the presidio. Mrs Ord frequently heard J. J. Vallejo credited with the achievement. Justo Larios was at Monterey near where his father had been killed by a bear a few days before. He says the warehouse, governor's house, and a few others were burned, but not all.

tween the guns of the ship and fort, though this fact rests on Sola's statement alone. Sending off one small cannon to the interior in a cart, the governor ordered Estrada to retreat to the battery, spike the guns, burn the little remaining powder that he could not save, and fall back to the presidio. The foe advanced steadily. At the presidio "some resistance was made, fruitless on account of their numbers," and Sola retreated with all his men—saving one two-pounder, two boxes of powder, 6,000 musket cartridges, and all the documents of the provincial archives—to the rancho del rey, five leagues distant, where Salinas city now stands.

The Spanish force on the Salinas was next day considerably increased by reënforcements from San Francisco and San José; but it was not deemed safe to attempt offensive measures, though sentinels were posted to watch the operations of the foe. Meanwhile the insurgents killed some cattle which they found astray, ransacked the presidio for the few articles worth carrying away, and took two eight-pounders and burst the other guns. They probably made some repairs, else they could hardly have remained so long, and forced or otherwise induced to accompany them a drunken settler named Molina, who had either straggled into Monterey or been left there in the retreat. They finally departed in the night or early morning of November 26th to 27th, after setting the presidio and fort on fire.[20] They did little or no harm at San Cárlos; perhaps did not visit the mission at all.[21] The damage in the presidio was confined to the northern side and to three houses of the southern block, in all of which the roof-beams were burned, allowing the tiles to fall, but leaving the adobe walls for the most part still standing. Outside, the artillerymen's house at the battery was burned, as was the wooden esplanade. Only two cannon were left in a serviceable state. The damage to the company in goods taken from the warehouse or spoiled was estimated at about $5,000, most of which was made up pro rata next year by the missions, which trusted to providence and the royal treasury for reimbursement. The padres had also to furnish neophyte laborers for the work of rebuilding. The orchard and vegetable garden were entirely ruined. The houses of the governor and commandant were among those partially destroyed, and those officers lost about $5,000 worth of private property. It is, by the way, a rather remarkable circumstance that neither in Sola's report, contemporary correspondence, statements of old residents, nor in the viceroy's expression of thanks to be mentioned later, is there any mention of the part taken in this whole affair by Comandante Estudillo. The scattered families gradually came back as their houses were repaired; and I suppose that by April 1819, and perhaps much earlier, Monterey had well-nigh reassumed its old-time aspect.[22]

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[20] In his *Noticia*, Sola says they left on the 25th, but this is apparently a misprint. Nov. 27, 1818, probably early in the morning, Sola writes from the rancho to the padres from San Luis Obispo south: 'Having concentrated my forces here to hinder the pirates, foes of the human race, from going inland, up to the present time they remain about the presidio and beach of Monterey, and have not dared to cross over to San Cárlos (!). Yesterday they showed their rage by burning down the fort and presidio, whereby they give signs of speedy departure; and it being quite likely that their depraved intention is to sack the other points and missions that afford them a chance, I keep a sufficient number of men on the lookout to advise me of the course they may follow so as to send your news with the utmost speed.' Please advise one another, etc. This circular was received at every mission within three days. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 228–30. On the same day at 12.30 P. M. Sola notified the southern commandants of the insurgents' departure. Will announce the direction as soon as can be known from the sentinel at

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Pt Año Nuevo. Sentinels must be posted; munitions transported to where they are needed; heavy guns buried; families sent to the interior; nothing to be left for the foe. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 32–5. In a letter of Dec. 8th to Martinez, Sola says that superiority of numbers forced him to abandon Monterey; but he speaks slightingly of the insurgents' courage. Says he has lost all his furniture and luggage. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 21–2. Feb. 26, 1819, Sola was at San Antonio. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., l. 1, 10. Dec. 1, 1818, J. J. Vallejo and Quintin Ortega with 15 men encamped at rancho real. *Id.*, xlix. 58. Sola's report to Gen. Cruz is but a brief résumé of that to the viceroy, and is supplemented by an appeal for aid. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 29–30. President Payeras' report touches the affair very briefly, adding nothing new. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 304–5.

[21] It is said that one of the insurgents was seen from the hills to enter the mission on horseback with two pack-horses. Afterward it was found that many of the mission tools had disappeared. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 110.

[22] On the damages at Monterey, see Estudillo's note of March 4th to Sola. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 232–3. June 27th, Sola to president. *Arch. Sta B.*,

Comandante Guerra, in addition to his precautions for safety in the jurisdiction of Santa Bárbara, had at Sola's order sent a corporal and six men to reënforce Monterey.[23] This party returning southward probably brought from the rancho del rey news that Bouchard had left Monterey, his attack on that place having been announced to the great terror of the Barbareños a few days earlier. Families had been hastily sent to the interior, chiefly to Santa Inés,[24] and some vecinos from Los Angeles had been summoned to the presidio to aid the soldiers. It was not thought likely that Bouchard would venture in his large vessels into such a harbor as that of Santa Bárbara at this season of the year, yet it was well to be prepared for the worst.[25] A part of the San Diego garrison also seems to have been brought to the north on this occasion.

The insurgent squadron, after its departure from Monterey, November 27th, was first sighted by the sentinels of Purísima mission at 3 P. M. on the 1st of December. Padre Payeras sent a note to the other friars saying that in passing Point Pedernales the two

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MS., xii. 238. Sola's report of July 6th. *Id.*, vi. 277–80. July 27th, President to padres. *Id.*, vi. 107–8. Aug. 3d, Sola to Estudillo. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., v. 53. Aug. 13th, Sola to PP. Tapis and Arroyo. *Id.*, xvii. 48. Payeras, in *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 440–1; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 71.

[23] Nov. 23, 1818, Guerra to padres. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 28. Rafael Gonzalez, who was one of the party, says there were 20 men under Sergt. Anastasio Carrillo. *Experiencias*, MS., 5–8.

[24] Mrs Ord remembers the journey made by herself and other members of the Guerra family in a carriage that afforded little protection from the heavy rain. She noticed Padre Ripoll alight to give his horse to a sick woman. *Memorias*, MS., 4–6. Padre Martinez, of San Luis Obispo, wrote to Guerra on this subject what must be regarded as a very extraordinary letter to come from a friar. He said it had been an *alcaldada*, or stupid blunder, to send the women to Santa Inés. They should have been retained, and then the insurgents yielding to their charms might have fallen an easy prey to the military force. He narrated an instance when the Galicians had thus effectively defended themselves against the French. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 9, 10.

[25] It would seem that on receipt of the news that Bouchard had attacked Monterey, Guerra also sent northward a new reënforcement. Nov. 24th, at 5.30 A. M., he writes to Sola that Lieut. Ignacio Martinez will start in a few hours with all the force he can get, including prisoners, released for the purpose, many without arms. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 227. This may be the party alluded to by Gonzalez. See note 23. Dec. 11th, Sola expresses his surprise and displeasure at the delay of Martinez in returning to Santa Bárbara with 20 men of the Monterey company, probably in addition to those he brought north. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 23.

vessels had stopped a little and apparently hesitated respecting the course to be followed. Next day Father Uría of Santa Inés announced at 5 P. M. that the ships had anchored at Refugio; but Payeras stated for the consolation of all that he had sent forty armed neophytes to aid Uría, that Don Cárlos was expected that night with a military force, and that "with your prayers a buena accion may be looked for." Padre Rodriguez expressed to Sola his opinion that "the Canaleños will do deeds that should be recorded in characters of gold." Martinez of San Luis Obispo rose from a sick-bed and marched with thirty-five neophytes to the scene of action. Still another friar, while he thought that the treacherous rascals would hardly have the impudence to measure strength with the valiant Barbareños, yet deemed it well, in view of the uncertainty of all things, to pray much and eat little; and even an occasional self-flagellation would do no harm.[26]

Of what was done at and about Refugio we have no satisfactory account so far as details are concerned. Bouchard's men, however, landed probably late in the afternoon of December 2d. They first plundered and then burned the buildings of the rancho, which had been abandoned at their approach by the Ortegas and other occupants, killed some cattle, and sailed away, probably the next morning. Meanwhile Sergeant Cárlos Antonio Carrillo, with a squad of thirty men, soldiers and civilians, hurried up from Santa Bárbara and reached Santa Inés at 11.30 P. M. on the 2d.[27] Thence he went up into the sierra overlooking the seashore and pitched his camp at a place called Las Cruces. Here rapidly assembled the fugitives from the rancho and the padres with their bands of warlike neophytes. From the camp scouts were sent out to watch the foe. One adventurous and imaginative vaquero approached so near to Refugio as to see the insurgents firing guns, killing cattle, and breaking doors. He even counted five hundred men in one house! A party of Spaniards also advanced carefully and formed an ambush so near the doomed rancho that when three of the pirates came that way in quest of a cart, they were seized, hurried off across the hills to the mission, and put in the stocks.[28] One of the prisoners called himself Lieutenant William Taylor, a native of Boston; another, Martin Romero of Paraguay; and the third was a negro named Mateo José Pascual. As the enemy sailed away from Refugio, the Spanish army with the captives retired to the presidio, leaving the families still at Santa Inés.[29]

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[26] This correspondence of the warlike friars is found in *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 35–7, 41; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 277–80.

[27] Carrillo announces his arrival in a letter to his brother-in-law, Capt. Guerra, at the hour named. He is resolved not to let the enemy cross the sierra to Santa Inés, and if they retreat (!) to Santa Bárbara he will follow them closely. He is on the point of starting for the sierra. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 197.

On December 6th the two ships cast anchor at Santa Bárbara, and Bouchard immediately sent a flag of truce ashore with a letter to the comandante, in which he proposed an exchange of prisoners, and promised if it were granted to leave the coast without committing further hostilities.[30] Guerra in his reply to Bouchard stated that the prisoners were still alive, and that their fate would depend largely on Bouchard's own actions. The proposition for exchange had been forwarded to the governor, and six days would elapse before a reply could be obtained. This was on the 7th, and the same day he wrote again, doubtless in response to another communication from Bouchard. "If your men are very anxious to fight, I can assure you that mine are desperate to meet them. But inasmuch as feelings of humanity prompt you to propose the cessation of hostilities and to return the prisoners you hold, provided those taken at Refugio are also given up, I, who value the lives of my fellow-beings above every earthly interest, give you my word to have the prisoners brought here and to deliver them some time to-morrow." When the morrow came and Guerra was on the point of giving up the captives, he was much surprised to learn that Bouchard proposed to exchange only one prisoner for three, which, as he informed the insurgent chief in a letter of the 9th, seemed to him a very strange proposition in view of past references to "prisoners" in the plural. He therefore declined to proceed in the matter, reminding his foe at the same time "that this moderate answer is the offspring of my good manners, and not of any fear of your threats, which are of no consequence to me."[31] But later in the day, on receipt of Bouchard's assurance that he really had but one prisoner to deliver, and his proffered permission to

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[28] The letters of Padre Ullibarri to Payeras, dated Santa Inés, Jan. 3d and 4th, are the best authority extant on these events. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 24–6.

[29] In addition to the documents already cited, I may note that Sola, *Noticia*, 285, briefly mentions the affair at Refugio. Juan Ávila, *Notas*, MS., 3–5, says that his father was in charge of the party from Los Angeles, and that he captured the prisoners against Carrillo's wishes. He says there were only two captives, who were exchanged for an Indian, and a negro named Molina. José María Romero also confounds the negro with Molina. *Memorias*, MS., 11, 12. Gonzalez, *Experiencias*, MS., 8, tells us that the troops returning from Monterey in passing the Cuesta de Santa Inés saw Ortega's buildings on fire and many people on the hills looking at the conflagration. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 44–5, states that 50 of the insurgents returning from the rancho to the shore met 30 of the Santa Bárbara troops and were driven back after losing two prisoners and several wounded, while the Spaniards lost only four horses wounded! There is no foundation for this hostile rencontre, which, however, Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 231–7, still further elaborates into almost a battle. He tells us that Carrillo met Bouchard's men as they were climbing the steep Cuesta de Santa Inés 80 strong, and drove them back by rolling stones down upon them, killing five and severely wounding two. Bouchard cut the throats of three fine stallions imported by Ortega from Mexico. He obtained wood and water a Santa Cruz Island, and was warned by confederates not to land at San Pedro.

[30] Arrival of the vessels Dec. 6th. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlviii. 9. In this same document the date of departure is given as Dec. 9th, which

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is perhaps an error, as in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 228, Guerra says they sailed at dawn on the 12th. On the same day of the arrival Guerra had reported to Sola the affair at Refugio and promised to make the best defence possible, though he had no artillery and few men. *Id.*, xx. 223. Rafael Gonzalez, *Experiencias*, MS., 8-10, says he was one of two soldiers sent to the beach with Alf. Maitorena to meet Bouchard's boat which was seen approaching the Cerro de los Voluntarios. As the boat drew near they were directed to stand off, while one of the men waded ashore with a letter on a stick which he stuck in the sand and retired. Mention also of a flag of truce in *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 5, 6.

[31] Romero, *Memorias*, MS., 1-12, tells us that Guerra, with a view to overawe the pirates, caused his troops to march toward the mission and round a hill in such a way as to come over and over again into sight and represent a large army.

search his ships if his word were doubted, the commandant, "for humanity's sake," consented to the unequal exchange, which was at once carried into effect.[32]

The so-called prisoner whom Bouchard gave up in exchange for his three men proved to be the drunken Molina, who would have been a good riddance to the province at any price. And now Sola's replies to the comandante's reports began to arrive with expressions of the governor's surprise and dissatisfaction that Guerra had consented to hold any parley with pirates or to take into consideration a proposition to exchange prisoners when none had been taken except by the Spaniard's. Sola's disgust at the deception practised on the comandante in connection with Molina was natural enough; but his reprimands were altogether too severe, and he even went so far as to blame Guerra for not having attacked the insurgents, which was in very bad taste indeed, after his own failure to defend Monterey with resources vastly superior to those of Santa Bárbara.[33] Poor Molina had to bear the brunt of the governor's wrath, since he was sentenced to six years in the chain-gang after receiving a hundred blows on his bare back. It was never clearly known whether he had deserted to the insurgents, had really been taken prisoner, or had gone on board the ship too drunk to know his own mind.[34] It is not quite certain whether Bouchard sailed at once on the 9th or three days later. It is not unlikely that he went to some of the Channel islands for wood and water, and finally disappeared from sight on the 12th. At any rate, he was off San Pedro on the 13th.[35] Meanwhile the troops from Santa Bárbara were hurried south to protect San Diego and the missions of that jurisdiction.

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[32] Bouchard's letters are not extant, but those of the comandante are preserved in blotters in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 138–41. Dec. 9th, Guerra also reports the exchange to Sola, *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 224, announcing at the same time his purpose to attack Bouchard if he should break his word and land again. The prisoners had been examined at Santa Bárbara on Dec. 5th. Their testimony has been utilized elsewhere in the narrative. *Bouchard, Testimonio*, etc., MS.

[33] Dec. 9th, Sola to Guerra, reprimanding him in very severe terms, and expressing the fear that Bouchard had not done with California yet. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 19–21. Also same to Padre Rodriguez on the same subject. *Id.*, 21. Dec. 11th, Sola to Guerra, after receipt of the latter's communication of Dec. 9th. Complaints of not being informed whether Bouchard departed or not on receipt of his prisoners, and urging precautions. *Id.*, xlix. 22–4. Sola, in his *Noticia*, 285, 'Dieron fondo en la rada del presidio de Sta Bárbara con bandera parlementaria y ajustaron con aquel comandante Capt. D. José de la Guerra cange de prisioneros, no teniendo ellos ninguno; pero llamaban así á un paisano que en Monterey quedó ébrio el dia de la salida, de donde se lo llevaron á bordo, y á este vociferaban prisionero.'

At San Buenaventura the alarm was great, though no enemy came there. Padre Señan with his neophytes and the guard abandoned the mission, taking with them the sacred vessels and all other movable property, and went several leagues away to the cañada de Purísima Nueva, where a temporary church was erected, and where they remained twenty-four days. In his entry in the mission-books Señan classifies the insurgents as heretics, schismatics, excommunicated persons, heathen, and a few Moors![36] Bouchard did not, however, keep quite faithfully his promise to quit the coast without further hostilities, for on December 14th to 15th he was at San Juan Capistrano. At the first news of his approach Commandant Ruiz of San Diego sent Alférez Santiago Argüello with thirty men on the 13th to protect the mission. The padres had not been so energetic at San Juan as elsewhere in removing property; but Argüello's men hastily completed the work as far as possible, and families were sent to the Trabuco rancho. When Bouchard landed, probably on the 14th, he sent a letter to the person in charge, asking for certain supplies.

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[34] Molina's sentence, and the testimony of some insurgent deserters in his case, in *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 22-4, 45-6, 66-72.

[35] See note 30 of this chapter. The arrival at San Pedro is mentioned by Sola in a letter of Dec. 16th. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 24.

[36] A child was presented for baptism after the sacred vessels, holy oils, etc., had been removed on Nov. 29th. There was much suffering from cold at La Purísima, and several burials were recorded. The return to the old mission church was Dec. 21st. *S. Buenaventura, Lib. Mision*, MS., 17-21, 61-2. José Ramon Antonio Valdés, *Memorias*, MS., 3, 4, relates the same occurrences. It was his brother who was thus baptized informally.

Argüello, posted with his force on a hill near the mission, refused the request, very likely in no gentle terms. I do not deem it certain that the insurgents did any damage at San Juan. Sola says that they burned a few straw houses of the neophytes before going on board. Most of my later witnesses state that some wine and brandy were spilled, and it is not unlikely that such irregularities were committed by some of Bouchard's men even without his consent.[37]

Next day reënforcements arrived from Santa Bárbara and Los Angeles, soon followed by Guerra himself, who, as Sola tells us, challenged the foe to land and fight, but without success. After the vessels had sailed, on the 15th or 16th, four deserters presented themselves and asked for pardon on the ground that they had been forced against their will to enlist in the insurgent service. There was no reason to doubt their honest intentions, and they were merely sent into the interior and kept under guard for a time as a precaution. Strangely enough, so far as the records show, these men were never examined with a view to get information about Bouchard's expedition, though their testimony was taken respecting the actions of Molina. The four men were the negro Mateo José Pascual, who had before been captured and exchanged; John Rose, a Scotch drummer, aged twenty-seven; Pedro Zaldíbar, of Buenos Aires; and Nicolás Chavarría of Bogotá, both young men.[38]

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[37] Amador, *Memorias*, MS., 56, says they carried away some goods from the warehouse. Did some damage. *Gonzalez, Experiencias*, MS., 10, 11. The mission was sacked and burned. *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 237–8. Did much damage, spilling wine and oil that could not be carried away. *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 6, 7. The chief building was fired, but the church (destroyed years before) was respected at the request of some of the enemy. *Osio, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 46. Spilled the wine and did other damage. *Romero, Notas*, MS., 12. Ravaging and burning. *Lugo, Vida*, MS., 5, 6. Ávila, *Notas*, MS., 5–8, says his father tried to persuade Argüello to attack the pirates while they were reeling under the influence of the stolen liquor; but he would neither attack nor permit others to do so.

[38] *Sola, Noticia*, 286. Names of the prisoners with their testimony. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 62; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xlix. 66–72. Oct. 28, 1819, viceroy orders proceedings to be instituted against the men. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 62. Sola's communications to commandants Guerra and Ruiz on Dec. 18, 19,

In the last days of the soldiers' stay at San Juan there arose a new strife, much more bitter, but quite as bloodless as that with the pirates. It was between the padres of the mission and Don Santiago Argüello. The former charged the alférez with having neglected the mission property, during the brief military occupation, to such an extent that, besides other articles injured or lost, considerable wine and brandy had been wasted, two Indians drank themselves to death, while another became insane. He was likewise charged with having needlessly driven away the friars when they came back on December 16th, forcing them to wander about in great suffering for two days more, and with having returned to San Diego without leaving any soldiers for the protection of San Juan. Argüello, on the other hand, denied that any material damage had been done, or that any Indians had been killed; charging at the same time that the friars had been remiss in removing and caring for mission property, and that they had with insulting words refused the horses, food, and other aid needed by the military force under his command. The correspondence on this subject though quite extensive is not important. As to the merits of the case the letters of José la Guerra are most conclusive. He was the last man in California to entertain any feeling of hostility to the friars; and yet he expresses the deliberate opinion that they trumped up the charges against Argüello only to palliate their own culpable failure to do their duty.[39]

Here more appropriately than elsewhere I may call the reader's attention to another controversial phenomenon of the Bouchard invasion, in the north at Santa Cruz, where the excitement ran higher, if possible, than elsewhere; and where considerable damage

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acknowledging receipt of their reports, and ordering severe measures against the pirate *pícaros* of whose departure he was not yet aware. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 25-7.

[39] Correspondence of Argüello, Guerra, and Boscana, in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 87-92; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 56-9.

was done, though not by pirates' guns. Padre Ramon Olbés, the minister of Santa Cruz, entertained a low opinion of the settlers of Branciforte: he had accused them in advance of an intention to join the pirates in a raid on the mission.[40] He subsequently complained, in language as forcible as a friar could use, that on the approach of the vessels the rascally *villanos* had deliberately sacked the mission with the intention of charging that act upon the insurgents, who, however, by not landing, left them in the lurch. The friar's charges were sweeping, including the theft of every movable article, the wanton destruction of all that was immovable or useless to the thieves, and the most shocking desecration of the church and holy images—in fact, nothing but the bare walls of the buildings remained to show for all the past toil of the missionaries, and Olbés declared that the establishment must be abandoned, for he would not go back to submit longer to the inhuman outrages of the people of Branciforte.[41]

Naturally such serious and direct charges attracted the earnest attention of both the president and the governor, and the latter at once set on foot a strict investigation, Santa Cruz being in the mean while practically abandoned. As the investigation went on Olbés became more violent than before, reiterating his charges and pronouncing the pretended investigation by Luis Argüello a fraud. He declared that the settlers had the impudence to come to church clad in the stolen clothes, and had besides plenty to sell. "Justicia no habita en California," where such crimes can go unpunished! The proceedings instituted by Sola, and carried on by Estrada from Monterey and Argüello from San Francisco at different dates for several months, involved the taking of testimony from all the male residents, de razon, of villa and mission, from many women, and from not a few neophytes. The record is somewhat voluminous,[42] but the testimony was not very conflicting, and the result showed the following facts.

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[40] Oct. 29th, in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 92.

[41] Olbés' letters of Nov. 26th, 27th, Dec. 6th, and March 2d to Sola and Payeras. *Olbés, Cartas sobre el Tumulto de Santa Cruz, 1818*, MS., besides references in subsequent proceedings. The writer was much excited, and he goes into some very minute and amusing details.

On November 21st by advice of Ex-prefecto Sarría, Sola ordered Olbés to abandon Santa Cruz and go to Santa Clara with his neophytes. He was inclined a day or two later to have the mission burned, to keep the grain and other property from the foe; but he contented himself with sending an order to Comisionado Joaquin Buelna of Branciforte to go to the mission, and if it had been abandoned, to remove all he could of the property.[43] Buelna went with a party to execute the order on the 24th, and there are indications that his movements were quickened by the approach of some of Bouchard's boats, which, however, could not land on account of the surf. At any rate the doors of various buildings were forced, and the work was begun. On the morning of the 23d, Padre Olbés with his neophytes and a few soldiers of the guard had started for Santa Clara. Joaquin Castro, the majordomo, and a part of the Indians stopped on the way and next morning returned to Santa Cruz to save some of the mission goods. Castro found Buelna hard at work, and naturally was surprised; but when he learned the purport of the governor's order he joined his force to that of the comisionado. One or two casks of wine and aguardiente that could not be carried away it was deemed best to spill, not improbably into the throats of those present. After this the work went bravely on, but naturally the goods were not 'saved' with the systematic care that would have been desired by the friars. Doors were broken, curtains were torn, vestments were soiled, a few images were defaced; and it is by no means unlikely that in the confusion a few trifles were appropriated by both settlers and Indians. Of the mission effects a part were buried or otherwise concealed; others were listed in an inventory by Buelna and taken to the villa; and still others were carried to Santa Clara by Castro and his Indians. On the way a trunk belonging to Olbés had to be left for a time, during which it was broken open. The guilty pobladores were detected by means of certain pairs of the padre's stockings which one of them had given to a young lady, and two of them were imprisoned at San Francisco. Such was substantially the friars' grievance. The missionary authorities, somewhat excited at first, finally admitted that the danger had been exaggerated;[44] Olbés himself, calming his wrath, went back to his post; and the mission of the holy cross escaped the threatened annihilation.[45]

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[42] *Santa Cruz, Testimonio sobre el Tumulto de Noviembre de 1818*, MS.; Jan. 27, 1819, Sola to president. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 166-9.

[43] Buelna testified that the order included also the destruction of such property as could not be carried away, though nothing was intentionally destroyed. The document is not extant.

After leaving San Juan Capistrano Bouchard's insurgents touched no more on the coast of California. At San Diego Ruiz made every possible preparation, even to the extent of red-hot balls, but the ships passed by without attempting to enter the port. The northern soldiers on their way to reënforce the presidio came no farther than San Luis Rey, and the San Diego families retired from Pala to their homes. Thus the padres of the far south, though burning with military ardor, had no opportunity to meet the foe.[46]

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[44] March 15, 1819, Payeras to Sola. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 69–70. Dec. 30, 1818, Sarría to Capt. Argüello. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., l. 9. Jan. 28, 1819, Tapis to president. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 372–3.

[45] Mrs Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 3, heard that the mission was plundered by Indians 'and by some who were not Indians.' Amador, *Memorias*, MS., 50–6, gives quite an accurate though brief account of the matter. He says there were certain people who wore breeches made of fine red cloth stolen from the mission. Alvarado's version, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 173–4, is that a kind of mob was formed to plunder and destroy, on the ground that the property might as well fall into their hands as those of the pirates; but Judge Buelna backed by a few good citizens succeeded in dispersing the mob. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 214–20, gives the same version. He adds that Buelna was much disliked by the conspirators, who caused him much trouble until he wrote some verses and sent a copy to each. The ignorant villanos took the poetry for some bad and devilish thing, and were so frightened that they marched in procession to restore stolen property and beg the padre to intercede with Buelna for them. The verses are given. Having succeeded so well in this, Buelna tried poetry on some young men who were disposed to make love to his wife. The verses were bad, but they brought about peace, domestic and political, for Judge Buelna. Francisco Rodriguez recited a poem on the event at Sta Cruz and in praise of Buelna. *Cerruti's Ramblings*, MS., 207–9.

Respecting Bouchard's movements after leaving California we have but a few doubtful and disconnected items of information. Several of the Californians speak of the sacking of Loreto and of other places in the peninsula; but they clearly confound the ravages of Bouchard with those of Cochrane several years later. The president of the Lower California missions received news that two vessels supposed to be the same anchored in Todos Santos Bay on Jan. 26th, departing the next day; but the comandante of San Blas thought there was an error of date, and that the vessels were seen from the 24th to the 27th of January in the region of San Blas. On the 19th Governor Argüello at Loreto heard of the attack in the north, and fifteen days later he informed the viceroy that he had taken every precaution, but had heard nothing more. About the middle of February the Indians reported the arrival of certain vessels at Motines on the Colima coast, a report which caused great alarm and mustering of forces, but nothing definite was learned about the strange ships. Finally two suspicious frigates were noticed near Acapulco on the 12th of March. These items, all that could be collected in Mexico before March 24th, I take from correspondence appended to

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[46] Dec. 16th, Sola to Guerra, speaking of the preparations at S. Diego. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 24. The fleet passed in sight of S Diego in sailing south. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 24. Doña Juana Machado de Ridington was a child in San Diego at the time. In her memory of the event, or of what was said about it, she has evidently confounded it with the much earlier affair of the *Lelia Byrd*, since she speaks of soldiers having been carried away. *Machado, Tiempos Pasados*, MS., 4, 5. Dec. 19th, Padre Muñoz writes to Sola that he came to 'give a good blow' to the rebels, but they, like cowards, absented themselves. Dec. 30th (?) he writes: 'We are ready for the insurgents. When do they come?' He has three ambushes prepared and is at the head of his men. 'Esta mision es ya militar; no hay miedo. Esta tierra ha de ser de Fernando, y de consiguiente en ella debe reinar la religion católica!!' Dec. 27th, Padre Escudé of San Luis Rey to Sola. Thanks God the *abortos del infierno* have disappeared. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 27-9, 40-1. Pio Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 5, briefly alludes to the preparations to defend San Diego.

Sola's report in the official newspaper.[47] Osio in his manuscript history adds, on authority of which I know nothing, that Bouchard's vessel while lying in wait for the treasure-ship *María* at the Tres Marías, was attacked and badly crippled with great loss of men by the cruiser *Fidelidad;* but a breeze springing up the vessel escaped, and Bouchard himself died at Lima five years later, having been supported during his last years by charity.[48]

Sola in his report to the viceroy pictured the heroic efforts of the Californians and their sufferings during this winter campaign against invaders, in colors most vivid. The *Gaceta* in which that report was printed contained the viceroy's warmest thanks to all, the notice of Sola's promotion to be colonel, while Manuel Gomez and José Estrada were made lieutenants, and the announcement of orders to send immediate reënforcements and supplies for the relief of California.[49] When the *Gaceta* reached California it was of course read with great interest; but the friars noticed with pain that their own distinguished services and patriotic sacrifices had not been mentioned by the viceroy or governor. Complaint was made to Sola, who rectified the past omission in a supplementary report in which full justice was done to the missionary warriors, to whom also the viceroy subsequently expressed his thanks.[50]

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[47] *Gacetas de Mexico*, xxxix. 286–90. Alaman, *Hist. Méjico*, iv. 696–7, after stating that the insurgents 'siguieron haciendo iguales depredaciones en todas las misiones de la costa de la alta y baja California hasta el cabo de S. Lúcas,' continues: 'they presented themselves also on the coast of New Galicia, where they cruised for some days without daring to land on account of precautions taken by the commandant of Colima; and although at Acapulco they anchored at Pt Caleta, they made no landing according to the report of Gov. Gándara. On the coast of Coalmayutla they parleyed with Guerrero, who sent an officer... but the vessels did not appear.' See also mention of the affair in *Noticioso Gen.*, *March 29, 1819;* and a blundering account in *Dixon's White Conquest*, i. 33–4.

[48] *Osio, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 46–52. I suppose there is no foundation for his statement.

[49] Jan. 20, 1819, viceroy to Sola has already heard of the attack on Monterey, the news having been brought to San Blas by the *Aventurero* on Dec. 30th. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 66. March 30th, Sola forwards the information, including the promise of reënforcements, to the padres. *Arch. Arzob.*, iii. pt. 75–8. March 22d, viceroy to Sola, acknowledging receipt of reports of Nov. 4th and Dec. 12th, thanking everybody, and approving measures for defence. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vii. 66–67; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 70. July 6, 1819, Sola communicates the preceding despatch to the comandante. *Id., Ben. Mil.*, l. 25, Notice of the promotions. *Id.*, xlix. 32.

A schooner arrived at San Diego in April 1819, which was said to have been chased by the insurgents off the Tres Marías, in consequence of which news and on general principles orders were issued on several occasions during the year with a view to prevent too entire a relaxation of precautions at the missions and presidios.[51] The Bouchard invasion increased the number of permanent Anglo-Saxon residents in California to five, Gilroy, Doak, and Call being the three whose coming may be traced to an earlier date. One of the new-comers was John Rose, the Scotchman who gave himself up at San Juan; the other was the American captured at Monterey, Joseph Chapman, the third American pioneer, afterward somewhat famous, as will be seen.[52] By the same event the foreign African population of the province was increased to three by the addition of Pascual and Fisher, or Norris—Bob, left by Smith, having been the pioneer negro so far as the records show.

What were Bouchard's plans and motives in coming to California cannot be clearly known, but may be conjectured. The Californians had no doubt that he came to conquer their province and to plunder it, but was repelled by their energetic measures, bravery, and unswerving loyalty to the king. That he had no such intention is best shown by the fact that he did not carry it into execution, which he certainly might have done without encountering any very formidable obstacles. Cruising in the Pacific in search of rich prizes, he doubtless entered the port of Monterey chiefly to obtain some needed supplies. That he was inclined to ascertain the political feeling of the people and willing to aid in a revolt is not unlikely. Nor is it improbable that in the resulting troubles he hoped to get a share of the mission plunder popularly supposed to be very rich. Whatever were his plans and hopes, they were effectually overthrown on his arrival at Monterey. The coolness of his reception, the refusal to furnish supplies, the popular alarm at his approach, the removal of every portable article of property, the impossibility of coming in contact with the soldiers, made it evident to Bouchard that no profitable business, revolutionary or predatory, could be done in this province. Angry at the inhospitality of the Californians and at the damage done to his ships, if any was really done, he allowed his men to take all they could find and to wreak their vengeance on the presidio buildings, and then left the capital in disgust. The Ortegas, however, were commonly believed, as notorious smugglers and confidential agents of the friars, to have large amounts of money or valuables at their rancho; and made aware of these rumors, perhaps by Molina, the insurgent privateer resolved to strike another blow at Refugio, with what success, so far as valuables are concerned, there are no means of ascertaining.

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[50] June 25, 1819, Padre Ripoll's complaint to Sola. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 117–18. April 2d, Santiago Argüello praises the padres of San Luis Rey. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 92. July 6, 1819, *Sola, Informe Suplementario*, MS. July 19th, Sola to Guerra on the subject. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 33–4; *Guerra, Doc. Hist., Cal.*, MS., iv. 27. Oct. 28th, viceroy to Sola, highly pleased with the friars' conduct, especially that of Payeras and Martinez. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 61. April 4, 1810, Sola in name of the king thanks the padres. April 17th, Payeras acknowledges receipt. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 14.

[51] For these orders and responses, which call for no special attention, see *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 30; l. 26–31; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 82; *Prov. St. Pap.* MS., xx. 71–2, 87, 235; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 32.

[52] See chap. xiii., this vol., for information on these early pioneers down to 1820. Neither Sola nor any other contemporary authority mentions Chapman's name in connection with the Bouchard affair, but Chapman himself stated in a later document that he 'remained here as a prisoner because he was forced with other persons at the Sandwich Islands on the expedition of Bouchard.' *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. (96–7); iv. 156–8. The Californians in their testimony generally confound the Monterey prisoners, those exchanged at Sta Bárbara, and those who gave themselves up at S. Juan. Gonzalez, however, *Experiencias*, MS., 9, 10, remembers the American prisoner as Joseph

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Chapman. Foster, *First American in Los Angeles*, gives an interesting sketch of Chapman's capture, etc., which is purely fictitious so far as details are concerned.

CHAPTER XII.

LAST THREE YEARS OF THE DECADE.

1818-1820.

Sola's Report on Presidios and Missions—Destitution—Mission Aid—Reënforcements from Mexico—Navarrete's Company of San Blas Infantry—Portilla's Company of Mazatlan Cavalry—The Cholos—Hard Times Continued—Sola Disgusted—Small Comfort from the Viceroy—Generosity of the Friars—No Foreign Cargoes—The Governor Tries in vain to Resign—Captain José de la Guerra Sent to Mexico—His Aims and Efforts—His Return with Supplies—Revival of Foreign and Spanish Trade—Arrival of Artillery Detachment under Ramirez—Fear of Insurgents—Royalist Companies—The Spanish Constitution of 1812 in California.

I have already noticed Sola's general report on the condition and needs of the province at the beginning of 1817.[1] A large portion of that year was spent by him in making a tour of inspection, including every presidio, pueblo, and mission from San Francisco to San Diego. On April 3, 1818, he sent to Viceroy Apodaca the result of his observations. The report was chiefly devoted to local descriptions; but attention was given in general way to the neophytes, their alarming mortality, 41,000 having died out of 64,000 baptized, the prevalence of hereditary venereal disease being rapidly communicated from the Christians to the gentiles. The comparative worthlessness of the Indians as an element of future prosperity was noticed, the faithful services of the friars, and the urgent need of supernumeraries to act as chaplains. Agricultural resources, progress, and prospects were given, with the increasing devastations of squirrels, gophers, grasshoppers, and the *chahuistle* in the south. His observations on these and other special topics I shall utilize elsewhere. He gave the white population of California as 3,000 at the end of 1817. His suggestion for the cure of the evil which threatened speedy ruin to the missions was the establishment of mission schools, in which female children could be trained from the age of three or four years entirely free from the debasing influences of contact with older Indians; and also a general school or college for the training of five or six chosen neophytes from each mission. The subject of coast defences, with the urgent necessity of thwarting foreign schemes, was again presented; but still the introduction of colonists was pointed out as the country's most pressing need. The new settlers should number at least one thousand families; should be exempt from all taxation for ten years, and should have two vessels to carry away their produce in semi-annual voyages to southern ports.[2]

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[1] See chap. x. this volume.

Want in the presidios must have been greater than ever in 1818, for the sources of supply from without the province were fewer even than usual. Goods to the amount of about $14,000 were purchased for drafts from the Manila ship *San Ruperto,* which put into Monterey in January with a scurvy-stricken crew.[3] Roquefeuil took produce at San Francisco in September to the value of about $7,000.[4] It is probable that some relief also was obtained from Hagemeister and Golovnin, who visited Monterey in the autumn; but very little is known of those visits.[5] Sola was still timid and reluctant about engaging in this unlawful trade with foreigners; but the condition of affairs left no alternative, and after carrying his refusals and protestations to such an extent as his official conscience demanded, he always yielded. No Lima ships came for tallow. If anything was obtained from the *Clarion* except a warning against the pirates the records do not show it. No memorias came, nor was there any encouragement for the future in this respect.[6] Meanwhile the friars supported the government and troops from the products of their neophytes' labor, without much reluctance for the most part as it seems; though there was a complaint from Santa Bárbara that cattle for fresh meat were refused except at excessive prices. The friars even furnished on one occasion $2,800 in silver coin.[7] Complaints of suffering were, like supplies, scarcer than usual; and finally in their terror at the Bouchard invasion the people well nigh forgot for a time their destitution.

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[2] *Sola, Observaciones hechas en la Visita de la Provincia desde San Francisco hasta San Diego, 1818,* MS.

[3] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 175.

[4] See chap. xiii. this volume.

[5] See chap. xiv. this volume.

The first news of Bouchard's attack on Monterey reached Mexico, as we have seen, in December 1818. So serious was the emergency in the eyes of Viceroy Apodaca, who supposed that a part of the province had very likely fallen into the hands of the foes of Spain, that he not only urged Sola to strain every nerve in the defence of his country, but immediately sent orders to Guadalajara and San Blas and Sonora that two vessels should be despatched forthwith with all the troops and munitions of war they could carry for the relief of California. Such was the purport of the viceroy's letter of January 20, 1819,[8] and the good news was circulated at the end of March. A little later when Sola's official report of the invasion was received, showing that the Spanish dominion was still intact in the north-west, the danger still seemed so imminent and the earnest appeal for reënforcements so well founded, that past orders were not countermanded and measures for relief were actually hastened. In June and July the coming of vessels with troops was definitely announced.[9]

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[6] Aug. 4, 1818, José María Narvaez to Guerra. The habilitado general has no hope of getting the *situado*; and even if the funds were forthcoming there are no vessels available for transportation. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 119. Complaints of destitution. *Id.*, iii. 97, 107. All the authorities on the Bouchard affair named in the preceding chapter speak of the great want which followed.

[7] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 98; v. 33. List of missions with prorata of $3,000 called for by the government. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 283.

[8] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 66–7.

The first detachment of troops that started northward was the San Blas infantry company of one hundred men under the command of Captain José Antonio Navarrete, Lieutenant Antonio del Valle, and Sublieutenant Francisco de Haro. The transport *San Cárlos* was brought into service to carry the lieutenants and half the company, and was commanded by Gonzalo de Ulloa. The captain with the rest of the men embarked on the ship *Reina de Los Angeles,* Captain José Bandini, chartered for this trip.[10] The vessels sailed from San Blas on June 8th, and both landed their troops at Monterey between July 25th and September 7th, there being much confusion about the exact dates.[11] The *Reina* among other war-stores brought five iron six-pounders and ten four-pounders, while the *San Cárlos* had four hundred sabres and three national flags. Forty men of the company under Lieutenant Valle were soon transferred from the capital to San Francisco.

The second detachment of reënforcements was a part of the Escuadron de Mazatlan, a company of cavalry one hundred strong, under Captain Pablo de la Portilla, lieutenants Juan María Ibarra and Narciso Fabregat, and Alférez Ignacio Delgado. This company embarked at Mazatlan in the *Cossack* on July 14th. The vessel was chartered for San Diego direct, but the winds carried her to the gulf instead, and on August 7th the troops, thirty-seven of whom are said to have been dangerously ill, were landed at San Luis Gonzaga Bay. From this point they marched slowly northward, and arrived at San Diego on the 16th of September. These troops came tolerably well armed with muskets and bayonets; and they brought ten thousand dollars in money with which to defray expenses.[12] Forty-five of the men under Fabregat and Delgado were soon added to the garrison at Santa Bárbara; so that the new forces were in a few weeks pretty evenly distributed among the four presidios, giving each an increase of about fifty men. None of these men were at this time accompanied by their families. A reënforcement of artillery had been asked for, promised, and had even started, but did not arrive this year.

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[9] March 30, 1819. Sola in a circular to the padres directs that if the ships, expected to arrive with troops, should be seen south of San Buenaventura they are to be directed to Sta Bárbara; but if further north, to Monterey or San Francisco. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 80. June 21st, Sola has heard that a vessel is fitting out at Mazatlan to bring 100 men under Antonio Cordero. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 35. July 6th, Sola expects the *S. Cárlos* and *Cossack. Id.*, x. 36.

[10] She was chartered for $10,000, with $4,000 a month from April 18th for time lost at San Blas or in California. *Prov. St. Pap., Pres.*, MS., i. 12. José Bandini was a Peruvian who afterwards settled in California, and whose son was a prominent man in later times.

[11] June 8, 1819, instructions from Commandant Antonio Quartara of S. Blas to Lieut. Ulloa for the voyage, giving details of what is to be done in case of meeting hostile vessels, precautions in approaching California, relations with Sola, etc. The vessels were to bring back a cargo of hemp if it could be had. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 238-43. Announcements of sailing and arrival, with other unimportant matter concerning the expedition. *Id.*, xx. 71, 74, 82-3; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xlix. 32, 35; l. 24, 49; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 39-40; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., v. 54-5; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi.

The only especial use for a military force this year was in the series of expeditions made in the autumn against the Indians of the interior valleys, which, including the disaster at San Buenaventura and the resulting campaign of Moraga towards the Colorado, I narrate fully elsewhere.[13] The newcomers aided in these expeditions, part of the southern company going with Moraga, and the infantry by garrison duty in the north released the presidial soldiers for campaign service. Portilla's Mazatlan company was composed of a good class of men, who subsequently gave no grounds for complaint, being equal in character and discipline to the regular presidial troops. Navarrete's infantry company, the "veteranos de San Blas, soldados de la otra banda," or as they were best known in

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[12] Correspondence about the coming of the *Cossack* and the Mazatlan company in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 71, 74, 81, 85–6, 233–4; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 11, 12; xlix. 32, 34, 38–9; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 37–8, 41.

[13] See chap. xv. of this volume.

California, the *cholos,*[14] were on the contrary most emphatically a bad lot. Such is the unanimous testimony of governor, commandants, friars, and citizens, no one of whom has a word to say in their favor. They belonged to the criminal and vagabond classes; were taken for the most part from the jails or picked up by press-gangs in New Galicia, and they were altogether ignorant of military discipline or the use of arms. Notwithstanding the suit of clothes and two months' advance pay which they had received, they soon proved a burden rather than a relief to California.[15]

And here I am brought back once more to the ever-recurring topic of hard times. Neither the *San Cárlos* nor the *Reina* brought the long hoped for memorias, though goods to the small amount of $3,000 seem to have been obtained from one of the captains.[16] Sola had based some very sanguine expectations on the viceroy's communications. Besides the regular presidial supplies of pleasing memory, he hoped for and regarded as promised a detachment of artillery, 400 carbines, 300 swords, fifteen or twenty cannon of large calibre, and a considerable sum of money for the repairing of forts.[17] None of these things came except some sabre-blades, "not fit for sickles," to which rude wooden handles had been fitted during the sea-voyage. Sola was filled with indignation and disgust, which he expressed rather freely with more force than dignity to superiors and subordinates. The viceroy he accused of breaking his promises, and General Cruz of disobeying the viceroy's orders; all, as he peevishly implies, for no other motive than to increase the troubles that were keeping him restless night and day.[18]

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[14] *Cholo* in American provincial Spanish is the offspring of a Spanish father and Indian mother; but it was never used in California except in an offensive sense, with reference to character rather than to race. It was applied only to vagabonds who came from Mexico.

[15] Sept. 28, 1819, Sola to Guerra says he has complained very bitterly to the viceroy about the class of men 'sent at a cost of nearly $60,000 to augment my troubles.' *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 42. Sept. 6th, Lieut. Estrada says not one of the men ever had a musket in his hands. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 182–3; iv. 43. Sept. 17th, Padre Martinez to Sola, the new troops 'sin disciplina y sin religion.' The valley of the Tulares is a good place to tame horses and soldiers. The V. R. should be talked to very plainly. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 90–6. Sept. 16th, Payeras to Sola, protests against the new troops being quartered at the missions or having anything to do with the neophytes. It is hard enough to manage the Indians with the best soldiers of the presidial companies as escoltas. The new troops should be kept in the presidios; but if some of them must come to the missions he will notify the padres to have separate quarters built for them. Oct. 8th, Payeras to padres giving directions for such buildings. *Id.*, iii. pt. ii. 96–104. Of mixed race and worse than mixed character, vicious and quarrelsome. Their conduct inspired disgust and was the origin of the subsequent bitter feelings between Californians and Mexicans. Small in stature, wearing the hair short in contrast with the presidial troops, drunkards, gamblers, and thieves. *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 11, 12. Good and esteemed officers; but the large majority of the privates were regular *léperos*. *Pico, Acontecimientos*, MS., 4, 5. The moment they arrived at Monterey robberies, excesses, and murders began in California. *Osio, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 54–5. Nov. 13, 1820, 16 of the company sent back to San Blas for insubordination. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 22.

[16] *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 37. Capt. Bandini also gave his draft for $1,145, what for does not appear.

Viceroy Apodaca had been almost surprised at his own zeal in having made such extraordinary efforts in behalf of California. He was inclined to expect from the far north an outburst of gratitude which would wipe out all the shortcomings of his predecessors, and his own in the past and future. He was accordingly astounded at Sola's impudence and ingratitude, and on receipt of his complaints he administered a severe reprimand, and wrote in substance: "You have no consideration of the difficulties encountered, or of the sacrifices made in sending to your province such an army as it never saw before, and you dare to say you are in a worse condition than ever. The swords are not 'fit for sickles;' in fact were not intended to be, but for weapons; and if the handles are not suitable then put on better ones, and supply the lack of scabbards from the hides so abundant in your country. No carbines were sent because none could be found; let the troops use muskets to which they are better accustomed. The artillery is on the way, has been delayed I suppose, and will arrive in due time. Two vessels have been laden with supplies, and will take away the products of the country, thus aiding the pueblo you say you have to feed. And those settlers, let them go to work, as God and the king require; let them develop the rich resources of their province and talk less, and thus will they live comfortably, and also be an aid rather than a burden to the government in such trying times as these. I shall continue to do all in my power for your province, and I shall despatch the *San Cárlos* next March with eight missionaries, besides money and goods. Meanwhile if the two hundred men I have sent are of no use to you, send them back."[19]

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[17] These hopes rested on the viceroy's letters of April 26th and March 20th. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 68-9, 79, in which some of the items were promised 'if possible;' and respecting others 'orders had been issued' merely.

[18] Sola's correspondence in *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 12; xlix. 35, 41-2; *Guerra*, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 32-3, 35, 43-4. Sola's complaints to the V. R. and Gen. Cruz are not extant; but his letter to the latter was dated Dec. 6th, and was evidently of the same purport as those to the comandantes.

Not a single cargo of goods for trade was brought in 1819 by either Spanish or foreign craft. The governor made no secret of his determination to trade with the Russians as the only partial remedy for existing necessities;[20] but the opportunity seems not to have occurred, and the only dependence for supplies was on the missions. The response of the missionaries was most satisfactory and liberal; especially when we consider that there were now 200 additional mouths to feed, that the losses of the missions in connection with the Bouchard affair had been quite considerable in time, labor, and effects, besides the inconveniences naturally arising from the hasty abandonment of so many establishments, and that the padres made a direct contribution of about $3,500 to supply losses sustained at Monterey, besides furnishing laborers and many articles to which no special value was given, and besides having been put to much trouble and expense early in 1819 to protect the province from the new attacks which were feared.[21]

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[19] Dec. 15, 1819, viceroy to Sola. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 63–5. Oct. 28th, the V. R. had written that there were no carbines to be had, and that the treasury of Sonora could furnish no supplies. *Id.*, xx. 72. Dec. 2d, Alejo García Conde from Durango to Sola. Money and arms very scarce. Can send no funds. *Id.*, xx. 84. Dec. 8th, 'no hay novedad en California.' *Gaceta de Mex.*, xli. 418.

[20] Sept. 6, 1819, Sola to Payeras. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 179–80.

It is indeed surprising how cheerfully each mission did its part either in voluntary gifts, in regularly assessed contributions, or in response to special local demands, and how rarely even slight misunderstandings arose in individual cases.[22] The friars seem to have realized the fact that they had the province to support, and to have made the best of it, cheering themselves with the idea that they were working for the king and their own existence as missionaries, and with the hope of better times to come.[23] Yet at times they were much discouraged at the prospect before them.[24] Sola did not fail toward the end of 1819 to vent some of his peevishness on the friars, accusing them, as he accused everybody, of lukewarmness and a failure to appreciate his own troubles and efforts; but the president replied in a dignified manner that he had given no just cause for such complaints; that he fully realized the governor's difficulties, and that he had done and would do all in his power for the province. Yet he was about to resign and hoped his successor would give better satisfaction; and he insisted that while the padres were straining every nerve to support the troops, and doing everything except the impossible, the comandantes should be ordered to comply promptly with the friars' suggestions in minor matters, such as the transfer of guards and details of mission discipline.[25] In 1820 there was no controversy on the subject and all went smoothly, the correspondence being very meagre. At the end of the decade the outstanding habilitados' drafts in favor of the missions amounted to $400,000. Of some of the missionaries' troubles at home and in Mexico, caused by the failure to collect either stipends or money for drafts, I shall have more to say in another chapter.

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[21] Jan. 28, 1819, Sola to president. Calls for the establishment of a station with 150 horses ready for service between each two missions; also for the manufacture of 200 machetes and 150 cartridge-boxes; also for 40 skilled archers to be kept ready at each mission. Feb. 27th, president to padres giving the corresponding instructions, though the horses were to be kept at the missions until the alarm should be given. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 51–5, 63–9; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., l. 26–31. March 30th, April 4th, correspondence betweeen Sola and prefect on aid for the expected reënforcements. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 121–2; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 80. Jan. 27th, Feb. 26th, June 26th, Sola's appeals for aid for Monterey, and Payeras' favorable responses, apportioning $3,500 among the missions in the name of the communities of neophytes. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 49–51, 63–9, 125–6. Thanks of viceroy and governor to padres for past services during the invasion, communicated by Sola June 27th, and by Payeras July 28th. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 440–1. Correspondence about supplies for the new troops after their arrival. Aug.–Sept. 1819. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. —; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., viii. 67; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 179–85.

[22] The quarrels at Sta Cruz and at San Juan Capistrano have been recorded in the last chapter. March 22, 1819, Santiago Argüello says he dislikes to have anything to do with the padres, for they act like the apothecary who sugars his pills, implying more than they would dare to say. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 77.

[23] Extensive correspondence on special contributions during 1819–20, showing no reluctance on the part of the padres. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. passim. Especial zeal is shown in a circular of President Payeras dated Dec. 19, 1819, in which he approved of the governor's resort to *contribuciones forzozas* in circumstances of extreme necessity, and calls on the padres to respond liberally and without complaint. Cloth is the chief thing needed; great attention must be paid to raising hemp, even to the neglect of vineyards and other industries. The southern missions must also make a desperate effort to grow cotton. Endorsed by a padre at every mission between Jan. 3d and 22d. *Id.*, iii. i. 1–6.

[24] Jan. 4th, Señan to Sola. 'Our time of trouble has come: the Americans will do all the harm they can; old connections are broken; no more memorias; foreigners disrespectful; the Limeños charged us 15 per cent. on goods last year, and will take 50 per cent. next year if they come at all; from the gen-

Sola, whose term of office would naturally expire at the end 1819, had in May 1818 sent a memorial to the king asking for the rank of colonel, and also for a new term as governor when the five years should ex-

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eral outlook of affairs I infer the *desámparo* of the province.' Yet he wil strive and pray for relief from the government and God, to prevent the abandonment of such a country and of so many souls ripe for salvation. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 46–8. Luis Martinez also takes a melancholico-jocose view of things in his letters to Guerra, though much of this padre's writing is not over-clear to the uninitiated. For instance: 'There is no guitar-player to devote himself to the preparation of a tune for them to dance to. My guitar has only two strings, and I alone understand it, and when I play some dance and I amuse myself—so you must ponder upon this, for the appearance of affairs is bad.' *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 6, 8.

[25] Correspondence of Oct.–Dec. in *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 126–37. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 187–91, describes a formal conference at Monterey between Sola and padres from 7 missions on the supply question soon after the arrival of the cholos. He says that Sola had to take a very firm stand, pledge his private wealth, and even use some threats before the padres would consent to support the new troops. Correspondence of 1820. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 155, iii. 8; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 25, 28; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 22; xviii. 35–6, 45.

pire. He was in a contented mood at that time and expressed a desire to end his days in California.[26] With increasing troubles, however, he became discontented, and a year later, although he had in the mean time been made colonel of provincial militia, he announced his expectation of being relieved at the end of his term in accordance with his request long ago forwarded to the viceroy.[27] In the spring of 1820 he sent in his formal resignation, thus arousing strong hopes among the friends of Captain Guerra that the latter might through the aid of San Fernando college secure the position.[28] Throughout the year Sola appears to have urged the acceptance of his resignation of an office that yielded him neither honor nor profit, nothing but vexation of spirit. His friends were asked to work for him and secure a better place, as intendant or minister of the exchequer; but no attention was paid to the matter, perhaps partly on account of the demand for a better place; on the contrary his appointment as governor was royally confirmed in June, though the announcement did not reach California until the next year.[29]

One measure for relief devised and executed by the governor, with the advice and aid of his subordinates, was to send a special commissioner to Mexico with a power of attorney from all the commandants, to lay before the viceroy the critical condition of provincial matters, and also to investigate the state of things in the habilitado general's office and see if Gervasio Argüello could not be made to render more effective service, that official being apparently inclined to live very much at his ease at Guadalajara instead of the capital. For this important mission José de la Guerra y Noriega was selected as a man who enjoyed the confidence of all classes, and an extra salary of one hundred dollars per month was pledged by the officers and men of the four presidios. He sailed early in November with Bandini on the *Reina de los Angeles* for San Blas. His instructions, dated September 23d, required him to hasten to Mexico, on no account to delay at Guadalajara or to place any reliance on the treasury official there, to treat directly with the viceroy, to be put off with no frivolous excuses, to claim the promised armament not sent with the troops and also the detachment of artillery, and above all things to insist on the immediate payment of $150,000 or $200,000, half of which was to be invested in the supplies most needed according to Guerra's judgment.[30]

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[26] May 5, 1818, Sola to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 196. In April Moran had written to Guerra from Mexico that Sola should be promoted; 'he must let fly his memorials' and get the reward due him for the 'banishment he imposed upon himself with profit to the service and benefit to that neglected settlement.' *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 117.

[27] June 21, 1819, Sola to Guerra. He says his request was sent 10 months ago, that is about the time he had really asked for a continuation. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 32–3. On March 7th a notice appeared that the governorship of California was vacant, with a request to aspirants to make the proper applications for the position. *Gacetas de Mex.*, xxxix. 233. June 14th, Padre Escudé having seen that notice congratulates Sola that he will now be able to retire to Spain as he has long desired, and will be rewarded for his 'honorable retreat' from Monterey in 1818. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 114.

[28] Mar. 30th, Apr. 23d, Lieut. Estudillo to Guerra, urging the latter to avail himself of the opportunity. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 461–2, 465.

[29] July 25, 1820, Sola to Patricio Humana. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 56. Oct. 7th, Sola to Ruiz de Cabañas. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 20–1. Oct. 9th, Sola to Guerra, asking him to call on several influential persons in his behalf. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 46. Royal order of June 1820. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 38.

Doubtless a better man than Guerra could not have been chosen as commissioner, and he accomplished the little that was possible. He wrote from San Blas on November 26th to the viceroy, who on January 12th replied that he was making preparations to send $30,000 to the habilitado general at Guadalajara; that he had informed Sola of his efforts to do for California all that the condition of the treasury would permit; and that if he, Guerra, had no other business in Mexico he might return to his post on the *San*

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[30] *Guerra, Determinacion sobre su Ida á Mexico, é Instrucciones del Gobr. Sola*, 1819, MS. Correspondence on the subject, including the powers of attorney from the comandantes and the guarantee of a salary, $25 from each presidio, which Guerra asked for, but which he subsequently seems to have declined voluntarily. *Id.*, iv. 62; vi. 192-4; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 35-6, 38, 40-1, 44; l. 50-1; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 40, 46.

Cárlos, since his longer stay was unnecessary.[31] Yet the captain thought it best to go to the capital, where he succeeded in increasing the amount of the appropriation, and perhaps, though this is not so clear, in getting a part of the amount to expend in Mexico, where it is stated that supplies could be purchased much cheaper than in Guadalajara. At any rate he obtained a passport for return on April 15th, and sailed from San Blas, probably on the *San Cárlos*, in June, with goods invoiced at $41,319, but valued in California at $34,000 or $36,000, with which he arrived at Monterey in August.[32]

Meanwhile complaints of destitution in the province were frequent, several of them having been forwarded to Guerra while he was in Mexico.[33] The memorias if of slight amount were better than nothing after so long waiting; and trade, moreover, was much more brisk than in the preceding year. There were at least five Spanish craft besides the transport *San Cárlos* on the coast, which afforded a market for more tallow than could be obtained, and in addition to their trade with the padres and settlers sold to the presidios at least $17,000 worth of goods.[34] Besides, Khlébnikof came from the north with the welcome cargo of the *Buldakof;* and possibly another Russian cargo was obtained, to say nothing of small sums received from two Russian vessels bound to the north, and from a British whaler for fresh provisions furnished. Thus financially affairs were a little brighter at the close of the decade.

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[31] Jan. 12, 1820, viceroy to Guerra. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 164; vi. 94-5. On the same date the V. R. wrote to Sola expressing great surprise at the latter's letter of Sept. 21, 1819, on the uselessness of the expense incurred to send the vessels with 100 jail-birds as soldiers. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 282. Same date also Moran to Guerra, doubting that the latter will get anything in Mexico more satisfactory than fair promises. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 118.

[32] March 1820, Guerra in Mexico thanks viceroy for his interest in the welfare of California, and asks for money to invest in supplies. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 152-5. April 15th, viceroy's passport. *Id.*, vi. 122. Invoices dated Guadalajara, May 15th. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 43; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, li. 10. March 29th, the *S. Cárlos* will be overhauled and then proceed with invoices to California. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 405-6. Aug. 25th, Sola says that Noriega has arrived with $36,000 in supplies. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 58. Luis Argüello on Aug. 12th says the $34,000 brought by Guerra will be but slight relief to the 4 presidios. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 127-8.

[33] Such complaints in 1819-20, the purport of which it is unnecessary to repeat; in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 52, 55-6, 136; v. 206-7, 230-1, 250-1; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 24; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 262-3, no ink for writing, gunpowder used; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlix. 53-4; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 24. Dec. 25th, Sola to García Conde. Affairs in a bad condition; no trade; only 3,000 people from whom to collect tithes; the dockyards of S. Blas ought to be transferred to California. *Id.*, vi. 25-6.

I think the detachment of artillery, about twenty strong, including a few artisans, under Sub-lieutenant José Ramirez, must have arrived this year, perhaps in the *Cleopatra* which arrived at Monterey on May 7th, though there is no positive record to that effect. The reënforcement was a most welcome one to the province, since the few remaining artillerymen under Gomez were for the most part old and disabled, and the new men were of a good class under an able officer.[35] Throughout the year the Californians were on the watch for hostile vessels. A large ship was seen at San Francisco in the evening of March 19th, but had disappeared next morning. This brought out from the governor an order to the padres to keep their valuables boxed and ready for removal.[36] Within less than a month there came a warning from Mexico that four insurgent vessels from Chili might be expected at any moment on the northern coasts.

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[34] See chap. xiii., this volume.

[35] The movements of this artillery detachment are not very clear. Most of my narratives speak of it as having come with the other reënforcements in 1819; but we have seen that such was not the case. March 20, 1819, the viceroy announced their coming. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 68–9, 71. At the end of May 1819, Ramirez and his men are said to have left Mexico for California by way of Durango, Guaymas, and Loreto. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 119. Sept. 28th, Sola had received news of their coming, from Guaymas. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 42. Oct. 28th, the viceroy advised Sola that the artillerymen were at Mazatlan. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 72. Preparations for their coming in Sept.–Oct. *Id.*, xx. 251–2. March 29, 1820, the *Cleopatra* is said to be fitting at San Blas to carry artillerymen and war-stores. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 405–6. But in the notice of the *Cleopatra's* arrival there is nothing said of artillery. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 207–9; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., 54. Pico, *Acontecimientos*, MS., 4, tells us that the artillerymen were nearly all men of good character and pure Spanish blood. July 20, 1820, Ramirez renders an account at Monterey. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liii. 3.

[36] March 21, 1820, Sola to padres. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 7.

Accordingly Sola issued on April 9th orders to comandantes and friars which required a renewal of the measures of 1818, and a readiness to send families and property into the interior and rally for the defence of the country at the first notice of an enemy's approach.[37] The only new feature in the governor's precautionary measures was the proposed organization of companies of California royalists, for which purpose lists were called for of all civilians over fifteen years of age in the province. It does not clearly appear that the organization of the faithful *realistas* was carried further than the formation of these lists. The neophyte warriors were, however, organized and drilled to some extent, especially at Santa Bárbara, where Padre Ripoll formed a 'compañía de urbanos realistas de Santa Bárbara,' one hundred strong and armed with bows, besides a company of fifty *macheteros*, and another of thirty lancers, all picked men. These Indians promised to shed their last drop of blood for their king, and Ripoll, meanwhile keeping their arms locked up, had much confidence in them, but President Payeras had his doubts about their conduct in battle.[38]

Fernando VII. having been forced in March of this year to accept the liberal constitution of 1812, Viceroy Apodaca with his ministry followed the king's example in May, announcing the fact in a *bando,* or decree, of May 31st. This document was forwarded to California for publication by the bishop of Sonora July 1st, but there is no record of its reception. On the 7th of June, or July, however, the viceroy issued another bando, requiring a formal oath of allegiance to the constitution to be sworn to by all before the curate of each parish on the first *dia de fiesta* after the publication of the edict. This order was forwarded by the bishop from Arizpe on August 16th, and reached California in October.[39] The matter first appears in the provincial records on October 8th, when Sola took the oath before Padre Suñer, Captain de la Guerra, and the assembled people at the presidial chapel at Santa Bárbara. Next day he notified the prefect that the friars must be ordered by circular to take the prescribed pledge. October 20th Lieutenant Valle went to San José as commissioner to receive the oath of the pueblo officials. The 22d President Payeras took the oath at Monterey and sent out the required circulars. These are the only recorded instances; but doubtless the formality was complied with everywhere during the month. The only evidence of reluctance is found in a communication of Sola to Captain Navarrete, according to which the padres of San Cárlos are to be warned that if they fail to swear on the next Sunday they will lose their priestly character and prerogatives.[40] The king's order on this subject was obeyed by the loyalists of California simply because it was the king's order, without discussion, and, so far as the majority of the people were concerned, without any clear ideas as to the purport of the new constitution. It is not even certain that there was a copy[41] of the document in California at this time. The missionaries understood the principles involved, and had no sympathy with them; but they realized fully that they and their peculiar institutions must fall with royalty, and that in unwavering fidelity to the king lay their only hope for the future.

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[37] April 9, 1820, Sola to President Payeras and to commandants. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 271-2; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 13. Preparations at San Rafael, where the news arrived April 18th. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 27.

[38] April 10, 1820, Estudillo to comisionado of San José. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 15. One hundred and eighty-seven men fit for arms at San Diego. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 52; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 48. Maitorena makes out list at Monterey. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 207. Padres confident in Indian loyalty and bravery. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 31 et al. Ripoll's preparations at Sta Bárbara. *Id.*, iv. 17, 20.

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[39] *Constitucion Española de 1812. Bandos del Virey y Obispo sobre su jura, 1820*, MS. The form of oath was to be: 'Do you swear by God and the Holy Gospels to observe the political constitution of the Spanish Monarchy sanctioned by the General and Extraordinary Córtes of the Nation, and to be faithful to the King?' the response of all to be 'Sí juro.' This oath was to be preceded by a mass of thanksgiving, and followed by a te deum and a discourse by the curate. Next day after the publication, all prisoners for other than criminal offences were to be set at liberty. The viceroy's order of July 31st is also mentioned in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 272. On Jan. 21st, Sola had transcribed an order to prevent the circulation of subversive periodicals such as the *Español Constitucional, Gabinete de Curiosidades*, etc. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, li. 8.

[40] *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xviii. 33; v. 59; *S. José Arch.*, MS., iii. 13, 16; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 23; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 116.

[41] I have what appears to be the original copy sent to California, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 1-42, but it has nothing to show when it was received.

CHAPTER XIII.

FOREIGN RELATIONS—MARITIME AFFAIRS—AND CONTRABAND TRADE.

1811–1820.

Bidarka-fleets—Capture of the 'Mercury'—Cannon at San Pedro—The 'Pedler' Seized—The 'Isaac Todd' and 'Raccoon'—Gilroy—The War of 1812—Restrictions—The 'Columbia'—Eliot de Castro and the 'Ilmen'—The 'Lydia' and 'Albatross'—Thomas Doak—Kotzebue's Visit—Chamisso and Choris—A Supply-ship at Last—The Lima Traders—Tallow—Wilcox and the 'Caminante'—The Capitan Colorado—Roquefeuil's Visits in the 'Bordelais'—Fernandez and Suñol—Items of the Last Three Years—The Insurgents Coming—Fears of Americans—Chapman and Rose—Trading Fleet of 1820.

Two subjects connected with foreign relations for this decade, Bouchard's invasion and relations with the Russians, are treated in separate chapters,[1] receiving here only such brief mention as convenience may require. The visits in 1811–12 of certain American vessels with bidarka-fleets hunting otters under Russian contracts—of the Winships in the *Albatross* and *O'Cain*, Davis in the *Isabella*, Meek in the *Amethyst*, Blanchard in the *Catherine*, and Whittemore in the *Charon*—are elsewhere recorded, little being known about most of them beyond their presence on the coast and the number of otter-skins they carried away.[2] Kuskof in the schooner *Chiríkof* came down to Bodega in 1811, returned to establish Fort Ross in 1812, and the following year entered into commercial relations with the Spaniards at San Francisco.[3]

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[1] Chapters xi. and xiv. of this volume.

[2] See chapter v. this volume.

[3] The merchant brig *Mexicano*, Capt. José Arci, anchored at Monterey in

In 1813 the American trader *Mercury*, Captain George Washington Ayres, repeated her visit to the coast in search of opportunities for contraband trade, and came to grief in the attempt.[4] Two Spanish vessels, *Flora*, Nicolás Noé, and *Tagle*, Anangua, were on the coast this year, having come up from Lima on a trading voyage,[5] and the former had the good fortune to find and capture the *Mercury* just above Santa Bárbara on June 2d. The circumstances of the capture and the testimony of officers and crew left no doubt in the mind of Argüello, who by the governor's orders held a formal investigation on the 19th,[6] that the Americans had neglected no opportunity for clandestine trade. Accordingly a formal inventory was made of the captured effects, the officers and men being secured at the presidio until all could be sent south and the matter be turned over to the superior government for final disposal. Noé did not approve this course, since he wished the *Flora* to be pronounced a privateer, and the *Mercury* her prize to be confiscated and sold with all her effects for the benefit of himself

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September 1811. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 220; and the *Columbia* was on the California coast in 1812. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 158.

[4] Sola in 1813 states that Ayres, called Payus, was left at Monterey nine years ago, or in 1804, by a smuggler, and was sent to Mexico, soon making his reappearance on the coast. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 133. This is mysterious, unless possibly Ayres was the mate of the *Peacock* captured in 1806. See chap. ii. of this vol. A scrap in *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 702, says an American smuggler, Capt. Geo. Washington, being at Refugio at the time of the earthquake of Dec. 20, 1812, was carried up a cañon and brought back by the wave. This was from the *S. F. Bulletin* and was written probably by Taylor.

[5] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 92-3; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 218; *Prov. St. Pap.*, xix. 351, and allusions in references of following notes. Noé sold $2,000 in supplies to the presidios, taking a draft. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 372.

[6] *Mercury, Expediente de investigacion sobre captura de la fragata Americana 'Mercurio,' 1813*, MS. All admitted occasional traffic for skins and supplies. Ayres testified that he had been eight years on the coast, engaged for the most part as on the present voyage in bringing supplies for the Russians and carrying their otter-skins to China, but also trading with the Indians; had never entered the ports of California; had a U. S. patent, but no special passport for these waters; was not in company with any other vessel, though there were eight American vessels trading on the coast; had some watches from Ross to be repaired in China. Pilot John Dillaway said an American vessel would soon arrive from China; and he offered to aid in the capture of the *Charon*, then at San Quintin. June 8th, Arrillaga to Noé, ordering inventory and investigation made. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 19, 20. Also to commandant. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 352-3.

and his men.[7] This Arrillaga and Argüello could not reconcile with their ideas of international law, or at least, they preferred to evade the responsibility. The property must all go San Blas, except $16,000 in coin, which it was more convenient to send in the form of a draft on Guadalajara, a perfectly unobjectionable operation, though a very shrewd one, by which California was enabled to see once more the color of the king's money in spite of the treasury officials and the revolution.[8]

Noé left his own vessels at Santa Bárbara and continued his voyage in the *Mercury* to Monterey and other points. There were rumors of other smugglers about the Channel islands, and Noé hoped to capture some of them, but there is no record of his success.[9] Finally the prisoners were taken to San Blas in October on the *Catalina*, alias the *Tagle*, which carried also three Russian deserters.[10] I suppose that the *Mercury* and *Flora* sailed about the same time.[11] Captain Ayres had on his vessel a woman from the Hawaiian Islands who had accompanied him for four years as wife, or mistress, and had borne him a daughter at sea a few days before the capture. Both mother and child were left in California and became good Catholics.[12]

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[7] June 27th, Noé to commandant, being his not quite disinterested views on the 'customary' disposition of contraband vessels according to the 'rules of the Pacific.' *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 349-50.

[8] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 133; xi. 21. In one document the sum seems to be given as $8,800.

[9] June 9th, Arrillaga to Argüello. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 20-1. June 26th, Argüello to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 350-2. It was recommended to send the prisoners up to Monterey for safe-keeping, but it apparently was not done. According to *Id.*, xix. 362-3, the captain was allowed $1 a day for support, and each of the men 20 cents. Only four men besides the captain are mentioned; and only three testified, one being a native of Manila, another, Thomas Jones, of Marblehead, besides the pilot.

[10] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 131.

[11] Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 28-9, writing, probably from memory, an account of the smuggling operations of these years, in which details are inextricably confused, says that the captains of the *Sultana* and *Urbana*, then at San Francisco, offered to aid Capt. Davis, owner of the *Mercury*, to recapture the vessel, but he declined. This is all wrong, and no such vessels were on the coast.

[12] August, 1816, Guerra to Sola. The woman is called María Antonia de la Ascension Stuart, and is said to have lived at Guerra's house. According

There are records of subsequent correspondence respecting the *Mercury*, but none which make known the ultimate result. Orders were issued by the viceroy that Ayres should be well treated and his property protected. It was decided that the captured vessel must be treated as a smuggler and not as a prize of war, and in 1815 the *Mercury* was ordered to be sold at Ayres' petition, since she was rapidly breaking up. At last in 1816 General Cruz was named as judge to dispose of the whole matter, but the final issue as I have stated is not known.[13] Noé, for some unexplained reason, left six or eight cannon at San Pedro in care of Bartolo Tapia, probably to make room for more tallow and grain on board his vessel. A rumor found its way from Lower California to the ears of President Señan that guns had been left buried in the country by Americans with a view to future hostilities. The report was sent to Sola, and naturally, the truth being known, created no special excitement; yet in view of the frequent visits of Americans known to have designs on the northern coast,[14] and of the efforts in progress for Mexican independence, it was deemed prudent to take the precaution of spiking the cannon secretly.[15]

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to *S. Diego*, *Lib. Mision*, MS., 13, the child was baptized Nov. 7, 1813, at the age of 5 months, and named María de los Remedios Josefa Antonia, the mother being spoken of as Margarita Gégue.

[13] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., 365, 374–5; xx. 4–6; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 39; *Guerra*, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 98–9. It seems to be implied that Ayres was back in California, but this is unlikely. Nov. 7, 1817, he writes from Guadalajara to Guerra that Medina, Noé's security, is to be arrested and held until he pays for all damage and loss. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 335–7.

[14] July 9, 1813, viceroy to governor, has heard of maritime expeditions from the U. S. to the Pacific, which may seek to unite with overland parties to the Columbia, and there to establish themselves. They must be closely watched and treated as per enclosed private orders (not given); and if pirates or adventurers, they must be driven out with aid from adjoining provinces. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 334–5.

[15] April 13, 1813, two letters, Señan to Arrillaga, in *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 90–4, 96–7. March 30th, Arrillaga to Señan. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 105–6. Señan notes the presence of an American vessel with a bidarka-fleet at one of the islands since December. There were 68 canoes, and the men were encamped in straw huts with 4 women to make their tortillas. It is difficult to identify this vessel or the two mentioned by the same writer as having been at San Pedro in January and March 1812. The latter, an American, is said to have brought much clothing which it was intended to land had the insur-

The *Tagle* came back in 1814 under José Cavenecia who was fortunate enough to sight the American brig *Pedler* as she was entering the bight of San Luis Obispo. Until she was inside, the *Tagle* raised the stars and stripes, but then hoisted Spanish colors and fired a blank charge to stop the prize, which showed a disposition to make off. Two more guns, this time loaded with balls, caused the *Pedler* to heave to, and a boat with twenty-five men was sent to take possession, secure all papers, take the prize to Santa Bárbara, and lock her hatches. In an investigation, conducted by Lieutenant Estudillo, it was shown that the vessel had come from the Hawaiian Islands with a cargo for Ross, and had entered San Luis because she had mistaken the *Tagle* for a Russian ship to which a part of the cargo was to be delivered. This explanation may not have been quite satisfactory; indeed as a matter of fact the vessel was one chartered by the Pacific Fur Company's agent, Hunt, who was then on board homeward bound from Astoria to New York;[16] yet there was no proof of contraband trade, and the captured brig was released with an order to quit these waters at once. The viceroy approved the release.[17]

The affair of the *Pedler* occurred in August and September. Earlier two English vessels had visited the coast. The armed merchantman *Isaac Todd*, Captain Frazer Smith, ostensibly bound to Manila for tea,

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gents been found in possession of any part of the coast. 'Ha Señor! Los Anglo-Americanos con los Hispano-Americanos! Bella union!' The friar laments the rapid destruction of sea-otter, by foreigners. Formerly San Buenaventura employed six canoes and got from 100 to 160 skins each year, but all that was past. There is no foundation for the remark in *Cronise's Nat. Wealth*, 36, that in or before 1812 a number of stragglers from the fur companies found their way to California and caused much trouble to the padres by taking the best looking squaws for housekeepers.

[16] See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, i. 332-3; ii. 235, this series. There is no authority for the report that she was sent to San Blas as a prize.

[17] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 383; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlv. 3-6. Besides the *Tagle* the *Santa Eulalia* or *Resolucion* was on the coast in 1814, and sold the presidios $16,000 of supplies. *Guerra*, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 110-12. The *Intrépido* from Panamá for California touched at Acapulco in May. *Gaceta de Mex.*, xxx. 796.

but really to the Columbia River with supplies for the Northwest Company, with a view to the seizure of Fort Astoria,[18] anchored at Monterey in January and remained a month there and at San Francisco, thence proceeding up the coast. Eight men deserted, and three others were left at Monterey to recover from the scurvy. One of the three was John Gilroy, the first foreigner to take up his permanent residence in the province, of whom I have something to say elsewhere.[19] The other vessel was the man-of-war *Raccoon*, Captain William Black, cruising against the United States, which had left the *Todd* at Rio Janeiro, and rejoined her at San Francisco in February. Black had visited the Columbia River where he had captured an American fort as he said—that is Astoria; but his vessel had been damaged, perhaps in crossing the Columbia bar, and he had been forced by this accident and the need of supplies to San Francisco. He was kindly treated by Argüello, and beached and repaired his vessel with the aid of the *Todd's* crew.[20] He obtained a thousand pounds of gunpowder with other needed supplies, recovering, perhaps, the deserters lost by the *Todd,* and at last sailed for the Islands.[21]

Early in this year came orders from the king that strict neutrality must be observed by the Californian authorities in the war between England and the United States, the war of 1812. No aid was to be given to American privateers, nor were prizes taken by either nation to be admitted into the ports except in cases of the most urgent necessity.[22] This order was followed a little later by other royal instructions. The king's attention had been called to the excesses committed by foreign vessels which, under the pretext of whale-fishing, did a large contraband trade. Foreigners must by every possible means be kept away from the coast, and the oft-repeated orders in such cases must be strictly enforced. Vessels seized must be confiscated according to the regulations, and the Spanish minister at Washington was said to have been notified that stringent measures would be adopted to remedy the evil.[23]

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[18] See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, i. 333; ii., chap. ix–xi., this series. The *Todd* arrived at the Columbia in April.

[19] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 368–70; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 226–7. Julian Malcolm, baptized as Francisco Miguel, with Gilroy on Sept. 21st, and James M. Baldwin, baptized as Diego Mariano on Nov. 12th, were very likely Gilroy's companions. *Taylor's Discov. and Founders*, ii. no. 28. These two may have died, or more likely recovered and been given up with the deserters. John Mulligan, or Milligan, the Irish weaver, may also have been one of these men. Spence, *Hist. Notes*, MS., 25, says Mulligan came about the same time as Gilroy; and in 1819 he was included with Gilroy and Doak in a permit to marry and settle. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 1.

[20] Cox, *Adventures*, i. 285–6, says that Black had determined to abandon the *Raccoon* and proceed overland, and would have done so but for the *Todd's* assistance. He is the only authority for the visit of the *Todd* to San Francisco. All these voyages connected with the annals of Astoria are fully recorded in *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series.

[21] Jan. 15, 1814, Argüello to Arrillaga. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 226–8; ix. 132–3; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 368–70. The visit is mentioned in *Soulé's Annals of S. F.*, 163. Zavalishin, *Delo o Koloniy Ross*, 6, says that Black was an unwelcome guest at San Francisco, and treated the Spaniards as subordinates. The *Raccoon* had 28 guns and 130 men.

In July and August, 1815, the North-west Company's schooner *Columbia*, Captain Jennings, visited Monterey and obtained without difficulty such supplies as were needed for the voyage. Jennings' chief object was to establish a trade between California and the Columbia establishment lately purchased from the Americans, but Sola refused to allow the landing of goods or the purchase of supplies on credit, though in his letters to the viceroy he favored the proffered traffic. He also refused to allow one Duncan to remain at Monterey under pretence of awaiting letters from England. Ten deserters were left behind at first, but the *Columbia* after a trip to Bodega returned and recovered them from the Spanish authorities who had placed them under arrest.[24] The decision in

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[22] July 9th, June 28th, Aug. 28th, 1813, viceroy to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 335-9.

[23] Dated April 15, 1814, in Mexico, with a note to the effect that there was nothing in the treaty with England to prevent proceeding by Spanish laws against Englishmen who engage in illicit trade. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 98-100.

[24] One man, however, remained from the *Columbia* and became a permanent resident. This was Antonio Rocha, a Portuguese. *Dep. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 156-8.

Mexico, which arrived a year later, was unfavorable to Jennings' proposition and the governor's recommendation. It was apparent to the viceroy's advisers that the true aim of the Englishmen was to obtain otter-skins and to reconnoitre the country with a view to its seizure. Therefore they were to be watched and furnished with such aid only as was required by the laws of hospitality.[25]

The affair of the *Ilmen* in which Eliot de Castro visited the coast this year with a bidarka fleet, bent on contraband trade and otter-hunting, is recorded in a chapter devoted to Russian annals.[26] By the orders of Sola, the Russian Boris Tarakánof with some twenty Aleuts was captured at San Pedro and put in jail at Los Angeles. This was on September 19th, and on the 25th Eliot with an American and four Russians was taken at El Cojo, the *Ilmen* escaping.[27] Sergeant José Ortega of Refugio was suspected of complicity with Eliot, and still worse, with other American *contrabandistas;* and Sola caused a strict watch to be kept on his movements.[28] A little earlier in the year, in August, the *Suvárof*, Captain Makárof, had traded at San Francisco.[29] On one of these vessels, I suppose, came José Bolcof, a permanent Russian settler in California.[30]

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[25] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 387–9, 398–9; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 135, 137–9; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 11. Brooks, *Origin of Japanese*, i., preserves a statement of Captain Adams to the effect that on March 24, 1815, while sailing-master on the *Forrester*, Capt. Pickett, he saw off Santa Bárbara a Japanese junk drifting, from which three men were rescued. From the fact that, in another item cited by this writer, Capt. John Jennings is represented as captain of the *Forrester* in 1813, the suggestion presents itself that this may possibly have been the true name of the vessel, called by the Spaniards *Columbia*.

[26] Chap. xiv. of this volume.

[27] Sept. 21, 1815, Sola has heard of the arrival of the *Germania* (*Ilmen*), and orders the arrest of all who land. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 22. Sept. 24, Guerra sends the governor two Englishmen, *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xliv. 16. It is said that a soldier was offered $2,000 to release Eliot. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 390–1.

[28] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 24–6.

[29] See chap. xiv. of this volume. The *Paz y Religion* seems to have been on the coast in the autumn. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 136. I have a fragment of an original log-book, *Libro de Bitácora*, MS., of a vessel not named sailing on the coast in June and July, 1815.

[30] Arrived in 1815; baptized June 13, 1817, at Soledad. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. (258–71). He was a native of Kamchatka.

About the middle of January 1816 two American craft appeared at Refugio just above Santa Bárbara, coming from Sitka. One was the schooner *Lydia*, Captain Henry Gyzelaar, and the other the ship *Albatross*, Captain William Smith, the latter commander and probably his vessel being known of old to the reader.[31] Comandante Guerra immediately proceeded to Refugio, and with the aid of Cárlos Carrillo and Santiago Argüello arrested the two captains with a few men who had landed in boats. Possession was at once taken by Sergeant Carrillo of the *Lydia*, since she had no means of defence; and to prevent her breaking-up in case of a wind she was taken to Santa Bárbara. The *Albatross* was too well armed to be taken so easily. Smith absolutely refused to order her surrender, and she sailed away under a promise to return in eight days to learn what had been decided respecting her captain. Guerra hoped that the lack of provisions and loss of commander, passport, and part of the crew would bring her back and perhaps within his power, but she never came. The prisoners were taken to the presidio before the 20th of January.[32]

[31] For former visits of the *Albatross*, Capt. Winship, Mate Smith, in 1810–12, see chap. v. of this volume. The author of *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 73, well acquainted with the subject, says the *Albatross* never came back to the Pacific after Winship left her at Boston in 1816. She may therefore have taken Winship home after this visit, or Smith may have named a new vessel for the old one.

[32] The *Lydia's* crew were Captain Henry Gyzelaar, pilots Jacob Smith and Wm Owen Jones, sailmaker Archi. Bean, sailors Geo. Heft, Jas. Rowe, Johan Dunderfeldt, Nathaniel Dennison, and Thos. Bennett; carpenters, Wm. Moore, Amos, and Doliver; servant, Check, 13 in all. Those of the *Albatross* arrested were Capt. Smith, white sailors Wm Stagg and Henry Septem, Kanakas Ropiam and Atnay, and the negro Bob, besides two deserters, Thomas Doak and Nathaniel Sawis, who were arrested just before or just after the rest—8 in all. Jan. 18, 1816, Sola writes to reprove Guerra whom he erroneously supposed to have allowed Smith to sail on the *Albatross* on his promise to return in 8 days. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 29. The governor understands that the *Lydia* first arrived on Jan. 7th. In *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvii. 4–5, is given a brief diary of events from Jan. 14th to 20th. It was reported to the viceroy that the *Lydia* arrived at Refugio in distress, and was furnished with supplies gratis, because the captain gave for the battery 1 small cannon and 50 axes. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 125. This is the only trace I find of the whole affair in Mexico, being in the V. R.'s letter of July 28, 1816. Jan. 14th, Ávila claims to have aided Carrillo in the capture. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, ii. 11.

In the partial investigation which now took place Gyzelaar and all his men affirmed in writing that on account of damages to the *Lydia*, and the want of food and water, it would have been impossible to continue the voyage without touching on the coast, and he had anchored at the first place seen where there were houses. The vessel was bound from Sitka to the China seas, belonging to the American consul at Canton. In a letter to Sola Gyzelaar states that he is an utter stranger on the coast; came here only from necessity; has $90,000 at stake on the voyage, and begs to be released. The schooner was ordered to Monterey, and by the advice of Padre Martinez was reintrusted to her own captain, who agreed to take her safely to the northern port. Sola disapproved this act, facetiously likening it to a delivery of the church for protection to Luther;[33] but the honest Dutchman, aided by four of his own men, with two from the *Albatross*, and guarded by Carrillo with six soldiers, kept his promise. At Monterey a new investigation was conducted by Estudillo,[34] and as there was no evidence of any intention to engage in smuggling, Sola decided to release the *Lydia*, following the action of Argüello in the case of the *Pedler* as a precedent approved by the viceroy. Gyzelaar accordingly sailed on March 11th for the south, leaving at least one of Smith's men, Thomas Doak, behind as the first American settler in California.[35]

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[33] Jan. 25th, Sola to Martinez. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 115. The schooner sailed on Feb. 2d. See correspondence on support of the prisoners by contributions from the missions, in *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 20–24; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 115.

[34] It took place on Feb. 19th, and the records are given in *St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 51–63. It appeared from the testimony that the *Lydia* had carried a cargo of liquors, ammunition, etc., from Canton to Sitka, and that she was now bound for the Marquesas with a few articles for trade, and comparatively heavy armament for defence.

[35] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 31–2; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 224. Thos. Doak, of Boston, according to the mission books of San Cárlos as examined by Taylor, *Discov. and Found.*, ii., no. 28, was baptized on Dec. 22d of this year. Three other men baptized at San Cárlos this year, according to the same authority, were Marcus Messon of Boston, Geo. Mayo of Plymouth, and Sam. Grover of Malden. Juan María Romero, an Irish resident, is said to have served as interpreter in the *Lydia* case. *St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 51–2.

Meanwhile Smith was under arrest at Santa Bárbara, but striving earnestly for release. He, too, bound from New Archangel to the Sandwich Islands, had been driven by lack of food and water to seek an anchorage, without the faintest idea of contraband trade. He feared that his boatswain would disobey his orders to return in eight days with the *Albatross*, or perchance she had been lost, being so short-handed. He pleaded old age, and begged humbly and hard to be set free.[36] His petition was granted, and on March 15th, when the *Lydia* touched at Santa Bárbara, Smith and two of his men took their departure. The negro and two Kanakas remained to be instructed in the true faith, as Doak had done at Monterey.[37] That the two captains came to Refugio for nothing but contraband trade there is but little room for doubt; but having the full sympathy of the padres and the people, with only a pretence of opposition from any

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In *Santa Bárbara, Lib. Mision*, MS., 19, is recorded the baptism on October 7th, of José Manuel, aged 22, of Boston, who also had a brother Daniel Eleazer in the country baptized as Daniel Martyr José de Santa Rosa. This José Manuel (Lisa) is referred to by Sola in a letter of Dec. 26th, as one of the *Lydia's* crew whom Guerra ought not to have allowed to remain. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 43. The Marcus Messon was doubtless the Anthony A. Mason baptized at San Cárlos May 23, 1816, to whom the president gave a letter of recommendation on Feb. 16th, when he proposed to go to Manila, according to *S. Antonio, Muerto de P. Sarría*, MS.; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 18–19. Who all these men were, except Doak, and what became of them it is not easy to ascertain. Taylor, *List of Pioneers*, MS., tells us that Thos. Duke died before 1846, near Santa Clara; John Mulligan, a sailor from Ireland who came in 1815, died before 1846, near Monterey; Marcos Mason, Geo. Mayo, Sam. Grover, and Julian Malcolm died before 1840; and James Baldwin died before 1830. Most of these statements doubtless are founded only in the imagination of the writer. Doak at any rate painted the S. Juan Church in 1818, *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 45; was permitted by the viceroy to marry and settle on Oct. 20, 1819, *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 1; was married on Nov. 8, 1820, under the name of Felipe Santiago Doc, to a daughter of Mariano Castro, *S. Juan Bautista, Lib. Mision*, MS., 27; and, as we shall see, lived long in the country. We must not forget the negro Bob and the two Kanakas who remained from the *Albatross*. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 117. On August 16, 1819, Bob was baptized as Juan Cristóbal by Ripoll. *Sta B., Lib. Mision*, MS., 20.

[36] *Prov. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., ii. 11–14.

[37] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 117. On foreigners remaining in the country see preceding note. In addition to the numerous sources of information about the *Albatross* and *Lydia* already referred to, see, as most important of all, *Albatross* and *Lydia*, *Comunicaciones relativas á la captura de la goleta Americana Lydia y arrestacion del capitan de la fragata Albatross, 1816*, MS., and also some additional papers in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 96–116, 120–1.

but the highest officials, it is not strange that no evidence could be found against them.[38]

The viceroy's orders in the case of the *Columbia* had been very strict against the proposed trade with the northern English post; yet when at the end of August 1816 the Northwest Company's brig *Colonel*, Captain Daniels, came into Monterey with a tempting array of goods in charge of Donald McTavish, Sola was unable to withstand the pressure brought to bear on him through the importunities of the supercargo McDougal, the mute petitions of the needy soldiers and families, and the advice of friars and officers. He yielded to the temptation, sent out circulars to the missions calling for flour and other produce, and bartered the result to the extent of $6,796 for needed articles in deliberate defiance of the viceroy's orders. In his letters to the friars and his report to Mexico he frankly avowed the illegality of his action, but pleaded urgent necessity; and it does not appear that he was ever blamed.[39]

On the 2d of October the *Rurik* under Otto von Kotzebue, of the Russian navy, anchored in San Francisco Bay.[40] Fitted out at the expense of Count Rumiantzof for an exploring voyage to the north Pacific, she had left Russia in 1815, rounded Cape Horn, touched on the coast of Chile, explored Kamchatka and Alaska, and sailed from Unalaska September 14th for California in quest of fresh supplies with which to continue her explorations. Argüello received the officers and scientific corps with every possible attention and furnished all that was needed, as indeed he was required to do by previous instructions from Spain and Mexico.[41] The friars were equally attentive, and entertained the strangers at the mission on the 9th, with festivities in honor of the patron saint. A bull and bear fight took place at the presidio. Sola came up from the capital on the 16th to greet the foreign guests, and the Spanish officers were often entertained at Kotzebue's tent on shore; communications were established with Ross; fresh provisions were furnished in abundance for the ship, and after a pleasant month's stay the *Rurik* sailed on November 1st for the Islands, thence to resume her northern explorations.[42]

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[38] Orders to prevent all communication with foreigners came from Mexico this year as usual. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 5, 93.

[39] It would appear that even before the *Colonel's* arrival, Sola had resolved to trade; for on Feb. 16, 1815 (must be 1816), President Sarría called on the padres by the governor's request to contribute flour, etc., for the *Columbia* on her return. In response San Juan Bautista, Soledad, and San Antonio offered 600 of the 1,000 *arrobas* of flour desired; San Miguel could give only wine and wool; San Luis, only blankets; and San Cárlos some *serapes*. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 197-203. Arrival of the vessel, and Sola's correspondence with the friars, including the approval of Payeras and Duran. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 62-5, 71, 87-97, 120-1. Oct. 10th, Sola to viceroy, acknowledging his disobedience of the order of July 8th, and justifying his conduct. He assures the viceroy that all possible care is taken to prevent intercourse of foreigners with any but the chief officials. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 144-50. The *Colonel* sailed Oct. 12th. The *Colonel Allan* seems to have been the full name.

[40] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 30-4; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 37. Two deserters from the *Rurik* captured. *Prov. Rec.*, ix. 150.

The Spanish officers at the presidio could not refrain from acquainting the visitors with their pet grievance, and spoke bitterly of the friars, who in these times of scarcity and suffering would furnish the men only with the barest necessities on the formal requisition of the governor, although they had plenty of everything. Sola presented his complaint against the intruders at Ross; in fact it was for this purpose chiefly that he came up from Monterey. Kuskof came down to San Francisco and a somewhat important conference was held, but this subject is treated elsewhere.[43]

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[41] June 27, 1815, royal order; Dec. 21, 1815, viceroy to Sola; Apr. 30, 1816, Sola to commandants. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xviii. 49–50; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 384; xx. 133–4. Argüello's letter announcing arrival, with copies of various passports and other official papers furnished by Kotzebue, sent by Sola to viceroy. *Id.*, xx. 137–40. Oct. 5, 1816, Kotzebue to Sola, written in French, presenting his respects and thanks for kind attentions; explaining that his only object is to get fresh stores, and he does not intend to remain over 15 days; has papers which he desires to forward to Kuskof at Ross; and is glad to hear of the governor's intended visit. *Id.*, xx. 29–9.

[42] Chamisso notes a few incidents not recorded by Kotzebue. There was a little misunderstanding about a salute, the Russians having fired 7 guns and the Spaniards returning only 5. When Sola came, both he and Kotzebue seem to have expected the first call. Both were somewhat obstinate in their ideas of etiquette, and Sola, declaring he could not endure the salt water, was on the point of returning to Monterey, when Kotzebue came on shore to make his noon observations, and thus Spain and Russia were enabled to embrace. Finally at the parting dinner in Kotzebue's tent, a good missionary allowed himself to drink too much wine. Kotzebue took with him Eliot de Castro and three Russian prisoners, having no room for the rest, whom Sola seems to have been willing to give up. One of these Russians went out to hunt near the presidio before embarking, and, dropping a spark into his powder-horn, was so seriously injured that he died soon after sailing. At his first approach to San Francisco, Kotzebue tells us there was great activity and preparation for defence at the fortress of 'St Toaquin.'

Kotzebue's voyage derives its chief importance, so far as California is concerned, from the fact that it gave rise to at least three books, each containing information about the country, though in many respects the visitors took little advantage of their opportunities. The commander's narrative is a brief statement of events connected with the visit, without any mention of the negotiations respecting Ross, and without any very valuable observations on the country or its institutions. Kotzebue's general impressions were unfavorable. Beyond the country itself in its natural state, and Spanish hospitality, he found nothing to praise. The natives were ugly and stupid and not at all improved by mission life, and the padres cared little or nothing for their subjects. "The rage for converting savage nations is now spreading over the whole South Sea, and causes much mischief, because the missionaries do not take pains to make men of them before they make them Christians." The soldiers were in a destitute and miserable condition, as disgusted with the government as with the missions. California was a source of great expense and no profit to Spain; in fact a fine and fruitful country was lying entirely useless.[44]

Adelbert von Chamisso, a Frenchman of noble birth, was the naturalist of the expedition, and served also in California as interpreter. His narrative of events as well as of his observations on the state of the country, is more complete than that of the commander, to say nothing of his valuable remarks on natural history. His conclusions, however, respecting Spanish institutions, are substantially the same as those of Kotzebue.[45] The third book written in connection with this voyage was composed of lithograph illustrations from drawings by M. Louis Choris, painter of the expedition, with a descriptive text by the artist, Chamisso, and others. The text is very interesting, and like the drawings largely devoted to the Indians of the mission.[46]

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[43] See chap. xiv. of this volume.

[44] *Kotzebue's Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beerings Straits, etc., London, 1821, 8vo, 3 vols.* There were several editions in different languages. See, also, *Sabin's Dictionary*, under 'Kotzebue.' The visit to California is described in vol. i. p. 276–89. A paper by Dr Eschscholtz in vol. ii. p. 327–30 describes the accident to the Russian prisoner. Engelhardt, in vol. iii. p. 337–9, has a paper 'on the nature of the rocks of the coast of California.' *Chamisso's Remarks and Opinions*, in vol. ii. 355, contains a brief mention of a volcano on the coast; and, in vol. iii. 38–51, a somewhat extended account of California, its natural history and institutions. The maps and plates contain nothing on California.

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[45] *Chamisso, Riese um die Welt,* 2 vols., being tom. iii. iv. of *Chamisso, Werke,* Berlin, 1856. The matter on California is in tom. i., p. 129-41, and tom. ii., p. 30. Tom. ii. is subsequently the same as the *Remarks and Opinions* attached to the English edition of Kotzebue's Voyage. The narrative of the visit to San Francisco is well translated by Miss Georgie McElroy in the *Overland Monthly,* x. 201-8. The following quotations are taken from the *Remarks and Opinions,* iii. 38-51: 'Melancholy feelings attend our offering a few words on the Spanish settlements on this coast. With an avaricious thirst for possession, Spain extends her territory here merely because she envies others the room. She maintains her presidios at a great expense, and tries, by the prohibition of all trade, to force ready money back to its source. But a little liberty would make California the granary and market of the northern coasts of these seas, and the general resort of the ships which navigate them.' 'Yet California lies without industry, trade, and navigation, desert and unpeopled.' 'Only a smuggling trade, which the new governor has tried to suppress, furnishes this province with the most indispensable articles. Spain has given way in the affair of Nootka. England and the U. S., without regarding its vain territorial possessions, are now negotiating about the colony at the mouth of the Columbia; and the Russ. Am. Co. have still a settlement a few leagues north of San Francisco.' The work of converting heathen 'has been here injudiciously begun and ill-executed. The pious Franciscans are not skilled in the arts and trades which they ought to exercise and teach, nor in any of the languages spoken by the nations to whom they are sent. They are monks, exactly like those in the convents of Europe.' 'The contempt which the missionaries have for the people to whom they are sent seems to us, considering their pious occupation, a very unfortunate circumstance. None of them appear to have troubled themselves about their history, customs, religions, or languages.' 'We observed with regret that the best understanding does not exist between the missions and the presidio. The fathers consider themselves as the first in this country, and the presidios merely for its protection.' 'The presidio accused the mission of not endeavoring to relieve their wants.' Chamisso gives considerable information about the Indians, including the names of 18 tribes around San Francisco. He also gives some local items elsewhere utilized.

[46] *Choris, Voyage Pittoresque autour du Monde,* Paris, 1822, folio. There are 10 plates and 13 pages of text relating to California. The plates are: 1, coast views, entrance of S. F'co Bay; 2, presidio; 3, Indian dance, with view

The Pacific ports of South America being more or less blockaded by the Buenos Aires insurgents, no trading vessels came from Lima or Callao this year,[47] though they resumed their trips later. The regular memoria ship, however, made its appearance in 1816 for the first time since 1810. It was the *San Cárlos*, arriving at Monterey late in October, and bringing a cargo of damaged supplies and war stores.[48] Of two American vessels which entered California ports on their way to or from Sitka, in addition to those already mentioned, we know nothing beyond the fact that the *Sultan* or *Sultana* touched at Monterey in August,[49] and the *Atala* or *Atlas*, Captain Kelly, from Boston, at Santa Bárbara late in November,[50] leaving one American settler.[51]

No supply-ship came in 1817; but two vessels brought goods from Lima to exchange for tallow as before. These were the *San Antonio*, Captain Cavenecia, and the *Hermosa Mexicana*, supercargo Genoa y Aguirre, which arrived at Monterey in August[52] and

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of mission; 4, Indian games; 5, grizzly bear; 6–7, Indian faces; 8, arms and implements; 9, balza; 11, sea-lion; 12, head-dress of Indians; 13, Indian hunters.

[47] April 20, 1816, Capt. Cavenecia, Lima, to Guerra. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 124.

[48] Nov. 6, 1816, Sola to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 153. Kotzebue mentions the arrival during his stay.

[49] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 141; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 23. Taylor, *Discov. and Found.*, i. No. 12, in an imperfect list of vessels trading on the coast from 1810 to 1814, includes the *Sultan*, Capt. Reynolds, and the *Avon*, Capt. Whittemore. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 14–17, 28–9, names the *Sultana*, Capt. Isaac, and *Urbana*, Capt. Raynaldo; but he couples their arrival with that of the *Mercury*, and with Capt. Davis' otter-hunting exploits about San Francisco in a manner in which chronology and fact go for nothing.

[50] Dec. 2, 1816, Sola to Guerra, the vessel ordered to Monterey. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 42. Passport dated Boston, July 15, 1815, countersigned at Santa Bárbara, Dec. 7, 1816. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 189–90; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 158. June–July, a large Boston ship off San Cárlos caused great fear. *Arch Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 49–50, 60. Afterward off Santa Bárbara in July. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 109.

[51] Daniel Call, an American carpenter, age 17, who married and remained. *Dep. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 156–8. According to the newspapers Capt. Wm O'Neil came to Cal. from China this year. *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, Sept. 18, 1875.

[52] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 154–5, 172, 186, 202; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 171–3; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 19. Cavenecia was owner, but perhaps not on

September respectively. Sola favored the exportation of the tallow, of which there was a surplus of over 1,250 tons in the country according to his statement. He wished the missions to furnish fifty tons to each presidio to be exchanged for articles which the soldiers needed; but the friars showed no enthusiasm for such a plan, preferring to trade directly with the Lima ships, or ship the tallow to Mexico on their own account;[53] yet there is no indication that there was any difficulty in obtaining cargoes either for these vessels or for the *Cazadora* from Panamá, which came to Monterey in September, and remained on the coast until December.[54] The coming of two vessels, the *Paz y Religion* and the *Bastany*, from Tepic on the same business was announced, with the probability that many others might be despatched; but none seem to have come this year.[55] The Russian visits of the year were that of Padushkin on the *Chiríkof* to San Francisco and Monterey in the spring, and that of Hagemeister on the *Kutúsof* to San Francisco in the autumn, both bringing goods and taking away grain.[56]

Sola made no attempt to carry out the viceroy's orders by using force against the Russians; but in his report of January 2, 1817, explained the utter impossibility of accomplishing anything without strong reënforcements, and the absurdity of expecting such reënforcements from New Galicia. He also expressed himself very freely respecting the danger to be appre-

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board of the *San Antonio* this trip. She remained until November. The *Mexicana* paid $582 export duties which should have been paid at Callao. This was according to law and was a convenience to California. See also *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 244–5; iv. 1.

[53] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 49. Sola to Guerra. The danger of an attack from the Buenos Aires insurgents was given as a reason for getting rid of the surplus tallow as quickly as possible. See also *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., vi. 61–3; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 245–6.

[54] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 180, 197; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1. July 12, 1816, viceroy to Sola, trade between Panamá and the Pacific ports of New Spain strictly forbidden. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 124.

[55] June 4th, 27th, Pedro Negrete, Tepic, to Guerra. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 185, 199. A contract with settlers for tallow is alluded to.

[56] See chap. xiv. of this volume.

hended from the Anglo-American vessels, and declared that the province could not be in any sense protected against probable hostile designs of foreign powers, unless two companies of infantry, with field artillery, and an armed cruiser were stationed permanently on the coast.[57] No English craft appeared. Orders came from Viceroy Apodaca that the British ship *Good Hope* must be confiscated whether engaged in contraband trade or not, apparently on account of some irregularity of conduct at Mazatlan,[58] but Captain Ramsay did not show himself.

The American *contrabandistas* and Aleut otter-hunters left but slight trace of their presence on the coast this year, if they came at all, as is indicated by occasional allusions in official correspondence.[59] These allusions show that Sola had no faith in the honesty and zeal with which Argüello at San Francisco and Guerra at Santa Barbara exerted themselves to prevent illicit commerce. Affairs at Monterey came more immediately under the governor's own eye, and San Diego the smugglers seem to have neglected altogether in these days.

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[57] *Sola, Informe General, 1817*, MS.

[58] Nov. 16, 1817, viceroy to Sola. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 216–18. The *Buena Esperanza* was bound from Bengal to the Russian settlements.

[59] In February Guerra explains to Sola the careful precautions he always takes on the arrival of foreign vessels to examine their papers, etc., though he labors under difficulties through not understanding the language. Will continue his precautions, and will report arrivals before furnishing supplies, though he reminds the governor that vessels cannot lie long at anchor at Santa Bárbara without danger from storms. Other communications from the same source and apparently of about the same date mention the escape of some Kadiaks to the islands, and the presence of boats from an American vessel engaged in taking otter. He asks for authority to send out an expedition against them. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 69–72. In a letter of April 12th, Padre Amorós explains to the governor some of his ideas of trade to the effect that foreigners being also children of God and in a sense brethren of the Spaniards, it was not generous or honorable to charge them a maximum price—like $8, $12, or $15, for a cow worth $4—and find fault with them for not selling goods at the minimum, especially as the trade was beneficial to the country and might be lost by bad policy. *Id.*, vii. 12–14. July 28th an American ship left four men—three Americans and a Spaniard—at San Luis Obispo. They were to be put at work at Santa Bárbara and watched, to prevent intercourse with people at the presidio. *Id.*, iii. 236, 241. Thomas Lester, an English sailor who settled in California, is said to have deserted from a vessel in 1817. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 24–9. Davis, *Glimpses*, MS., 241–2, says that the Boston ship *Eagle*, Wm. H. Davis, master, visited California in 1817 or 1818, and twice later. July 30th, Padre Arroyo assures Sola that the friars of San Juan Bautista will not allow foreigners to observe the country. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 145. Alvarado remembers that some smugglers were tried at Monterey in 1817. The *sumario* ought to be in the archives. *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 180. In November Sola chided Argüello of San Francisco very severely both in an official and private letter for his slowness in reporting the arrival of vessels and for his permission of contraband trade; 'for you cannot make me believe you were ignorant of it.' *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 211–14.

The presence of one American vessel, however, is definitely recorded, that of the *Traveller*, translated by the Spaniards into *Caminante,* Captain James Smith Wilcox. This schooner came from Sitka, made some repairs at Bodega in December 1816, and arrived at Santa Bárbara on January 20, 1817.[60] Wilcox, said to be a brother of the United States consul at Canton, was furnished with supplies to satisfy the more pressing wants of the crew, and good-naturedly consented to wait for more until the governor could be consulted, whereupon he bought additional provisions to the extent of $656 for cash.[61] Then in February he went up to Monterey and sold $700 worth of cloth for the soldiers. Juan B. Alvarado, then a school-boy, gives an amusing account of the Yankee captain's arrival. One spring morning the sentinel from Point Pinos came rushing in with the news of an approaching sail. Drums beat the alarm, soldiers mounted their horses, artillerymen and militia rushed to man the *castillo*, and balls were brought from the casemate. Families made ready for flight, while Comandante Estudillo mounted a high rock, equipped with telescope, trumpet, and flag-book, all in about fifteen minutes. To the inquiry "¿qué buque?" as the schooner approached the shore came the reply "no sabe español." Ordered to come ashore the stranger landed and was escorted by the cavalry to the presence of Sola who awaited his approach clad in full uniform and asked his business. Through an interpreter it was learned that the captain had goods to sell, and

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[60] In *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 45, the date is given as Jan. 8th; and Sola calls the vessel the *Traulin.* See also *Id.*, ix. 154.

[61] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 71–2.

Sola was about to dismiss him when somebody suggested he might be the spy of some foreign power, and it was decided to hold a council of war. Meanwhile the Yankee, an exceedingly tall and lean specimen of the race, clothed in black with a swallow-tail coat and tall fur hat, stood under arrest in the middle of the plaza, wiping his perspiring face with a large red handkerchief, while all the women and boys of the capital came as near as they dared to get a look at this bold foreigner who thus dared to invade the Spanish realm. The ludicrous aspect of the situation was not diminished when the noon bell rang and the prisoner was required to kneel in the dust and uncover his bald head. Yet the council could find no sufficient evidence that he was a spy.[62] Wilcox not only sold his cloth, but was trusted to carry south the portions allotted to Santa Bárbara and San Diego, having apparently made himself very popular with the Californians. He left Santa Bárbara on March 16th for San Diego and Baja California, leaving two men who were sick and wished to become Catholics.[63]

In June Wilcox returned from Loreto and remained until September, touching more than once at each place on the coast from Santa Cruz to San Diego, enjoying the full confidence of the authorities, and making himself generally useful by transporting supplies and lumber from point to point in his *Caminante.* If he indulged in contraband trade he did it very carefully and excited no suspicion. The only privileges refused him were those of buying otter-skins and travelling by land in defiance of the law. He finally carried away the four American prisoners of the preceding year, but whether he took also the two men he had left before does not appear.[64] He was also allowed to take a cargo of grain at San Diego for Loreto. In this latter port the *Traveller* was seized on October 30th, by the treasury official Francisco Ramirez, who managed to steal a considerable amount of property before the vessel was released, as it soon was through the influence of Sola and Argüello, the latter being now governor of Baja California. It is from the letters written by Wilcox, chiefly at Guaymas while seeking reparation for the wrongs done him, that most of my information respecting his voyages is derived.[65]

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[62] *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 125-32. The author does not say that this 'Capitan Colorado' was Wilcox, and in fact there are some details of the story as narrated that do not apply very well to him; but there was no other captain who arrived at this time so far as I can learn, and the story is too good to lose.

[63] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 74. The names of the men are given as Est and Yems. Est was perhaps Thomas Lester.

[64] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 240. The four prisoners were those

The merchantman *Bordelais* anchored at San Francisco on August 5th, being the first vessel carrying the French flag that had ever entered the port. She was commanded by Lieutenant Camille de Roquefeuil of the French navy, though the voyage was a private and purely commercial venture to the Pacific and round the world undertaken by a merchant of Bordeaux. Roquefeuil came direct from Chile and Peru, having in the former country rendered important aid

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mentioned in note 48. May 9th the commander at Santa Cruz notifies Sola that a vessel has anchored and wants wood and water. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 133. This could not be Wilcox's vessel if the date is correct, and may suggest some light on Alvarado's 'capitan colorado.' Wilcox took in California a draft for $6,946 75, which was not paid, at least not promptly, at Guadalajara. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 189.

[65] *Wilcox, Cartas varias sobre sus viages en la goleta Caminante, 1817*, MS. Jan. 7, 1818, Gov. Cordero, of Sonora, informs Sola that the *Caminante* has been confiscated, together with all property belonging to Wilcox wherever it may be found in Spanish dominions. *Id.*, xx. 219. In another letter evidently from Wilcox, dated October 2d, at Loreto, it is stated that the vessel was taken on September 30th, by a 'desesperado de Lima llamado Francisco Ramirez,' aided by the patron and two 'malvados' whom the governor had forced him to take on board at Sta Bárbara. Himself, Don Guillermo (often mentioned in the correspondence, but I cannot tell who he was), and five sailors had been put on shore immediately after the capture. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 145. Early in April 1818 an attempt to take Wilcox's schooner out of Guaymas by an American vessel is mentioned, some men having been killed on both sides. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 87. Capt. Wilcox wished to marry Doña Concepcion Argüello, heroine of the Rezánof romance, and he was at one time very near success in his wooing; but at last the lady declined the offer. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 237-8; vi. 131-2. March 8, 1822, the secretary of foreign relations reported that a patent had been issued to Wilcox to introduce steam engines in Mexico for the drainage of mines. *Mexico, Mem. Relaciones, 1822*, p. 11. Sept. 18, 1822, Wilcox writes that he is U. S. consul in Mexico, and intends to do business on a large scale with California, monopolizing the trade in hides and horns. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 134.

to the Spanish victims of the revolution by transporting them to a place of safety. He was hospitably treated during his stay of nine days by Argüello, Moraga, and Father Abella; and he seems not to have met the slightest obstacle in trading his goods for produce, or even for the few otter-skins that were on hand.[66]

The 16th of October, after a trip to Nootka and a call at Ross, the *Bordelais* returned for further barter, being obliged to remain till November 20th waiting for the recovery of the crew, four of whom were cared for at the mission, and one of whom, the boatswain Renom, died there. Two men also deserted but were re-taken.[67] After a trip to the Marquesas and again to the north coasts, Roquefeuil made his appearance for a third time at San Francisco on September 20th, 1818, remaining just one month.[68] He counted on obtaining produce with which to fill a contract made in Sitka, and he did obtain it through Luis Argüello's usual disregard for the governor's instructions; for Sola, when he learned that the expedition was purely a commercial one, directed that she must submit to the regulations and be content with the supplies absolutely needed for the voyage; though he subsequently consented to the sale of produce for money, and, according to Roquefeuil, even consented finally to much more satisfactory terms.[69]

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[66] *Roquefeuil, A Voyage round the World, between the years 1816–19, by M. Camille de Roquefeuil, in the ship Le Bordelais*, London, 1823, 8vo, 112 pages. This first visit to San Francisco is described on pp. 23–7. Aug. 8th, Roquefeuil to Sola enclosing a letter of recommendation from Cavenecia of Lima, and asking for friendly consideration on account of French sympathy for the Spaniards in Chile. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 208–9. Sept. 10th, Sola to viceroy, announcing the visit, and stating that Roquefeuil left 4 Englishmen (?) on his departure. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 171. Slight allusions to the visit in *Morineau, Notice*, 66; *Browne's L. Cal.*, 42; *Nouv. An. des Voy.*, xviii. 240–54.

[67] *Roquefeuil's Voyage*, 39–40. One of the two deserters, named Ostein, was accused of an attempt at mutiny and the author disposes of him after his re-arrest by saying: 'In the night, the ship was rid of Ostein; his removal gave general satisfaction to the crew,' leaving his exact fate to the imagination of the reader. Sola mentions the presence of a French bark for 9 days, and her sailing to the north-west. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 180. Oct. 25th, Roquefeuil to Sola (in French) asks permission to ship a couple of foreign seamen, being short-handed. *Id.*, xx. 187. If this request was granted, it disposes of two of the foreign residents, one being perhaps Mason.

[68] *Roquefeuil's Voyage*, 105–10. A fire on the mountains near Cape Mendocino explained to this navigator what La Pérouse had probably mistaken for an active volcano—an error repeated perhaps by Chamisso.

When Roquefeuil embarked from San Francisco finally for Sitka and the Islands on November 20th, he left two men at the mission who were too ill to proceed on their voyage.[70] He also brought to California two young men, natives of Spain, whom he does not mention, unless possibly one of them may have been one of the two sick sailors, but who afterward became somewhat prominent and respected citizens of the province, where they both died at an advanced age. One was José Fernandez, who, according to his own statement, "took passage" in the *Bordelais* from Lima; and the other was Antonio María Suñol, who, having shipped as a sailor for the round trip, could not land with Fernandez as he wished when the vessel first arrived, and was therefore under the necessity of running away when she came back.[71] The French navigator's observations respecting the country as reported in his narrative are slight. He noted the rapid decrease of the otters all along the coast; learned that Argüello had explored the river 'San Sacramento' fifty leagues from its mouth; was perhaps the first writer to mention the annual floods of that river;

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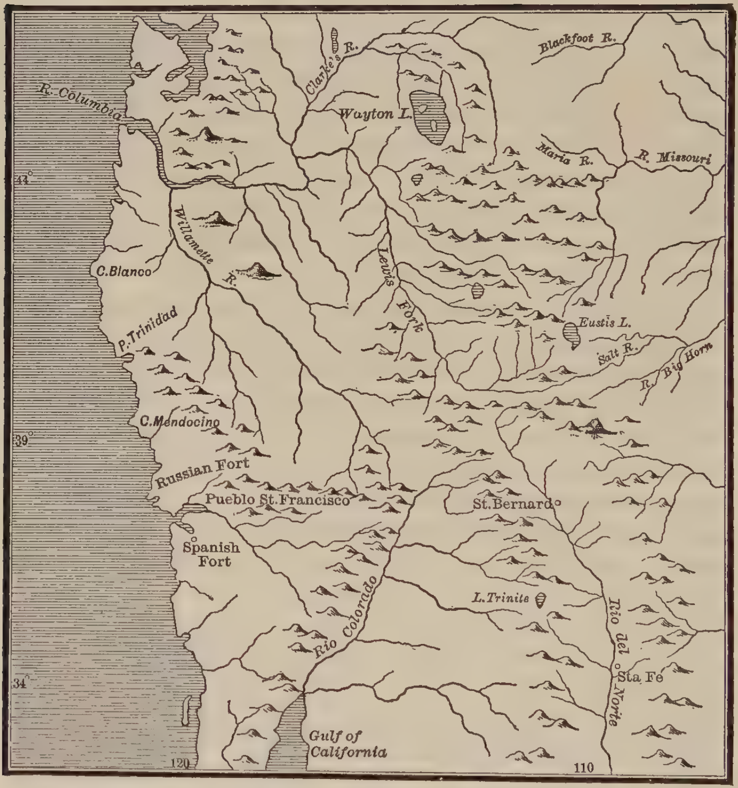
[69] Sept. 22, 1818, Sola to Argüello containing the usual instructions, to be enforced in the case of the *Bordelais*. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., ii. 94–6. This Roquefeuil says, *Voy. 106*, arrived on the 25th, and was answered by an explanation of the purity of the trader's intentions and his belief that some enemy had lied about him. Sept. 26th, Sola to Argüello, consenting to trade for money, duties being paid, and no padres or citizens being allowed to have anything to do in the matter. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., ii. 94–6. This came on the 28th and was regarded by Roquefeuil, *Voy. 108*, as 'vague' and 'tolerably satisfactory.' A circular from Argüello to the padres to furnish grain was not obeyed; but on Oct. 9th, a courier came in from Sola with 'despatches entirely satisfactory' and the process of loading went on rapidly. The total amount of trade on the three visits was $6,356, of which $130 was paid in money.

[70] One of them was perhaps Ignacio Thomas, described as an Englishman left at San Francisco from the *Bordelais*, who remained for 11 years and more. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. (12).

[71] *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 67–70; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 179–82. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 132–46, mentions the arrival at Monterey late in 1817 of a man-of-war pretending to be English on a scientific expedition, but really one of Bouchard's ships. This is probably an error.

was told of the exploits of the Kadiaks in their bidarkas, and learned of "the terrible decrease of the native race in the missions of the two Californias." I append a map of the western regions including California made in 1818. It peculiarities are self-explanatory.[72]



THE PACIFIC COAST IN 1818.

Foreign affairs and maritime annals for the last three years of the decade, exclusive of Bouchard's invasion, the all-absorbing topic of the period, take the form of a series of comparatively unimportant items, which may be grouped as follows: In 1818 the American brig *Clarion*, Captain Gyzelaar, formerly of the *Lydia*, touched at Santa Bárbara for a week from October 6th, obtaining beef and beans, and leaving a warning against the Buenos Aires insurgents.[73] Rumors of war between Spain and the United States, and of a projected plan of American invasion from New Mexico, are also said to have found their way to California in the friars' correspondence;[74] and indeed Captain Wilcox had been accused the year before at Loreto and Guaymas of revolutionary schemes of similar purport. At the beginning of November an English sloop-of-war, the *Blossom*, Hickey commander, from the Columbia, and having on board the commissioner charged with transferring the northern post of Astoria to the United States, touched at Monterey for supplies.[75] At about the same time the Russian vessels of Hagemeister and Golovnin were at the same port, while Roquefeuil visited San Francisco as already recorded.

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[72] Drawn by Roberdeau under inspection of Wm Rector, U. S. Surveyor of Mo. and Ill. Published in *Warren's Memoir*, pl. ii.

It need hardly be added that Sola issued this year, as usual, his orders to commandants that foreign vessels must be treated exactly according to the laws.[76] The Lima vessel *Cazadora* either came back to California this spring or possibly had wintered on the coast;[77] and on January 24th the *San Ruperto*, Captain Varela, from Manila, was driven into Monterey to escape the gales and scurvy. A very large amount of goods was purchased from her for the presidios[78]—a god-send for the soldiers, since "please pay the amount due" was Sola's message to the viceroy. The Bouchard affair increased the foreign population of the province by the addition of at least Joseph Chapman, John Rose, and two negroes.[79]

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[73] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 110, 134–5. In July an American ship was anchored off San Pedro, name not given. *Id.*, iii. 89–90. And on Sept. 2d the governor reported to the viceroy the arrival of the American man-of-war *Ontario*. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 197. Jan. 7th, Governor Cordero of Sonora to Sola. The *Cossack*, for outrages at Guaymas, to be confiscated if she appears in California. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS. xx. 218.

[74] *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer, Mar. 21, 1862; Id.*, in *Browne's L. Cal.*, 74.

[75] *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 28; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 20–1. See *Hist. Northwest Coast.*, i. 339. Commissioner Prevost wrote a report to the U. S. Government from Monterey, dated Nov. 12th.

[76] April 8, 1818. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., ii. 89. A vessel may be given water and one bullock per day until a reply from the governor is received. April 6th, Muñoz notifies Sola that he and other padres will take care to arrest any agents of 'Pepe Botellas' (Joseph Bonaparte) that may appear. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 44.

[77] March 5, 1818, Sola says she has taken 2,500 butts of tallow besides hides, soap, etc. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 11. Sept. 6th, the arrival of the *Hermosa Americana* (Mexicana?) is noted. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 197. In *Solano Co. Hist.*, 452, it is stated that the *Hongua* touched on the coast from China in 1818. According to the *West Shore Gazette*, 6, 7, a Scotch

During the whole year of 1819 the only definitely recorded arrival of vessels were those of the *San Cárlos* and *Nueva Reina de Los Angeles*, from San Blas with reënforcements and war-stores, respecting which cargo I have much to say elsewhere. There are, however, one or two vague references to the presence of an American schooner on the coast.[80] And there appear in the archives a few items, not without a certain interest, concerning the foreign residents of California at this early date.[81]

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sailor, deserting about this time, settled among the natives of Grand Island, where his half-breed children were found in 1841. A stone is said to have been found on Feather River in 1851 inscribed: '1818—gold cave, in this M. Ship—Lodes, L. M.,' the inscription being possibly, as the author thinks, the sailor's work.

[78] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 175; xii. 147; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 9. The goods bought in addition to the value of supplies furnished was $13,822.

[79] See chap. xi. on the Bouchard affair. Stephen C. Foster has an interesting but unreliable account of Chapman and one of the negroes. *Foster's First American in Los Angeles.* He erroneously calls Chapman the first American settler in California, Doak being entitled to that honor. He calls the negro Fisher and says he disappeared in the mining excitement of 1848-9. Some Californians call the negro Norris. In June 1820 Chapman came to Santa Inés, where he was employed as a carpenter and blacksmith, also building a grist-mill. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. (84-5). We shall hear more of him in later years. On the arrival of Rose see chap. xi. of this vol. During this decade we only know of him that in 1820 he was removed from the mission of San Diego on account of his religious heresies. But as he was willing to become a Christian, and was also a good mender of drums, his salvation was undertaken with good prospects of success. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 24, 30-1; *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, March 21, 1862. James Pease, still living in 1878, is said to have come in 1818, *North S. Juan Times*, April 3, 1875; *Browne's Statement*, 18-19.

[80] Jan. 31, 1819, Padre Rodriguez writes of a two-masted vessel off Pt San Simeon, which after taking many *lobos marinos* sailed toward Monterey. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 55-6. June 12th, Guerra reports the illegal sale of grain and cattle to an American schooner at San Pedro by Manuel Gutierrez, the guard being bribed. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 141-2.

[81] Oct. 20th, Viceroy Venadito sends permission to marry and settle in California, according to the Ley de Indias, to Juan María (Mulligan?), an Irish weaver, and others. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 1. Jan. 6th, Sola ap-

For 1820 the maritime annals are slightly more extensive, since there were no less than five Spanish craft on the coast. In May there came the *San Francisco de Paula*, or *Dos Hermanos*, Captain Blas Cosio, from Mazatlan, and the *Cleopatra*, well manned, and armed probably as an escort. They brought an assorted cargo and some money, but failed to get as much tallow as was expected even from debtors.[82]

From September to November there were three vessels in the ports, the *Europa* from Callao; the *Señoriano*, Captain Juan Malarin; and the *San Francisco Javier*, or *Alcion*, the two latter apparently from San Blas, all with goods and coin to exchange for tallow and soap.[83] Four Russian vessels visited Californian ports, the *Buldákof* and *Ilmen* touching at Monterey in August, and the *Otkruitie* and *Blagonamerinie* at San Francisco in November. The only other foreign craft was the British whaler *Discovery* at San Diego, in quest of fresh provisions in August.[84]

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proves the carrying of the American prisoner, who was at San Miguel, to Santa Bárbara. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 28. Sept. 16th, bishop of Sonora replies to Payeras about the baptism of an English protestant named Thomas Cucar. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 26.

[82] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 207–9; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 54. Ignacio Mancisidor seems to have been connected with this venture. He sold $2,254 worth of goods. *Prov. St. Pap*,, MS., xx. 273.

[83] *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., v. 21–2, 57; vi. 19; xviii. 33; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust. H.*, MS., i. 17, 39; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 44; iv. 58; vi. 139. Guerra got an invoice of $10,441 on the *Señoriano*, and sent by her $9,802 in tallow. The *Europa* had $4,000 in goods. The governor speaks of the three vessels as English. Feb. 22d, viceroy advises Sola that José García Berdugo of Cádiz has license to send a commercial expedition to Pacific ports. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 283. The *Reina* on the coast (?). *Dept. Rec.*, i. 273.

[84] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xlvi. 18. The captain's name is given as Vig. Torres, *Peripecias*, MS., 132, speaks of a negro slave woman brought from Peru in 1828, but who went back later. There is no foundation for the statement in *Cronise's Nat. Wealth*, 40–1; *Yuba Co. Hist.*, 27, and other works, that in 1820 hunters and trappers found their way from the east into California. According to *Sacramento Record-Union*, Aug. 4, 1877, Major Stirling, living at Sta Rosa in 1877, came to the California coast for the first time in 1820.

CHAPTER XIV.

RUSSIANS IN CALIFORNIA—FOUNDATION AND PROGRESS OF FORT ROSS.

1811–1820.

Proclamation of the Company—Kuskof's First Visit to Bodega—Second Visit—Founding of Ross—Moraga's Three Visits to Ross—Slobodchikof's Traffic—Viceroy's Orders—Excuses—Moraga's Report—Capture of the 'Pedler'—Argüello's Policy—The 'Suwarof' at San Francisco—Visit of Kuskof in the 'Chiríkof'—Sola's Policy—The 'Ilmen'—Capture of Eliot de Castro, Tarakanof, and Aleuts—Kotzebue's Visit—Gervasio Argüello at Ross—Conference at the Presidio—Padushkin at Monterey—The Russians must Go—A Territorial Claim—Hagemeister's Visit—Visits of Golovnin and Khlébnikof—Rumors of Cession—Proposition to Abandon Ross.

Kuskof in behalf of the Russian fur company had spent the spring and summer of 1809 at Bodega. The company had determined with imperial encouragement not only to secure the Californian trade, but to found an agricultural and commercial supply station on the New Albion coast, with a hope, rather than a definite purpose, to acquire eventually territory south of San Francisco, the northern limit of Spanish possessions as it pleased the Russians to regard the matter. A proclamation to the Californian people had been forwarded from St Petersburg to Sitka; and Kuskof had attempted unsuccessfully to make a new expedition to California in 1810. Such was the situation when in a former chapter I dropped the thread of Russian annals.[1]

The proclamation was couched in the most conciliatory terms and was intended to put the advantages of mutual trade in the most tempting light. Sometime before March 1812, exactly when and how does not appear, the document was received in Lower California and perhaps in the north.[2] A reply was

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[1] See chap. iv. this volume.

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[2] According to the Russian authorities it was sent down by Captain Ayres, or by a confidential agent who sailed in his vessel, in 1812, and was forwarded to the commandant at San Vicente, Manuel Luis (Ruiz), whose answer is quoted without a date. *Tikhmenef*, *Istor. Obosranie*, i. 205; *Potechin*, *Selenie Ross*, 8. Capt. Ayres in the *Mercury* was at Drake Bay in November 1810, and was captured at Santa Bárbara early in June 1813. Of his whereabouts in the mean time nothing is definitely known, but he may have come down from the north at the end of 1811. March 26, 1812, Ruiz at San Vicente, writing to a person not named, probably the confidential agent alluded to, acknowledges the receipt of the proclamation in three different languages. He says he has forwarded the documents to Gov. Goycoechea, but feels sure that no trade will be permitted by the ruler of either California with any foreign power however friendly, or whatever may be the advantages of such trade, except with the permission of Fernando VII., or the junta de la regencia. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 332-3. The text of the proclamation, given in Spanish and Latin in *Id.*, xix. 271-3, and in Russian in *Potechin*, *Selenie Ross*, 4-5, is as follows: 'Health, Happiness, and the Blessing of the All-Powerful to our friends and neighbors the noble and brave Spaniards, inhabitants of the Californias, to whom is addressed this official communication. From the General Directory of the Russian American Company under the immediate protection of his Majesty the emperor, autocrat of all the Russias, Alexander I.'

'You know the good understanding and friendship that have always existed between the two grand powers of Russia and Spain. Now when all Europe is involved in wars, these two nations still continue to esteem each other and to preserve their ancient friendship. In the year 1806 there arrived at the port of San Francisco Don Nicolas de Rezánof, Chamberlain of His Imperial Majesty, share-holder and Agent of the Russian American Company of which the undersigned are Directors, charged with establishing some communications between the Californias and the colonies of the R. A. Co. on the Pacific Ocean. On his return he told us of the kind reception which he had merited on those shores. Gov. José de Arrillaga, although he did not refuse the propositions, did not dare to make an agreement, since the Court of Madrid had not permitted it and did not wish foreigners to come to those coasts; still he promised Rezánof to lay the matter before the Viceroy of Mexico. Our Court, desirous of establishing these mercantile relations, ordered overtures made to that of Madrid which arrived at that unlucky time when the king, Cárlos IV., renounced his crown and Spain's great misfortunes began; so that down to the present time it has not been possible to secure the results of this negotiation which could not have failed to give mutual satisfaction. The actual condition of Europe in general and of Spain in particular gives rise to the presumption that there is to-day no impediment to the admission of the Russians to the coast, especially since their object serves the interests of both parties. With this view we have ordered the Governor of the colonies, the Counsellor and Chevalier D. Alexander Baránof, resident in the island of Kadiak, lately Sitka, to send a ship with some merchandise under the command of a subordinate of his, for the purpose of establishing commercial relations with our noble and esteemed neighbors, and of supplying them with various lines of goods which they need and we can procure for them, taking in exchange grain, tallow, cattle, and other productions which there abound. We contemplate sending another ship to California from this city around the world as soon as circumstances may per-elicited from Comandante Ruiz of La Frontera, and perhaps from the governor, refusing to permit trade contrary to the laws without the consent of the authorities at Madrid.

Meanwhile the energetic chief director had not neglected his plans for the New Albion settlement. On February 2, 1811, perhaps before the receipt of any definite instructions from St Petersburg, Baránof despatched Kuskof on the *Chiríkof* for Bodega, where he arrived the 4th of March. Few details have been preserved respecting this visit. Otter were not plentiful at Bodega at that time, and therefore twenty-two bidarkas were sent into San Francisco Bay, where hunting was carried on for some months in company with two other parties of Aleuts from the *Isabella* and *Albatross*,[3] with a result of 1,200 otter-skins for Kuskof's party. The Russians say that though the Spaniards could do nothing at first to interrupt this wholesale poaching, they at last hit upon the expedient of guarding the springs of fresh water and thus forced the Aleuts to withdraw. The Spanish records rather strangely contain nothing on this topic. During the absence of his hunters the commander seems to have devoted his attention to the conciliation of the natives and to the exploration of the region round Bodega Bay, or Rumiantzof Bay as the Russians called it in honor of the imperial chancellor. The site for a settlement selected by means of this and previous explorers, or possibly not finally determined on until the next year, was about eighteen miles above the bay, where, though there was no good anchorage, all other advantages of soil, timber, water, and pasturage were much better than at Bodega. 'It is said

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mit and there be no danger from foes, since all Europe is now belligerent. Yours, etc., etc. (Signed) Michael Buldákof, Benedict Kremer.

'St Petersburg, March 15, 1810.'

[3] See chap. v. of this volume for brief notice from the Spanish records of the presence of this bidarka fleet in the bay. Kuskof's visit is not otherwise mentioned by the Spaniards. The log-book of the *Albatross* does not mention any visit of Winship's men to San Francisco Bay, but it is not unlikely that they were there.

that the valley of the Slavianka, or Russian River, called by the natives Shabaikai, was examined for fifty miles, but no better location could be found.

The native chiefs were made friends by the distribution of petty gifts, and there is not much doubt that they made, either now or the next year, some kind of a formal cession of territory to the new-comers. The price paid, according to the statement of the natives in later years, as Payeras tells us, was three blankets, three pairs of breeches, two axes, three hoes, and some beads. Always more or less hostile to the Spaniards and to their brethren under Spanish rule, the natives were indeed glad to have the strangers come as allies and protectors. In later disputes the Russians dwelt upon this cession as one of the strongest elements in their title—so expedient has it always been found in the New World to affirm the natives' right of ownership where the soil could be bought for a song, and to deny it when forcible possession must be taken. Having obtained a supply of sea-lion meat from the Farallones, Kuskof sailed for the north the first of July, reaching Sitka the 8th of August.[4]

Meanwhile Baránof probably received from St Petersburg expected instructions to found the settlement without further delay. At all events, late in 1811, or possibly early in 1812,[5] he once more despatched Kuskof in the *Chiríkof* with all that was deemed necessary for the foundation of the new establishment. There were in the company ninety-five men of Russian blood, including twenty-five mechanics, and probably eighty Aleuts in a hunting-fleet of forty bidarkas.[6] The arrival seems to have been in March or April of 1812, though of this and immediately succeeding events there is no detailed record. The Aleuts were sent out to hunt otter along the coast, apparently with instructions not to enter San Francisco Bay, for it was best not to offend the Spaniards just at this time.[7]

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[4] *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 11, 138; *Tikhménef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 208; *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 5–6; *Payeras, Noticias sobre Ross*, MS., 429–30.

[5] Khlébnikof says it was in November 1811; Tikhménef and Potechin, March 1812, alluding perhaps, however, to the arrival at Bodega.

[6] All authorities agree on the 40 bidarkas, and there were doubtless as usual two hunters to each boat. Khlébnikof, *Zapiski*, 137–8, gives the number of Russians as 95. The Spaniards reported the number as about 100. Mofras, *Exploration*, ii. 3, states that there were 100 Russians and 100 Kadiak Indians, and this statement, not very inaccurate, has been generally followed by

The Russians prepared timber for several months. When all was ready the Aleuts were recalled to aid the mechanics, and everybody went to work with a will on a fort and other necessary buildings, and in the course of a few months a fortified village had arisen on the shores of New Albion. The site, selected probably during the previous visit, was some eighteen miles above Bodega Bay, called by the natives Mad-shui-nui, in latitude 38° 33′, longitude 123° 15′, according to Russian observations, and the fort with its ten cannons was erected on a bluff some hundred feet or more above the sea. Of the buildings and surroundings I shall have more to say later. All was completed and ready for occupation early in September.[8] On September 10th, or

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American writers. A large part of the Russians seem to have been sent back to the north after a little.

[7] Yet several bidarkas were seen by the Spaniards in the bay during the month of July, and were supposed to belong to the vessel reported at Bodega. So says the commandant of San Francisco to the governor in his letter of July 31st. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 322–3.

[8] According to *Baránof*, *Shizneopissanie*, 127–9, the *Chiríkof*, Beuseman master, sailed from Sitka in November 1811. Tikhménef, *Istor. Obosranie*, i. 208, says Kuskof returned to New Albion in March 1812. He gives lat. 38°, long. 123°. Khlébnikof, *Zapiski*, 11, 137–8, says Kuskof sailed in Nov. 1811, and began the settlement in June. He gives the latitude and longitude as in my text. On p. 167 he seems to say either that the fort was established on March 26th, in lat. 38° 40′, at Mad-shui-nui, or that the vessel left Sitka on that date; but I think that this was probably the date of arrival. Potechin, *Selenie Ross*, 5–6, says that the fur company sent out the expedition in February 1812, and that Kuskof founded the settlement on May 26th. Moraga late in August reported that the Russians had arrived five months before, or in March. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 324–6.

The works named are my authorities on the foundation of the Russian settlement. American and other writers mention the foundation briefly and often incorrectly in connection with subsequent history down to 1841. Cronise, *Natural Wealth of Cal.*, 37, tells us that in 1820 the Russians formed a settlement on the river Sebastian 40 miles north of Bodega, called by them Slawianska, by the settlers Fort Ross, and now known as Mount Ross! Greenhow, *Hist. Or.*, 18, says the Russians formed an establishment on the shore of the northern branch of Bodega Bay in 1812, and some years later another called Ross 30 miles north of Bodega. Manuel Castro, *Relacion de Alta Cal.*, MS., 83, informs us that Ross was established under a special

August 30th of the Russian calendar,[9] the 'name-day' of Emperor Alexander, the establishment was formally dedicated with great festivities and named Ross, from the root of the name Russia, a word extending far back into antiquity.[10]

Thus the company's cherished plan for gaining a footing on the California coast was brought to a successful issue, and as yet without opposition either from the natives, whom the new-comers chose to regard as the owners of the country,[11] or from the Spaniards, whom they affected to look upon as neigh-

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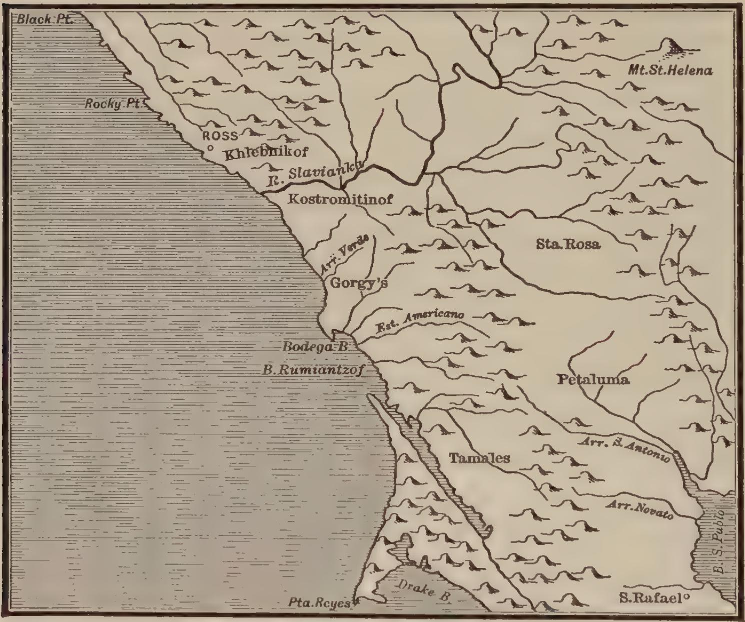
treaty between Spain and Russia in 1815, and was occupied by 500 men until the term of the treaty had expired! Chamisso, *Reise*, i. 131–2, says Kuskof settled with 20 Russians and 50 Kadiaks in a fine fort with 12 cannon. Such was probably about the force at the time of his visit. Fédix, *L'Orégon*, 109–10, has it that the Russians obtained permission to build houses from the governor of California, who afterwards repented but was not strong enough to expel the unwelcome guest. Scala, *L'Ancien Comptoir Russe*, 381–2, states that the Russians in 1814 fortified the entrance of Bodega Bay, and built a village to which they gave the mystic name of Ross; while hundreds of *Ciboleros* roamed through the interior hunting buffaloes to supply meat for the far north! Kotzebue, *New Voyage*, ii. 120–3, erroneously represents that the Spaniards for a small compensation acquiesced in the Russian plans and only made trouble when they were alarmed at the prosperity of Ross, becoming again friendly when the Russians firmly refused to yield to their pretensions. For other mentions containing no errors requiring notice, see *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 105–7; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 24–5; *Randolph's Oration*, 311; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 119–20; *Thompson's Hist. Sonoma*,. 8–10; *Estab. Rusos.*, MS., 1–4; *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 363–74; *Marin Co. Hist.*, 36, 45; *Lancey's Cruise of the Dale*, 31.

[9] Twelve days must be added to a Russian date to make it conform to the Roman calendar; but in Alaska 11 days suffice, for the loss of a day in coming eastward from St Petersburg was never taken into account until Alaska was tranferred to the U. S.

[10] It is thought that Ross may be identical with the Hebrew *rosh* of *Ezekiel*, xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 1, translated 'chief' in the English version, with the 'Rōs' of the Byzantine writers, and with the 'Rūs' people on the Volga. According to the Arabian tradition, Ros was a son of Japhet. However this may be, it is certain that the Russians were formerly known as the 'people of Ross,' and their country is still Rossiia, or Russia in English. Galitzin, *Notice Biog. sur Baranoff*, in *Nouv. An. des Voy.*, cxxv. 245, says: 'The name of Ross is derived from the word Russiia, Russia.' Belcher, *Voyage*, i. 313, says it means 'Little Russia.' Khlébnikof tells us the place was called Slavensk, or Ross. Some very absurd derivations have been given by late writers, as for instance that from the Spanish 'Fuerte de los Rusos,' as corrupted by Americans! *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 374; and *Harper's Mag.*, lxvi. 192.

[11] The Indians were friendly and at first came often to the fort; but Potechin, *Selenie Ross*, 6–7, tells us that gradually the visits, especially of the *men*, became more and more rare. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 12, mentions an attack on the settlement by a Sotoyome chief soon after the coming of the Russians, easily repelled by a few discharges of musketry. This writer thinks the Russians entitled to some credit for having helped to keep the northern Indians in check.

bors, dwellers in another country, California, separated from New Albion by San Francisco Bay. The latter, however, were by no means ignorant of what was being done at Bodega, though in no condition to interfere. In July Comandante Argüello noticed bidarkas in the bay, and sending out native scouts, learned that a vessel was on the beach north of Bodega. On August 25th Moraga was sent with seven men to investigate. He came back September 1st and reported that the vessel was a small schooner stranded, or beached for repairs, eight leagues above Bodega, and that she was in bad condition. Kuskof's eighty men were in great want of food; the Russians who had been in the country for five months, had built a fort protected by artillery, and apparently intended to remain. Moraga, whose visit was just before the dedication of the fort, was courteously received, but communication for want of an interpreter was difficult.



Bodega and Ross.

On his return he was sent to Monterey with a letter from Argüello, and to report in person to the governor; but of the additional information thus imparted we only know of Kuskof's desire to trade for grain, meat, and tallow.[12] Russian authorities say nothing of the difficulty of communication, but state that Moraga made a complete inspection of the settlement, received full explanations of the company's plans, was shown the instructions of the chief directory, and promised to use his influence in favor of the desired trade.[13] There was no further intercourse between the Russians and Spaniards in 1812, except that early in December a flag was noticed across the bay from San Francisco, and a sergeant crossing in a launch brought back three Russians found on the beach in a state of starvation. They had deserted from Ross in consequence of the great want experienced there. Their vessel was still aground, they said; and Kuskof was hard at work on his buildings; but they claimed to know nothing whatever of the object of the settlement.[14]

Moraga went back to Ross late in January 1813, where he conferred with Kuskof about trade, was shown a copy of the proclamation of 1810, and acquainted himself with the details of the plans of the strangers. He returned January 27th, and four days later was sent to report at Monterey the Russian desire for traffic, bearing also a letter in which the destitution of the troops was vividly described, doubtless as the strongest argument in favor of the proposed trade. Arrillaga communicated to the viceroy the result of Moraga's two visits.[15] There is not a word in the Spanish record to indicate that the governor or commandant had consented or would consent to any trade without the viceroy's permission; yet the Russians state that Moraga on this second visit brought not only twenty cattle and three horses as a gift, but also the verbal announcement, as welcome as unexpected, that Arrillaga had consented to an exchange of commodities on condition that pending the viceroy's decision, the company's vessels should not enter the ports, but transfer goods in boats. Accordingly Kuskof at once despatched his clerk Slobódchikof to San Francisco with a cargo which, in the manner prescribed and to the value of $14,000, was exchanged for bread-stuffs. Trade was thus continued for some time, but no particulars are given. That this traffic was allowed, considering the urgent needs of California, is not strange; nor is the silence of the Spanish record to be wondered at, since the trade was illicit. There is no good reason to doubt the accuracy of the Russian statement.[16]

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[12] July 31, 1812, and Sept. 7th, Argüello to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 322–6; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 128–9.

[13] *Tikhmencf, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 212–13; *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 7. These writers seem to make the date of Moraga's visit October.

[14] Dec. 16, 1812, Argüello to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xliii. 8–9.

[15] Jan. 31, 1813, Argüello to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 343–4. Jan. 25th, Moraga at 'Nova Rosa, six leagues north of Bodega,' certifies to a

The viceroy in the mean time learned indirectly through the authorities of Lower California and New Galicia that the Russians were at Bodega, and on July 9th he wrote to Arrillaga instructing him to observe closely the movements of the strangers, and ascertain their designs. He did not apprehend any hostilities on the part of Russia in view of friendly international relations, but he feared the intruders might be other than they seemed and connected with Anglo-American designs upon California.[17] Three weeks later, having learned the true state of affairs from the governor's letter, the viceroy wrote again

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copy of the proclamation of March 15, 1810, shown him at that date by Kuskof, or Coscof, as the Spaniards called him. *Id.*, 344. Feb 4th, Arrillaga to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 128-9.

[16] *Tikhmenef*, *Istor. Obosranie*, i. 213; *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 7.

[17] July 9, 1813, viceroy to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 333-5. Manuel Varela, commanding the *Bostones*, told the commandant of San Blas that he had seen a communication of Arrillaga to the governor of Lower California on this subject. From San Blas the news went to Gen. Cruz of New Galicia, who forwarded it to the V. R. in a letter of May 20th.

enclosing the treaty of July 20, 1812, between Spain and Russia. Kuskof was to be notified at once that the company's occupation of Spanish territory was a clear violation of the treaty; reminded that it was a duty of the subjects of friendly powers not to embroil their respective courts; and requested to remove his establishment before the matter was brought to the attention of the national authorities. Meanwhile the Russians were to be closely watched, and the military authorities of the peninsula and the western Interior Provinces were to be ready to furnish aid in case of an emergency.[18]

These communications reached California early in 1814, and in April Moraga, with Gervasio Argüello and an escort, was sent a third time to Ross bearing letters in which Arrillaga made known to Kuskof the viceregal instructions.[19] The Russian commander was thus placed in a difficult position, and he thought it best to make no definite answer until he could hear from Baránof and Luis Argüello. Accordingly he waited until June 20th before he answered the governor's letter, which even with Moraga's explanations he claimed not to understand sufficiently to justify official action. It was always with great difficulty that either Russians or Spaniards could be made to understand an unwelcome message in a foreign language. Having thus disposed of the main subject, Kuskof proceeded to offer Arrillaga as a gift a tent formerly left at San Francisco, and closed his letter by making a formal demand for the return of certain Kadiak captives who it was claimed had entered the bay to escape the storm with no evil intention, and of certain others who had deserted from Fort Ross. To Argüello in a letter of the same date he sent back a Spanish letter to be interpreted, and repeated his demand for the release of captives. These letters were carried down to San Francisco by the agent Slobódchikof, who went after grain still due and with a small cargo of goods for traffic.[20] It was hoped that the trouble caused by the viceroy's orders would blow over and that trade might proceed. It was the company's policy to keep its affairs in California as quiet as possible at St Petersburg and Madrid, and by no means to cause a quarrel between the two courts, an easy task on account of the disturbed condition of Spain, and to trust for the permanence and prosperity of Fort Ross to the revolutionary condition and consequent weakness of Mexico, and to the good will and needs of the Californians. The pretence of an equitable right to any part of the Californian territory was an idea of later growth.[21] Moraga on July 30th made out from his recent observations a full report on the establishment of Ross, particularly on the strength of its defences.[22]

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[18] Aug. 3d, viceroy to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 330–1.

[19] *Khlébnikof*, *Zapiski*, i. 214. Arrillaga's letter as quoted by Potechin, *Selenie Ross*, 8–10, calls only for a circumstantial statement for the viceroy's information of all that the company had done or proposed to do, and of the authority under which the settlement was formed; therefore it is possible that only the V. R.'s first letter had been received and was sent up by Moraga; yet had this been the case and an explanation only been demanded, Kuskof would naturally have furnished it as he had done before, and would hardly have been obliged to fall back on his ignorance of Spanish.

The capture of the American smuggler *Mercury*, Captain Ayres, in the preceding year, though she had been for years in the service of the company, if not still in that service, seems not to have had any bearing on the Russian question. This year, however, another vessel was captured, the American *Pedler*, Captain Samuel Northrop, which was taken by Cavenecia of the Spanish vessel *Tagle* in August. Investigation showed, or perhaps more properly was made to show, that, though she had a Russian contract and passport, she had merely brought a cargo of supplies to Fort Ross, part of which was still on board to be transferred to a Russian vessel for which the *Tagle* had been mistaken; and as there was no evidence of contraband trade, the only plausible pretext for the detention of an American craft, she was released with a warning to leave Spanish waters forthwith.[23] Arrillaga had died in July, and José Argüello was now governor *ad interim*. The change was not favorable for the Russians, for Argüello, either from natural inclinations, or more likely on account of his temporary power and future political aspirations, was much less friendly to the foreign colony than had been his deceased friend or his own son Luis.[24]

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[20] June 20, 1814, Kuskof to Arrillaga and Argüello (written in Russian). *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 365–7. It is perhaps worth noticing that the tent offered to the governor and which Kuskof took pains to represent as having been left at San Francisco by carelessness, was really sent down from Ross with the letters.

[21] Raynal, *Hist. Philosophique*, xii. 705–6, tells us of secret negotiations at the Vienna congress of 1814 between the ministers of Russia and Spain as a result of which some part of California was ceded to Russia. England penetrated the secret but did not reveal it. I suppose this to be without foundation. Zavalishin, *Delo o Koloniy Ross*, 6, says that Capt. Black (of the English ship *Raccoon*), who refitted at San Francisco in 1814, hinted to Slobódchikof, as shown by Kuskof's report of July 18, 1814, that the occupation of Ross was a violation of English rights to New Albion which 'as the very name shows' belongs to England and not to Spain.

[22] Moraga to governor, July 30, 1814. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 366–7.

Early in 1815 Argüello wrote a peremptory letter to Kuskof, stating that by the viceroy's orders the settlement of Ross must be abandoned if friendly relations were to be maintained between Spain and Russia, and also expressing great surprise that Arrillaga's letter of inquiry had not yet been answered. Kuskof's only reply was that he could do nothing without instructions from his superior, Baránof.[25] Yet trade continued, and on August 20th the *Suvárof*, Captain Makárof, arrived at San Francisco. She had been despatched from St Petersburg for Lima, and her ostensible business at San Francisco was to get water and fresh food. Yet she had on board a proclamation similar to that of 1810 addressed by the directory of the company to "our good friends and neighbors, the noble Spaniards," in which the advantages of mutual trade were again set forth. It does not appear that the authorities consented to any traffic beyond the furnishing of necessary supplies; but the people could by no means resist the temptation to exchange their products for goods, and there is no reason to doubt the Russian statement that a large part of the *Suvárof's* cargo was sold. The proclamation brought out a new letter from Argüello, or perhaps from Sola, to Kuskof, in which he expressed his surprise at the presumption shown in addressing such a document to the people or even the provincial authorities of California, since as a matter of course only the king could act in the matter. He would not reply to the proposition for traffic, but had sent the papers to the viceroy. This communication, like the former, received no definite answer. Trade, however, was by no means suspended, for the *Chiríkof* and the *Ilmen* both came to San Francisco this year and obtained large quantities of grain which was shipped to Sitka on the *Chiríkof*. Kuskof came down in person on the latter vessel, and with the other agents exerted himself to the utmost to avert the threatened troubles. He still labored to conciliate California and keep the controversy from Madrid, there being no fear of Mexican action. The Americans were seizing every opportunity to work against Russian interests and warn the Spaniards of their ambitious designs to seize San Francisco Bay. The company in turn uttered warnings against the Anglo-Americans; represented its settlement as the best possible protection for the Spanish frontier; disclaimed all desire for territorial possessions south of Fuca; urged that the king of Spain would have made known his displeasure long since, had he felt any, the foundation having been known at Madrid before the news reached St Petersburg; and finally pictured in brightest colors the evident advantage of trade to the neglected soldiers of the presidios and their families.[26]

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[23] The capture was between the 13th and 26th of August, and the governor ordered the release Sept. 10th. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlv. 3–6; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 101. March 5, 1815, viceroy's approval of the release. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 383; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 136. Tikhmenef, *Istor. Obosranie*, i. 213–14, says that the vessel was released as soon as it was known that the cargo and most of the crew belonged to the company. The *Pedler* went back to Ross before continuing her voyage round Cape Horn.

[24] 'With the death of Arrillaga,' writes Tikhménef, *Istor. Obosranie*, i. 214, 'the Russian colonies lost a true friend. His general good feeling toward the Russians and his compliance with all their wishes so far as possible, in spite of the uncertainty of Spanish politics and his limited power, continued since the time of Rezánof.'

[25] *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 10, 11; *Tikhmenef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 215. As I have before implied, it is possible that the viceroy's orders of August 1813 had only just arrived and were the cause of Argüello's peremptory communication.

Governor Sola had arrived in August, and his disposition was not at first more favorable toward the Russians than Argüello's had been, since he was more freshly imbued with Mexican feeling and knew less of California's needs. He at once called upon Luis Argüello for a report on past visits of Russians to San Francisco, the supplies furnished, and how they had been paid for. He also seems to have sent orders to Ross forbidding the illegal entry of all foreign vessels into Californian ports.[27] The affair of the *Ilmen* about this time gave the new governor a chance to show his devotion to Spanish laws. This vessel, sailing under the American flag as the *Lady*, was purchased by Baránof in 1813 and sent down to Ross under an American master.[28] She had on board a band of Aleut hunters under Boris Tarakánof, and a cargo of goods for traffic in charge of Juan Eliot de Castro as agent of the company, who is said to have been in California before. Of his proceedings down to the middle of 1815 we only know that he visited most of the places on the coast, made many friends, and was very successful both in trade and hunting, sending to Sitka a large quantity of grain, 400 otter-skins, and $10,000 in money. Success made him reckless, or perhaps he was not fully aware of Sola's strict orders against contraband trade; at any rate on September 19th Tarakánof, having paid no attention to warnings to quit the coast, was captured with over twenty Aleuts at San Pedro by Comisionado Cota and put in the jail at Los Angeles. Six days later Eliot himself, landing from his vessel at El Cojo, near San Luis Obispo, was also arrested with another American, four Russians, and an Aleut. The *Ilmen* escaped and sailed for the Sandwich Islands by way of Ross. The captives were sent to Santa Bárbara and Monterey in October, the officers being treated with every attention and the rest obliged to work for their rations like Spanish prisoners. The protestations of Kuskof were for a time of no avail; but some of the Aleuts, whom the Spaniards foolishly sent out to catch otter for their new masters, made their escape to Ross; while a few embraced the catholic faith and prepared to remain in the country.[29]

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[26] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 376, 392-8; xx. 5, 6; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 37; *Potechin*, *Selenie Ross*, 8-11; *Tikhmenef*, *Istor. Obosranie*, i. 215; *Khlébnikof*, *Zapiski*, 146; *Baránof*, *Shizneopissanie*, 147; *Zavalishin*, *Delo o Koloniy Ross*, 7. The captain of the *Suvárof* is also called Lazaref, and the supercargo was Herman Molvee. She was of 500 tons. Tikhménef alludes to the detention of a vessel sent to San Francisco and the seizure of her cargo and papers. It is not clear what vessel is referred to. Potechin says Argüello's first letter was sent in March and the second in July, which latter may be an error if the *Suvárof* with the proclamation came in August. Kuskof is said to have shipped 6,000 pounds of grain to Sitka; Eliot, of the *Ilmen*, bought in June and August $5,371 worth; and a schooner in September brought $2,818 in effects for the troops. The proclamation was dated July 13, 1813, and is preserved in the archives.

[27] Sept. 26, 1815, Sola to Argüello. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 33; *Tikhmenef*, *Istor. Obosranie*, i. 215-16.

[28] He is called Vasdrash, Wosdwit, Wodwit, and Wilson Wodwarck. Nikoforof was clerk, or supercargo.

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[29] *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 135–6; *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 11; *Tikhmenef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 213, 216. This author accuses the Spaniards of cruelty to the captives, stating that according to Kuskof's report one Aleut who refused to become a Catholic died from ill-treatment received from the padre at San Francisco. The Spanish records are somewhat voluminous on this affair, but not very important, being largely repetitions of the same statements by different officials or minor details respecting the transportation or examination of the captives. *Eliot de Castro, Papeles tocantes á su arrestacion y la de otros Contrabandistas del bergantin ruso 'Ilmen'; Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 135–6; xi. 23–6; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 362, 379–81, 384–7, 390–1; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 3–4, 33, 41–2. Sept. 15th, Sola, in an original letter, speaks of a boat captured at San Luis on July 27th. *S. Antonio, Doc. Sueltos*, MS., 73–4. The vessel is often called *Herminia, Armina*, or *Ilmenia*. Eliot is also spoken of as an Englishman. Two American deserters from the *Ilmen* are said to have come to Monterey in November. Several Aleuts were wounded in a skirmish at their capture. An armed reconnoissance of the Sta Bárbara Islands was ordered in the hope of finding a deposit of otter-skins; but no result is recorded. It is amusing to read the transparent excuses the Russian prisoners always made when taken redhanded at smuggling or poaching. They were 'driven in by stress of weather,' or had 'lost their way,' and if suddenly cornered by cross-examination they suddenly became profoundly ignorant of every language but the simplest Russian. Tarakánof had some silk goods in his bidarka when captured, which he had the impudence to declare were

So far as the records show nothing was accomplished by the Russians in the way of trade during 1816, a condition of things made more endurable to the Spaniards by the arrival of the supply-ship for the first time since 1810. The leading event of the year so far as the present matters are concerned was the visit of Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue on the *Rurik* in command of a Russian scientific expedition, who spent the month of October at San Francisco as elsewhere related.[30] Sola came up from Monterey to welcome Kotzebue and profited by the occasion to complain of his nation's grievance at the hands of Kuskof and the company which he represented. Kotzebue, of course, said he had no authority in the matter, but promised to bring the subject to the attention of his government; and finally he consented to summon Kuskof to a conference. Accordingly Gervasio Argüello was sent to Ross with the summons or request,[31] and Kuskof came down the 25th of October. During three following days a conference was held at the presidio, the result of which is preserved in a documentary record signed by Kotzebue, Kuskof, Chamisso as interpreter, and Luis Argüello and José María Estudillo as witnesses.[32] In this paper are narrated the circumstances under which the conference was held; Sola's complaint that Kuskof had settled in Spanish territory and neglected to obey the viceroy's orders to depart, or even to give any definite answer to the governor's letters; Kuskof's declining to make any argument on the merits of the

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intended for his own use! When asked if he had not been warned to quit the coast he could not understand the question.

[30] See chap. xiii. of this volume.

[31] The messenger on his return made a report on the condition of the Russian settlement. *Argüello (Gervasio), Observaciones hechas por el Cadete...en el Establecimiento que tienen los rusos como á las 7 leguas al Norte de Bodega, 1816*, MS. Dated Oct. 21st.

[32] *Conferencia celebrada en el Presidio de San Francisco entre el Gobernador Sola, el Comandante del bergantin ruso 'Rurick,' Sr Kotzebue y Coscoff, gefe del Establecimiento ruso arriba de Bodega. Octubre de 1816*, MS. Chamisso, who translated the document, says Sola had the whole document re-written to agree with some of his, Chamisso's, suggestions.

case, or to abandon the settlement without orders from Baránof; and Kotzebue's declaration that he had no authority to act but would submit the case to his sovereign.

It is evident enough, and in fact Chamisso so states,[33] that Kotzebue recognized the entire justice of the Spanish claim; and it is equally certain that Kuskof was by no means pleased with the turn things were taking. He wanted to be let alone to deal with the Californians after his own manner. He was thinking more of the present than of the future, more of his company than of his nation. It is doubtful if the idea of Russian rights under international law to any territorial possessions in California had yet been conceived; but even if there was a vague hope of future conquests based on the occupancy of Ross, the company did not want the question submitted yet to the home governments, since such a submission must needs unfavorably affect for a time their smuggling operations on the coast. A later Russian writer blames Kotzebue not only for meddling in an affair that did not concern him, but also for signing a document which virtually admitted the Spanish title to all south of Juan de Fuca.[34]

The archives contain a few slight references to the Aleut and Russian prisoners in California, some of the former having been attached to the southern missions.[35] Eliot de Castro and Tarakánof were sent to San Blas by the *Paz y Religion* but were brought back by the *San Cárlos*.[36] Eliot was taken away by Kotzebue to the Hawaiian Islands, where he became secretary of state to the king. Three Russian deserters were also taken away to Ross. Whether the commander was not willing to take more or Sola to give them up does not clearly appear.[37]

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[33] *Chamisso, Reise*, i. 132, 134, 137–9. He says the document found its way into the proper minister's office at St Petersburg without being acted upon; that Sola was to receive a Russian decoration; and finally that while the conference was being held, Kuskof, with Kotzebue's consent, sent out two bidarkas to catch otter in the bay!

[34] *Tikhmenef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 217. Whatever Kotzebue may have thought, however, the document in question can hardly be deemed an admission of Spanish rights, since it was simply a record of Sola's claim and Kuskof's failure to reply. Khlénikof, *Zapiski*, 147–8, merely mentions that Kuskof visited San Francisco at Sola's invitation. Sola in a letter to the viceroy dated Nov. 6, 1816, gives a brief account of the negotiations connected with Kotzebue's visit. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 151–3. Capt. Wilcox in a letter of Dec. 12, 1817, says he touched at Bodega on Dec. 25, 1816, but could sell nothing, though he refitted his vessel, the *Caminante*, there. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 165–6. The arrival of a Russian vessel, the *Coscoff*, is noted at Monterey from San Francisco. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 143.

[35] Señan's letters in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 61–3; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 106; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 39.

Sola is said by Chamisso to have promised, and probably did promise, not to use forcible measures to eject the Russian intruders until the matter could be considered at court. Such an agreement was not a very important one for either party; for the governor was hardly in a position to use force had he desired to do so, and he knew that he could not keep such a promise by his own authority, since he was subject to the viceroy's orders. Late in the year came a communication from Viceroy Calleja, in which, while not disapproving the past exchange of grain for articles needed by the soldiers, he ordered a strict watch to be kept on the Russians, who were by no means to be allowed to enter Californian ports or visit the presidios "to ascertain the condition of our forces."[38] And this was followed by another order to force an abandonment of Ross, and to call upon the rulers of other provinces for aid if necessary.[39] The order of course was not carried out, but the progress of the colony in the direction of commercial intercourse was at a standstill.

In his report of 1817, Sola replied to the viceroy's communications, and explained the difficulties in the way of ousting the Russian intruders. To make the attempt with any chance of success at least one hundred infantry and four field-pieces with artillerymen were necessary, besides ammunition, and even supplies of food, of which there were none at the governor's disposal. As for aid from New Galicia the viceroy was simply reminded of the time it would take to send a courier, obtain the necessary orders, organize an expedition, and land the troops in California; and was left to meditate upon the absurdity of such a proposition.[40] Made acquainted with the state of affairs in the south by Kuskof's letters, Baránof despatched Lieutenant Yakov Padushkin in the *Chiríkof*, Beuseman master,[41] to treat with the California officials. His credentials, in the form of a letter from Baránof to Sola,[42] mentioned as the subject of negotiation only the release of Aleut and Russian prisoners; but no doubt Padushkin was also commissioned to agitate the all-important matter of trade; and he was probably instructed to so conciliate the Spaniards, if possible, as to effect a cessation of the troublesome insistence on the abandonment of Ross. It is noticeable, however, that the company was very shy of intrusting to paper its ideas on this latter subject.

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[36] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 93; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxvii. 62. June 17th, Sola writes to Guerra that Tarakánof before sailing revealed the fact that there was a large deposit of skins on one of the islands. These are to be taken and a secret report made. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 35–6. Padre Martinez says of Eliot in a letter of Dec. 11th, that unless he mends his ways he will go hence 'to hell—not because I will send him there, for I am not in the service of devils, but because he so wishes it.' *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 10.

[37] *Kotzebue's Voy.*, i. 286–7, ii. 13; *Chamisso, Reise*, i. 136–7; *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 157; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 34; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 206–11.

[38] April 16, 1816, viceroy to Sola. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 5.

[39] June 30th, viceroy to governor of L. California. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xxii. 28; Nov. 14th, Sola acknowledges receipt of such orders. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 154.

Arriving at San Francisco late in March, Padushkin applied to Argüello for permission to go by land to Monterey, which, on reference to the governor, was refused and the trip was made by sea.[43] At the capital Sola received him politely, and without the slightest hesitation delivered the prisoners to the number of fifteen, promising to give up the rest as soon as they could be brought in from distant points.[44] As to trade the governor, though he seems to have permitted Padushkin to obtain a cargo of provisions,[45] refused to commit himself without the consent of his superiors, and took the same ground respecting a proposition to hunt otter in partnership with the California government.[46] These matters being disposed of, Sola reverted to the old complaint against Kuskof, who persisted in keeping up a settlement in California against the wishes and orders of the Spanish authorities. By Padushkin, who returned to Sitka in June, he sent a letter to Baránof, in which, after alluding to his past dealings with Kuskof and stating his reasons for having delayed the release of the prisoners, he says: "And now I hope that you will proceed to remove every ground of complaint, by immediately withdrawing the establishment of Bodega beyond the Spanish limits, which, as already stated, extend to the Strait of Fuca; which being done and this cause of ill-feeling on the part of both sovereigns being removed, I shall report to the viceroy, and perhaps this will make my king more favorably disposed to accede to your proposal of obtaining the products of this country for the support of the inhabitants of your own." Then he ventures to doubt the genuineness of a license of the Russian emperor to found the settlement of Ross, because such an act must naturally have been transmitted to Spain and thence to Mexico and California; and finally, after exposing the flimsy nature of Kuskof's excuses and showing that there had been no lack of time or opportunity for repeated communications with Sitka and St Petersburg, he concludes by stating that Padushkin assured him that within twenty days after the receipt of this letter Baránof would order Kuskof to leave Ross and retire to Russian territory.[47] Tikhménef chooses to term Sola's simple obedience to the laws of his country and the orders of his superiors, obstinacy, which he absurdly attributes to Kotzebue's intermeddling and opposition to the company's schemes.[48]

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[40] *Sola, Informe General al Virey sobre Defensas de la California, 1817*, MS.

[41] Christopher Martinevich Beuseman, master of the Ross schooner *Chiríkof* (the Spaniards call her '*Scuna Chiriko*'), was a Prussian and first served the company as mate on the *Peacock*. He finally became a Russian subject and in 1825 was made a noble of the 14th class. *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 109.

[42] Feb. 2, 1817, Baránof to Sola, written in Russian. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 206–8. The writer regrets his inability through ignorance of Spanish to enlarge on his own views, but he has given Padushkin full powers to 'discuss without any ill-feeling or hostile pretensions the questions referred to.'

[43] March 31, 1817, Sola to Argüello. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 38. April 10th, May 12th, Sola to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 169–70. It would seem that the schooner did not enter the bay, but that the officers landed in bidarkas, or *cayucos* as the Spaniards always called them. April 24th, Padushkin at Monterey asked for arrest of an Aleut who had deserted from the vessel at Ross. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 205.

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[44] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 214–16; *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 147. One of the released prisoners was Tarakánof, or Tarasof as the Spaniards called him. Some who had married Californian women were allowed to remain at the missions. Sola had intended to give up the prisoners to Kuskof the year before, but had been so disgusted at the latter's excuses about quitting California in accordance with the viceroy's orders that he had concluded to wait a while.

[45] *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 148. For this purpose the *Chiríkof* seems to have gone down to Sta Bárbara. May 9th, Padre Ripoll to Sola. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 2.

[46] He even refused to allow the lieutenant to leave a few hunters at the bight of San Antonio 'to kill deer.' *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 38.

The modern Russian writers whom I have cited, or some of them, imply that almost from the beginning their countrymen maintained the equity of their claim to the country round Ross. A close examination, however, shows that these writers simply antedate their own views and the arguments resulting from later disputes. The idea of a claim to territory south of the Columbia, if entertained by the Russians, was never broached by them to the Spaniards before 1817. Contemporary documents show that the matter was never brought forward in the recorded discussions; and it is easy to see that such a pretension must have interfered seriously and uselessly with the company's cherished commercial plans. Not even in 1817 was the claim urged in California; but there is some evidence that about this time it was brought forward elsewhere. In fact such a claim was the only plausible answer to Sola's complaint, unless the company was willing to promise the abandonment of Ross; and it is said that the Spanish ambassador at St Petersburg complained this same year in a note to Count Nesselrode that the Russians, "forgetful of every feeling of justice and esteem to a friendly empire," had established themselves for commercial purposes on lands not belonging to them, asking in the name of his king that steps be taken for the removal of the settlement. To this note, as we are told by Tikhménef and Potechin,[49] the comdany replied by maintaining the lawfulness of their settlement, there being nothing on any existing chart to show that the country from San Francisco to the Columbia belonged in 1812 to any European nation. We know but little about this correspondence; but it is possible that the claim was now set up as the only way out of existing difficulties; not, I suppose, so much with a purpose of permanent occupancy as with a hope of bartering the claim for commercial privileges later. Baránof was about this time replaced by Hagemeister, who came down to Ross, and among other measures is said to have effected a renewal and extension of the old cession by native chieftains.

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[47] This letter dated May 5, 1817, is copied in *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 206–11. It is a very important document, being a manly and able presentment of the Spanish claim.

[48] *Tikhmenef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 216–17.

Not only did Hagemeister come to Ross, but he extended his visit to San Francisco in October, and brought Kuskof with him on board the *Kutúsof.*[50] The pretext of this visit was to collect certain debts and release the remaining prisoners; the real object was to see what could be done toward improving the business relations. A correspondence having been opened with the governor, the latter readily gave up a few more prisoners, and, with a view of relieving the wants of the soldiers, himself made the first advances in the way of trade by a proposal to purchase the cargo to the extent of $30,000, and pay in drafts on Guadalajara. This Hagemeister declined, feeling little confidence in the ability or disposition of the branch treasury at Guadalajara to pay such debts for California in the present aspect of public affairs; but he offered to sell the goods nevertheless, and to take his pay in sea-otters which he would catch in San Francisco Bay.[51] Notwithstanding the manifest advantages of such a bargain, Sola did not feel at liberty to accept it;[52] but he allowed the purchase of considerable quantities of grain on terms not stated,[53] and the general effect of Hagemeister's visit seems to have been a restoration of former confidence and amity. For several years the company had but little difficulty in disposing of the cargoes, and the old controversy was left practically to take care of itself.

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[49] *Tikhmenef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 217–19; *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 11.

[50] Brief mention of the *Kutúsof's* presence, in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 210–11; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 251, 254; *Roquefeuil's Voyage*, 39–40. She left for Sitka Nov. 11th. During her stay a Russian letter was sent all the way down to Santa Bárbara and back in vain search for an interpreter.

The mission of San Rafael, the first permanent Spanish establishment north of the bay, was founded at the end of this year. The Russian writers think that this foundation was intended to strengthen the Spanish title or to prevent the extension of Russian possessions.[54] There is nothing to indicate such a purpose on the part of either missionary or secular authorities; and if Ross was thought of at all in this connection it was probably, as one writer asserts,[55] only as the best available market for mission products, in which respect it proved a great advantage in the almost continued intercourse that followed.[56]

There is little of importance to be recorded on Russian relations during the last three years of the decade. Early in 1818 Sola acknowledged the receipt from the viceroy of a royal order to strike a blow at the intruders; but he urged that for such a step reenforcements were needed, and did nothing.[57] He believed that by his past remonstrances and his late reference of the whole matter to the superior government, he had done all that could be expected of him. He understood now better than at first the pressing needs of his subjects; therefore, especially as the viceroy had not objected to barter for articles needed by the troops, he seems to have allowed the traffic to go on without opposition. Khlébnikof tells us that vessels were sent yearly from Sitka without always touching at Ross.[58]

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[51] The company was to bear all the expenses of the hunt; to share the proceeds equally with the Spaniards, and to take the share of the latter in payment for goods at a fixed price—$8 for large skins, which was very low. *Potechin*, *Selenie Ross*, 12–14. According to Padre Arroyo's letter to the governor there were some Russians seen hunting near San Pedro this year. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 125.

[52] *Khlébnikof*, *Zapiski*, 78, 141–2.

[53] The *Kutúsof*, according to Potechin, took 1,396 *pouds* of wheat; 99 of barley; 200 of pease and beans; and 144 of tallow. A *poud* was 36 lbs. Tikhménef, *Istor. Obosranie*, i. 218–19, states that Sola gave a formal authorization for future trade in a letter to the company, but this seems unlikely, when a tacit consent would have served his purpose as well.

[54] *Khlebnikof*, *Zapiski*, 148–9; *Tikhménef*, *Istor. Obosranie*, i. 361.

[55] *Fernandez*, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 86.

[56] Mofras, *Exploration*, ii. 5, tells us that President Payeras on May 2, 1817, addressed a letter to the king of Spain on the Russian colony. This letter I have not seen.

In the autumn of 1818 Hagemeister seems to have made a second visit to the southern coast, meeting Sola at Monterey, but we know very little about this trip.[59] Equally vague is our knowledge respecting the visit of Golovnin in the *Kamchatka,* who was on an expedition round the world, and who was at Monterey at the same time as Hagemeister. He tells us of four Aleuts brought by the latter, who with much caution and considerable success proceeded to hunt otter under the very noses of the Spaniards during the few weeks of their stay.[60] Golovnin, however, gives in his narrative some descriptive matter about Ross, where he was, apparently for the second time, on September 27th; and he also presents a formal argument on the right of the Russian company to make a settlement on the coast, the Spaniards having no rights there. New Albion, he argues, was discovered by Drake, is entirely distinct from California, and had never contained a Spanish post before Ross was founded. He says the Spaniards were friendly at first, Sola's hostile policy being a new one, and practically abandoned in view of Kuskof's defiant attitude. The natives, he claimed, hated the Spaniards, were friendly to the Russians, and had made a formal cession of the country. This is the earliest argument extant on the question; and it is to be noted that the views are those of an individual, Russia never assuming any such position.

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[57] April 3, 1818, Sola to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS. ix. 196. In this letter he remarks that the Russians are instructing the Indians, who show great aptitude.

[58] *Zapiski*, 148.

[59] The arrival of the *Cotwoff* (perhaps *Kutúsof*) is announced by the governor. Sept. 2, 1818. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 197. Khlébnikof, *Zapiski*, 78, mentions Hagemeister's second visit.

[60] *Golovnin, Voyage*, i. 271-88, fragmentary extracts in *Materialui*, pt. iv. 111, and in the *Morskoi Sbornik*, Jan. 1858. Correspondence about the delivery of 9 more Aleut prisoners. Guerra thinks some of them ought to remain in California, since it would be a praiseworthy act to enable them to save their souls. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 106-7; iv. 399-400: *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 18. Arrival of the *Kamchatka* mentioned. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 197; *Roquefeuil's Voy.*, 107. In a letter of Jan. 28, 1818, the company is said to have notified the colony at Ross to refrain from all dealings with the Americans. *Zavalishin, Delo o Koloniy*, 7-8. In July Kuskof sent a party of 38 bidarkas to Trinidad Bay, but the Indians were hostile, and only 11 skins were obtained. *Khlébnikof. Zapiski*, 139. In a letter of July 25th Señan mentions a newspaper article from St Petersburg praising Sola for his reception of Kotzebue. 'What has engaged my attention particularly,' says the friar, 'is the name of New Albion which they apply to the province, being one of the names of Great Britain.' *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 66. In a letter dated Monterey Nov. 11, 1818, J. B. Prevost notifies the U. S. secretary of state of the settlement at Ross, and of the probable ambition of the Russians to acquire additional territory on the coast. *Amer. St. Pap.*, iv. 855.

The annals of 1819 are even more meagre than those of the preceding year, no arrival of a Russian vessel being recorded. The viceroy reiterated his orders that the inhabitants of California must have no trade with the Russian colony;[61] and a rumor reached the United States, apparently coming from the captain of a Russian vessel in China, that eight hundred miles of the California coast had been ceded by Spain to Russia.[62]

In 1820 Yanofski, having succeeded Hagemeister as chief manager at Sitka, sent Lieutenant Khlébnikof down to Ross and to Monterey to perfect the commercial arrangements begun by his predecessor. The *Buldákof* and possibly the *Ilmen* came down on this trip.[63] Sola made no objection to the trading of the cargo for grain, though he insisted that he had made no promises to Hagemeister. He received a fine mirror as a gift, and sent back in return pheasants and tongues. He could as yet make no definite reply to the proposal to hunt otters on shares. Two other Russian vessels touched at San Francisco in November, called the *Otkruitie* and *Blagonamerenie*, commanded by Captain Vassilief. A royal order for the kind reception of these ships and two others had been received by Sola in which they were described as belonging to a scientific expedition round the world and to both poles; but it was a custom of the Russians to call all the company's trips to Alaska voyages round the world. Of their stay and business in California I know nothing.[64]

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[61] Oct. 19, 1819. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 73. A private letter from Mexico of Jan. 27th speaks of the Russian intrusion as a bad matter, and hopes Sola will destroy the settlement. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 117. In a letter of May 31st Payeras says Coscoff, or Ross, is 20 leagues from San Rafael by way of Olompali and Petaluma. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, iv. 343.

[62] *Niles' Register*, xvi. 237; xvii. 232.

[63] Yanofski in a letter of June 13th introduces Khlébnikof and implies

In 1820 the company announced its willingness to relinquish the claim lately set up to territory on the coast in exchange for the privilege of trade. In a letter to Nesselrode, Russian minister of foreign affairs, occurs the following: "The large capital invested in this settlement has not made the returns expected from it by the company, on account of the short time elapsed," and the lack of permanent settlers. "Yet the Spanish government of New California constantly demands the abandonment of the settlement and the

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that he sails on the *Elmasina*; but Sola in his reply dated August 2d, calls the vessel *Ylmena*. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., viii. 60-1. On the other hand the *Buldákof's* arrival under Capt. Cyril Khlébnikof, her buying grain at Santa Cruz, and her departure in September are noted. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 9; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., v. 58.

[64] Dec. 14, 1819, viceroy's instructions to Sola in favor of the two vessels named, and also the *Vostock* and *Mirini* under Capt. Bilingshausen. Sent to commandant by Sola April 28, 1820. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 74-5, 270. The *Otkruitie* and *Blagonamerenie* sailed from Cronstadt in August 1819; arrived at San Francisco Nov. 22, 1820; and apparently remained until January 1821. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 273; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 24; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 62.

José María Amador, *Memorias*, MS., 24-5, mentions an expedition of Moraga to Bodega and Ross this year which he accompanied as a soldier. All were very kindly received by the Russians, especially by the officers of two vessels at Bodega, who gave them silk shirts and other things for themselves and families, enabling them to make a decided sensation with their finery on returning to San Francisco. This expedition is not elsewhere mentioned, and there may be an error of date. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 191, gives a not very probable rumor that the Russians prompted the unfortunate expedition of the Spaniards to the north this year.

departure of the Russians, claiming the land occupied by them and even the whole coast of New Albion as belonging to the Spanish crown on the strength of the first discovery of America by Columbus; and perhaps forcible measures would have been resorted to ere this had they been in a condition to carry them out. In this state of affairs the Russian American Company would willingly abandon its settlement, which fills the Spaniards with fear, and never more think of choosing another site on the coast of Albion, if it could by this sacrifice gain the privilege of permanent trade with New California, which is closed to foreigners by law of the colony principally for the purpose of hiding the astonishing poverty and weakness of its government."[65] The minister was urged to influence the Spanish government in favor of this proposal, and also that of taking otter on shares. It is not unlikely that the terms might have been accepted had it not been for political changes in the relations between old and new Spain.

Here I might appropriately give a sketch of Ross, its actual condition in 1820, its buildings and forces, its industries; of the progress made by the company's agents in California during the first ten years in commerce, in otter-hunting, in agriculture, and ship-building; the whole serving to show why Ross was deemed a failure, and why they were willing to give it up. This sketch, however, for no reason more potent than a desire to divide the chapters somewhat symmetrically in respect of length, is withheld for the Russian annals of the next decade.[66]

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[65] *Tikhmenef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 221-2; *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 13-14.

[66] See chapter xxviii. of this volume.

CHAPTER XV.

EXPLORATIONS—INDIAN AFFAIRS—FOUNDING OF SAN RAFAEL.

1811-1820.

Abella Explores the Lower San Joaquin and Sacramento by Water—Original Names—Indians Troublesome at San Gabriel—Soto's Battle—Padre Cabot Explores the Tulares—Sola's Grand Expedition—Friars' Report on the Indian Tribes—An Important Document—Padre Martinez Visits the Tulareños—A Presidio and Missions Recommended—The Native Islanders—Founding of San Rafael Asistencia—Tour of Padre Payeras—The Names Petaluma, Sacramento, and Sonoma—Disaster at San Buenaventura—Colorado Indians—Victory of Sanchez over the Moquelumnes—Estudillo's Campaign—Moraga's Unsuccessful Expedition against the Mojaves—Notes on Indian Affairs of the Decade.

The annals of inland survey for the decade open with an exploration of the lower San Joaquin by water. This visit to a region so near the settlements and already more or less well known to the Spaniards might be deemed hardly worth notice as an exploration; yet by reason of its local importance, its minuteness, and its application of early and original names, I have thought the diary worthy of reproduction in substance in a note.[1] Padre Abella was accompanied by Padre Fortuni of Mission San José; Sergeant Sanchez seems to have commanded the expedition. The force is said to have been composed of sixty-eight persons, sailing in several boats. After giving to points San Pablo and San Pedro in the bay the names which they still bear, the party went up the western and down the eastern channels of the San Joaquin, which name, however, they did not use, though it had been applied earlier to the same river, choosing to re-name it, or particularly the eastern or main branch, Rio de San Juan Capistrano. Crossing over into the Sacramento through the Two Mile Slough, they descended that river to its mouth—its first definitely recorded navigation—calling it Rio de San Francisco, a name they understood to have been previously applied. Thence after a visit to the country of the Suisunes, they returned home after an absence of fifteen days. Friendly intercourse was held with the Indians, who were very numerous on the Sacramento, and a few of the aged and sick were baptized. The Suisunes showed more timidity than hostility. The

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[1] *Abella, Diario de un registro de los rios grandes, 1811*, MS. The same expedition is briefly noticed by Mofras, *Exploration*, i. 450, who adds: 'Le journal manuscrit de cette exploration intérressante est entre nos mains.' Oct. 15th from the presidio anchorage to *Angel Island* in A. M. and in P. M. as soon as the tide was favorable, to Pt Huchunes (name of the Indians there). Between Angel Island and points Huchones and Abastos is formed a bay twice as large as that at the port, with 8 islands, mostly small, one of which has to be passed on the way to Huchones. This island has a bar visible only at low water, and must be passed on the west at a little distance. Oct. 16th gave to Pt Huchones the name Pt San Pablo and to the opposite point (probably the one before called Abastos) that of San Pedro (both names still retained). These points, with two little islands between, close the first bay and begin another

much larger one (San Pablo Bay). There are 5 gentile rancherías on the north and west. On the west enters an *estero*, said by the Indians to be large (Petaluma Creek), but Moraga has been round it twice—A league and a half to another point named San Andrés (Pt Pinole). The intermediate country is all 'mainland of San José,' belonging to the Huchones, mostly bare but with a few oaks and a fine stream (where San Pablo now stands)—To the Strait of the Karquines ending the bay and formed between the 'tierra firme de San Josef' and at first an island (Mare Island) but farther on mainland also on the north—Through the strait to its end in the country of the Chupunes, where there are mud flats and a dangerous concealed rock. Place called La Division. Oct. 17th, into a large bay (Suisun Bay) where the water gradually became fresh—About 18 leagues eastward (clearly erroneous as are nearly all the distances of the diary) along the southern shore, past islands, tules, and swamps, into a right-hand channel, to camp on an island (Brown or Kimball Island) which was a fishing station of the Ompines. Oct. 18th, back half a league to take the left-hand channel, though there was no need as the branches came together again—Eastward past another island, (Kimball's or West's) past a widening whence a passage (Three Mile Slough at head of Sherman Island, explored on the return) led through into the northern River of San Francisco (Sacramento)—Half a league farther on turned into the right-hand and smaller branch (The West Channel of the San Joaquin), and sailed southward in a winding course with nothing in sight but water and tule and sky, sleeping on the boats for want of a landing. Oct. 19th-22d, still up stream through the tules southward and eastward to the Pescadero ranchería on an island (the name had been given before and is still sometimes applied on modern maps to the southern end of Union Island) belonging to the Cholbones—Thence shores of the Sacramento offered a favorable site for a new establishment, though somewhat difficult of access.

In the south at San Gabriel the Indians were still uneasy and troublesome. Neophytes and gentiles operated to some extent in concert, stealing cattle and even breaking open the mission store-house. Some Indians implicated in past hostilities were still prisoners at the presidios, a fact which caused much bitterness of feeling among the rest; and rumors of impending attack from the Colorado River tribes were current to increase the general alarm. The missionaries were often called upon for additional force, which was sent on several occasions, so that the danger was averted without fighting. On one occasion, however, in November, if we may credit the padres' reports, a body of Yumas, also called Amajavas, with other savages actually approached to the number of eight hundred, with the intention of destroying San Gabriel and San Fernando. The arrival of reënforcements prevented the attack. Actual hostilities seem to have been limited on the one

eastward (noting the middle channel and southern slough of modern maps) into the main river, which they named the San Juan Capistrano (San Joaquin). At or near the junction they set up a cross, and supposed themselves on the parallel of San José, (though really opposite San Francisco). At the junction of the southern slough farther up (just above the present railroad bridge. It is not clear that this party went up there) was the ranchería of the Cosmistas—Thence down the main stream (East Channel) to the ranchería of the Coyboses. Oct. 23d–7th, down the river to the branch followed up from the 18th (mouth of West Channel)—through the passage before noticed (at head of Sherman Island) northward into the San Francisco (Sacramento), naming the numerous Indians apparently Tarquimenes—and down the river to the junction, saying mass at the Loma de los Tompines, opposite the Cerro Alto de los Bolbones (which was perhaps Mt Diablo). The country on the San Francisco (Sacramento) is described as well fitted for settlement, but accessible only by water, by crossing either at the presidio or at the Strait of Karquines—Thence northwardly through an *estero* (Montezuma Creek and Nurse Slough) to a spot one league from the plain of the Suisunes. Oct. 28th–30th, one league to the head of Suisun Creek, and the edge of the large fine plain dotted with oaks. The Cerro de los Bolbones was about 12 leagues S. W. (S. E.?) Two rancherías were Suisum and Malaka, and another at a little distance was Ulululo. Two leagues distant was where Moraga's famous battle took place. On the 29th the voyagers returned to Angel Island; and spent all the next day in getting across to the presidio against unfavorable wind and tide.

side to cattle-stealing and on the other to the pursuit and capture of a few cimarrones, or runaways.[2]

Gabriel Moraga's three trips to Bodega and Ross in 1812–14 may be here alluded to; though the route had been several times gone over before, and this officer's reports, so far as extant, are confined to the condition of affairs at the Russian settlement.[3] There were no Indian troubles during these years except such as were connected with the occasional pursuit of runaway neophytes or the most petty affairs of local discipline; though the brutal murder of Father Quintana at Santa Cruz in 1812, elsewhere narrated, may be appropriately mentioned in connection with the subject of Indian affairs. There are two of the expeditions after fugitives somewhat indefinitely recorded, though not of special importance. The first was under Sergeant Soto who, with a hundred Indians from San José Mission, met twelve soldiers who came from San Francisco in a boat and proceeded up a river not named but apparently the San Joaquin. On the morning of October 27th the Indians were attacked on a marshy island, where they had posted themselves for a fight, the women and children having been removed. Four rancherías had united their forces, and a thousand men, unless the Spaniards counted some of them more than once, fell upon the soldiers and their allies at landing. Soto was at one time doubtful of the result; so reliant were the foes on their numbers, so careless of life, and so unmindful of the inefficiency of their arrows. But after three hours they fled over the marsh and escaped by swimming, having left many dead but no captives, and killing only one of the neophyte warriors. The force returned on the 28th.[4]

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[2] Jan. 21st, commandant of San Diego to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 307. July 4th, padres of San Gabriel to President Tapis. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 85–7. May 25, 1812, report of Tapis. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 299–301. *Pico, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 4–5; *Taylor* in *Cal. Farmer*, March 21, 1862.

[3] See chap. xiv. of this volume.

[4] *Soto, Expedicion Militar del Sargento, 1813*, MS. The narrative is embodied in a report by Argüello. In *S. José, Lib. Mision*, 25, the troops are said, on Oct. 25th, to have gone against the Unsumnes, and the Alcalde Julio

The second expedition was made in October 1814 with aims less bloody, and apparently with a view to search for new mission sites. A sergeant with thirty men accompanied by Padre Juan Cabot, left San Miguel October 2d, reached the edge of the Tulares that night, and next day reached the shore of the great lake at the ranchería of Bubal. There were seven hundred souls here, a harvest ripe for the missionary reaper as Padre Cabot believed, since twenty-six of the old and sick submitted to baptism on this occasion. Next the Spaniards went on, nearly a day's march across the *tular*, to the ranchería of Sumtache of about the same population as the preceding. The aim was to reconcile the two rancherías, but the Indians of Sumtache had heard false reports that the Spaniards were coming to kill them, and a skirmish ensued. Two horses were killed on one side, and an old woman on the other; whereupon peace was made. Next the party came to the fine river of San Gabriel, which was forded at a favorable site for a mission and presidio, said by those who had visited this region before to be three leagues from Telame, the largest ranchería of all the valley.[5] Thence the route led to the abandoned Guchame, and to the ranchería of Tache, said to contain a thousand souls, nearly all of whom had hidden in the tules. This was near the banks of Kings River, and the great disadvantage of the country was the lack of timber. Still the missionary favored a mission there, without a doubt that God would point out a way to success. The return was by a more northern route not described as far as the edge of the great valley.[6]

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was killed. In the *S. Joaquin Co. Hist.*, 10, and *Tinkham's Hist. Stockton*, 14, Marago (Moraga) is erroneously said to have explored the great valley and named the San Joaquin in 1813.

[5] See chap. iii. of this vol. for preceding explorations. Details are not clear, but the region was that of Visalia.

[6] *Cabot, Expedicion al Valle de los Tulares 1814*, MS. It is dated at San Miguel April 11, 1815, and is in the form of a letter to the president. The latter on April 4th had called for information on the subject, and besides the narrative cited, P. Juan Martin wrote on April 26th, strongly favoring the establishment of a mission for the benefit of the *tulareños*, describing a visit he

The year 1815 was marked by what is somewhat vaguely alluded to as a grand expedition in pursuit of runaways. It is only from allusions in the archives that this affair is known, for no diary is extant.// A simultaneous movement seems to have been made by order of Sola in October from several points north and south over into the valley of the Tulares, by which quite a large number of fugitives from various missions were brought back to their Christian duties. Sola regarded it as on the whole a success, since to it he attributed the subsequent favorable aspect of affairs in the central missions;[7] but perhaps he exaggerated its importance because it was his first effort in this direction, since Padre Tapis tells us the *gran expedicion* did not accomplish all that was expected of it, though fortunately no casualties occurred.[8]

In 1812 the Spanish government had directed to the missionaries, through the bishop of Sonora, a series of thirty-six questions upon the manners and customs of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country.[9]

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himself had made to Bubal in 1804, and urging that if a mission were not soon founded, Satan, war, and venereal disease would leave nobody to convert. *Martin, Visita á los Gentiles Tularcños, 1804*, MS.

[7] Dec. 15, 1816, Sola to Padre Marquinez. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 99. There are frequent references in the missionary correspondence of 1815-16 to minor local expeditions after runaway neophytes. Such expeditions were usually unsuccessful, for which result the padres generally blamed the soldiers, and *vice versa*. *Id.*, iii. pt. i. passim.

[8] Dec. 2, 1815, Tapis from San Juan Bautista to Guerra. The expedition had returned the day before. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 9-10. Diego Olivera was one of the party from Santa Bárbara, under Juan Ortega as he says, which met another from Monterey over in the Tulares. Many Indians captured. *S. F. Bulletin*, May 28, 1864; *Taylor's Discov. and Founders*, ii. No. 26. Sept. 14th to Nov. 9th, several letters of Sola on this expedition. The northern party consisted of 50 men, was commanded by Gabriel Moraga; was directed chiefly against the ranchería of the Pitemas, started from San Francisco for Santa Cruz about Sept. 25th, and had returned—perhaps temporarily—by Oct. 7th. Eighteen of the captured Indians escaped through a window at San Francisco. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 32-4. In the south Sergt. Pico brought in 11 Indians charged with killing Christians and wounding vaqueros. Sola to Ruiz, Oct. 5, 1815. *Id.*, xlvi. 5-6. Boronda, *Notas*, MS., 2, mentions the river Reyes and Tache Lake in connection with what seems to be this expedition, which he accompanied as a soldier. Oct. 23d, Señan to Guerra about a 'famous' expedition; but as there are *cayucos* and sailors mentioned the campaign may be one against otter-hunters and not Indians. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 58-9.

[9] *Indios, Interrogatorio del Supremo Gobierno sobre costumbres, 1812*, MS.,

The final report in response to this interrogatory was rendered for California in 1815. It contained local reports from all the missions classified according to topics by the author, who was doubtless President Señan or Prefect Sarría.[10] This is a very important document, containing as it does the testimony of able men who were the first to come in direct and continued contact with a race now nearly extinct. But the subject does not fall within the limits of this work, having been already treated in the *Native Races.* It may be stated that the conclusions in this report do not differ materially from those given in the work alluded to, though they add some interesting information on several subjects.

The great valley of the Tulares now attracted more attention on the part of the friars than any other portion of the province as a prospective field for missionary operations; yet there was difference of opinion on the practicability of a new establishment in the interior. Padre Luis Martinez visited these rancherías early in 1816 and found the people willing to be Christians if the gospel could be brought to them.[11] There were, however, troubles of no interest in detail between the natives and some of the soldiers or vaqueros. In a subsequent correspondence Father Cabot declared that the soldiers from San Luis were wholly to blame, the gentiles being blameless and

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dated Cádiz, Oct. 6th. The questions were probably addressed to other regions besides California.

[10] *Indios, Contestacion al Interrogatorio de 1812, sobre costumbres de California, 1815*, MS., 104 p. Dated at San Buenaventura, Aug. 11, 1815. The San Diego report is omitted, but is found in *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 27–37. The topics are as follows: Race, origin, language, conjugal and parental love, feeling toward foreigners, inclination for reading and writing, dominant virtues, superstitions, idolatry, medicine, calendar, food, drink, worship of sun and moon, burial, character, trade and money, government, music, future state, and dress.

[11] *Martinez, Entrada á las Rancherías del Tular, 1816*, MS. The party started from San Luis Obispo and visited the following rancherías: Lucluc, 28 leagues; Tuohuala, 9 l.; Gelecto, 18 l.; Lihuanbilame, 19 l.; Quihuame, 7 l. on the bank of a great river not crossed, which flows into the lakes of Buenavista, Tuohuala, and Gelecto. Telame, or Telammi, is also mentioned but was not visited. Tuohuala was called also Hubal (Bubal?).

friendly; Father Muñoz defended the party from his mission, expressing a lack of confidence in the Tulareños; while Sarría at San Cárlos was not surprised at the troubles, which confirmed him in his previous opinion that no good results were to be expected from an expedition in which the friars were attended by soldiers. Expeditions to preach the gospel and those of exploration were two very distinct affairs, the latter sometimes requiring military aid, the former, never.[12] In his report for 1815–16, President Payeras strongly recommended the occupation of the valley by the early establishment of a presidio and one or more missions in the Telame region, where there were some four thousand gentiles accessible.[13] Such additional information as the records afford respecting Indian affairs during these two years takes the form of indefinite or disconnected items which may best be disposed of in a note.[14]

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[12] June 1, Cabot to prefect and Sarría to governor in *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 46–9, 51–3, 119–20.

[13] *Payeras, Informe Bienal*, MS., 1815–16, p. 114–17.

[14] May 14, 1816, Sola to Guerra. Indians coming from the Colorado to trade cloths and colors must be warned not to return on pain of punishment. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 34. June, 1816, Moraga made a fruitless expedition against apostate Christians at *Malmí* ranchería near Santa Cruz. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 103. Aug.–Sept., 1816, some Indian horse-thieves and a murderer punished at San Diego. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 8–9.

In *Reid's Ind. of Los Angeles; Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, *Mar. 9, May 4, June 8, 1860; Bowers' Sta Rosa Island*, in *Smithsonian Rept.*, *1877*, 316–20; and *Dall's Lords of the Isles*, in *Overland Monthly*, xii. 522–6, we find certain rather vague references to the natives of the Santa Bárbara Islands, who about this time, being reduced to a few survivors, chiefly by the murderous assaults of the Russians and Aleuts, are said to have been brought over to the main, except perhaps one old woman left on San Miguel. A terrible massacre by the otter-hunters of Capt. Whittemore's vessel in 1811, mentioned by Taylor, is the only part of the affair definitely stated. I suppose that most that has been written on the subject comes from Taylor's researches. It is not unlikely that the Aleuts and Indians quarrelled occasionally; and it is certain that the islanders, like those of the main, rapidly dwindled in numbers, and that the survivors were gradually attached to the Channel missions; but I find no evidence of any particular annihilation or massacre, or of any general removal to the main, though it is noticeable that the first *isleño* was baptized at Santa Inés in 1814, and that such baptisms were frequent after 1815. *Sta Inés, Lib. Mision*, MS., 12–13.

Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 144–6, mentions, as having occurred in 1816, an expedition under Argüello and Padre Ordaz to the far north, in which the chief Marin was captured in Petaluma valley; but the reference must be to a much later expedition—in fact Ordaz did not come to the country until 1820. The same writer, *Id.*, i. 151–5, and also Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 69–70, It was in 1817 that the Spaniards founded their first establishment north of San Francisco Bay. The mortality among the Indians at San Francisco had become alarming and was likely to create a panic, when Sola suggested as a remedy for the evil. the transfer of a part of the neophytes across the bay. Some were sent over as an experiment, greatly to the benefit of their health; but at first the president, while approving Sola's plan, hesitated about the formal transfer for want of friars, and because of the difficulties of communication. At last when several neophytes had died on the other side without religious rites, Padre Luis Gil y Taboada, late of Purísima, consented to become a supernumerary of San Francisco and to take charge of the branch establishment.[15] Such was doubtless the true reason for the new foundation, in addition to the general desire to extend the settlements in every direction. Russian writers, however, claim that the movement was in opposition to the company's occupation of New Albion, and one Californian author states, with much more plausibility,

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evidently confound another expedition, which they put in 1817, with Moraga's famous battle of 1810 (see chap. v. of this vol.) Vallejo puts Sanchez in command of the Spaniards, Malaca of the Suisunes, and says the latter set fire to their own huts and perished in the flames. Alvarado puts Moraga in command, and says that Sam Tetoy, afterwards known as Solano, was captured. It is not unlikely that these writers confound Moraga's expedition of 1810 with some other actually made in 1817. Vallejo's account of the campaign is found also in *California Jour. Senate, 1850*, p. 531–2; and in *Solano Co. Hist.*, 9, 17–18.

Jan. 20, 1817, Sola writes to the viceroy that since his arrival he has ordered 7 expeditions against the pagans, all resulting favorably. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 168. Jan. 22d, Duran proposes to explore in May the place where the fugitives are, so as to prepare a plan for their capture. His weapons will be a santo cristo and a breviary, but he would also like a *cañoncito* for the secular branch of the expedition. Ten men and a *pedrero* were promised. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 124–5. June 1st, Abella reports a visit to the gentiles who generally ran away from their rancherías. He proposes a military visit to where a neophyte and his wife are urging resistance and arguing that 'tambien los soldados tienen sangre.' *Id.*, iii. pt. i. 136–7.

[15] *Sarría, Informe del Prefecto, Nov. 1817*, MS., p. 73–6. The determination was to found 'a kind of rancho with its chapel, baptistry, and cemetery, with the title of San Rafael Arcángel, in order that this most glorious prince, who in his name expresses the "healing of God," may care' for bodies as well as souls. Sola gives the same reasons for the new foundation in his letter of April 3, 1818, to the viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 777. Dec. 10, 1817, Sarría writes to Sola that on Saturday next he will go over with Duran. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 21.

that the padres desired to be nearer Ross as a convenient market.[16]

The site was probably selected on the advice of Moraga, who had several times passed it on his way to and from Bodega; though there may have been a special examination by the friars not recorded. Father Gil was accompanied by Duran, Abella, and Sarría, the latter of whom on December 14th, with the same ceremonies that usually attended the dedication of a regular mission, founded the asistencia of San Rafael Arcángel, on the spot called by the natives Nanaguani.[17] Though the establishment was at first only a branch of San Francisco, an asistencia and not a mision, with a chapel instead of a church, under a supernumerary friar of San Francisco; yet there was no real difference between its management and that of the other missions. The number of neophytes transferred at first I suppose to have been about 230, but there is very little evidence on the subject, and subsequent transfers, if any were made in either direction, are not recorded. By the end of 1820 the population had increased to 590. In 1818 an adobe building 87 feet long, 42 feet wide, and 18 feet high had been erected; divided by partitions into chapel, padre's house, and all other apartments required, and furnished besides with a corridor of tules.[18] Padre Gil y Taboada remained in charge of San Rafael until the summer of 1819, when he was succeeded by Juan Amorós.

In May 1818 President Payeras, with Comandante Argüello, made a trip by water to San Rafael, including a somewhat careful examination of the country around. From the top of a hill near the new mission they looked upon the Cañada de los Olompalies and the Llano de los Petalumas.[19] In his general remarks on mission sites Payeras mentions by their present names the Sonoma Creek, the Sacramento, and the San Joaquin. It is stated in the official record of Luis Argüello's services that in this same month of May he went to explore the river that flows from the north into San Francisco Bay, that is the Sacramento, sailing on it for seventeen days, constantly threatened by the numerous Indians, and once landing with four men to fight them. It is strange that Payeras does not mention this trip if made in May 1818; and indeed it was probably made one or two years earlier, since Roquefeuil seems to have heard of it from Argüello in the autumn of 1817.[20]

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[16] *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 148–9; *Tikhmenef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 361; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 86.

[17] *S. Rafael, Lib. Mision*, MS., 5; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 142; iv. 157–8, xii. 125; original memorandum of Payeras, in *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS.; iv. 344–5, where original name is *Nanaguanui.* Curiously in the mission reports after 1822 the date of foundation is given as Dec. 18th. Mofras, *Exploration*, i. 444, has copied this error. Of this establishment I have some of the original registers, and copies of the rest.

[18] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt. ii. 89–92; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 303. The neophytes sent to San Rafael were not deducted for some years in making up the statistical reports for San Francisco. Most of them came originally from the country north of the bay.

Runaways from the central missions, from Santa Bárbara to San Miguel, were very numerous in 1818, and the general place of refuge seems to have been the rancherías of the Tulares. At Telame, the region favored for a new mission, was what Payeras termed "a republic of hell and a diabolical union of apostates." This friar writing from Purísima in May took a very dark view of the situation, declaring that the natives were losing all respect for the padres, no longer feared the soldiers, and that unless some decided steps were promptly taken the missionaries' occupation in California was gone.[21] The trouble was reported through Comandante Guerra to the governor, and a grand expedition was planned, to last fifty days and to effect not only the capture of neophytes but a thorough exploration of the interior. The execution of the plan was prevented by the return of the Santa Bárbara runaways in September, much to the disgust of Payeras, since the fugitives from Purísima did not make their appearance.[22] The president in his biennial report notes the unsatisfactory condition of the Tulareños, their growing habit of using horses, and the meagre results accomplished by the troops by reason chiefly of the protection afforded by the tules and lagoons; yet he again urges the establishment of a presidio and missions as the only means of averting from California in the future the Apache-like raids of Sonora.[23] It will be seen elsewhere that the Indians rendered much aid and also committed some excesses during the excitement of the insurgents in 1818–19.[24]

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[19] *Payeras, Noticia de un Viage á San Rafael, 1818*, MS. In this diary Payeras mentions the tradition that an oak grove with a small stream once occupied the place of San Francisco Bay. A small island near San Rafael is called Del Oro. A place called Gallinas, 2 leagues away, and another called Aranjuez are mentioned. The padre's opinion of the mission site was not a very favorable one. Petaluma was 12 leagues, and Olompali, 6; 38° 15′ was the estimated latitude of San Rafael. A presidio at Bodega and a mission at Petaluma and Suisun are recommended.

[20] *Argüello (Luis), Hoja de Servicios, 1828*, MS.; *Roquefeuil's Voy,*, 25.

[21] May 4th, Payeras to Guerra in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 29–31. May 23d, Juan Cabot at San Miguel reports on the rancherías where the fugitives are concealed and on the best way of reaching them. The rancherías named are Telame, Bubal, Quiuamine, Yulumne, and Choimoc. Cabot

Early in 1819 an unfortunate disaster at San Buenaventura caused excitement in all southern California, and led to a campaign against the gentiles. The Colorado River Indians occasionally came to the missions in small parties to trade; though the authorities always endeavored to break up this practice, deeming it safer to avoid all intercourse with the powerful tribes of the far east. On May 29th a party of twenty-two Amajavas, the Mojaves of later times, arrived at San Buenaventura to trade with the neophytes.[25]

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hopes that captives will be confined at Santa Bárbara and not at Monterey which is merely an *alcahuetería* whence the Indians come out more insolent than ever. *Id.*, vii. 88–9. Missions to furnish supplies. *Id.*, v. 32. May 26th, Guerra to Sola on details of the proposed expedition. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 225. An island of Poapuí is named.

[22] Sept. 15th, Guerra to Sola. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 102. Sept. 29th, Payeras to Guerra. *Id.*, v. 33.

[23] *Payeras, Informe Bienal de Misiones, 1817–18*, MS., 302–6.

[24] See chap. xi. of this volume. March 22, 1819, the viceroy orders the governor to enforce good behavior by 'castigos moderados y correccionales,' alluding to excesses at the time of the Bouchard affair. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 76. Oct. 28th, the viceroy approves the good order established among the Indians. *Id.*, xx. 61.

[25] They had called on their way at the rancho of San Francisco Javier and said they were going to San Buenaventura to barter their goods for beads, behaving very quietly. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 77.

In subsequent correspondence the desire to trade was sometimes spoken of as a pretence, but it is clear enough that the visitors had no hostile intentions, and equally evident that they were not very cordially received by the mission guard. They were refused permission to visit the neophytes, were not allowed to pay their respects to the padre as they desired, and were told they must remain in the guard-house until ready to depart next day. The 30th, while all were at mass in the church, except one soldier left as a sentinel in charge of the Amajavas in the guard-house, a disturbance arose, and the first two men who came from the church to restore order, Corporal Rufino Leiva and the invalid Mariano Cota, were killed with clubs. Respecting the exact origin of the quarrel the testimony was and is naturally conflicting; but it would appear that the sentinel was the one to blame.[26]

Now the rest of the soldiers, accompanied by the neophytes to whom the padre hastily distributed arms, rushed out of the church, and a fight ensued in which ten of the Amajavas were killed and one neophyte,

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[26] Señan who describes the affair in letters of May 30th and June 30, 1819, *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 81–2, 84–7, says that he warned the corporal and majordomo earnestly about the danger; that the strangers were twice refused permission to see the padre; and that during mass the sentinel struck one who wanted to go out of the *guardia*, and sent for the corporal who tried to put the gentile in the stocks. 'Holy God! What bad management!' In another letter of June 1st, *Guerra, Hist. Doc. Cal.*, MS., v. 74–6, he implies no blame to the soldiers, and says the neophytes and all behaved nobly in defence of their lives, families, and homes. The Indian prisoners testified later that the soldier began to beat some of them, whereupon the corporal came and ordered all to be put in the stocks. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 429–32. Guerra, in his reports, *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 158–61, 41–2; vii. 103–5; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 236, admits that there were different versions as to the cause; but concludes that the Indians began the trouble by attempting to leave the guard-house under various pretexts. The sentinel being alarmed sent a little boy for the corporal, who brought Cota instead, and he after striking some of the Indians ran for Leiva. The latter tried to put them in the stocks, when the gentile gave an order in his own language, and the two men were killed. All this must have come from the sentinel, but rather strangely nothing is said of his fate or the part he took in the fray. Two men, however, who were at San Buenaventura that day are still living, and give a remarkably accurate account of the whole affair. *Valdés, Memorias*, MS., 10–13; *González, Experiencias*, MS., 3–5. Both state that the cause of the quarrel was the attempt of the sentinel Luciano Félix to take a blanket from one of the Indians. Félix ran away as soon as the fight began, to report the matter at Santa Bárbara.

Nicolás.[27] As soon as the news reached Santa Bárbara, Sergeant Anastasio Carrillo started with fourteen men and a *pedrero,* and succeeded in capturing four of the ten gentiles who had escaped with their lives from San Buenaventura. The prisoners were put to work at the presidio but subsequently escaped.[28]

After the occurrence just narrated the inhabitants of southern California were in constant alarm, so far as the Bouchard excitement left them time to be alarmed at anything else, lest the Colorado tribes should come in force to attack the missions and avenge their past loss. The alarm was greater at San Gabriel than elsewhere, because that mission was directly in the route by which the eastern hordes might be expected to overrun the province. Several times during the summer rumors came in that the Amajavas were approaching the mission. Whether any of these rumors were founded in fact it is difficult to determine; but on several occasions reënforcements were hurriedly sent from Los Angeles, Santa Bárbara, or San Diego; sentinels were kept posted on the eastern mountains, and every precaution was taken to avert possible disaster.[29] Meanwhile runaway neophytes with gentiles of the inland rancherías toward the north continued to cause the missionaries much uneasiness, the increasing use of horses by the savages of the Tulares causing especial alarm.[30] Therefore it was now determined to carry into effect the general eastward movement against the runaways and their accomplices that had been talked of the year before. Three expeditions were organized, besides some minor local raids,[31] that of the south receiving most attention since it was intended not only to capture fugitives but to attack the Amajavas, yet the others were carried out first.

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[27] The three victims were buried on May 31st as recorded in *S. Buenaventura, Lib. Mision*, MS., 62–3; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., l. 23. Oct. 12th, viceroy to Sola acknowledging the receipt of a report of the 'revolt' of the Colorado Indians and their 'raid' on the mission, approving what has been done, and thanking troops in name of the king. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 77.

[28] *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 429–32; Sola's communications on the affair, in *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 30–2. Escape of the captives mentioned by Moraga on Jan. 11, 1820. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 229–30. Nuez in his *Diario*, MS., 138–41, states that the Amajavas committed some other hostilities, attacking the pagans of the *Atongaibit* ranchería, and some fugitive neophytes from San Fernando and San Gabriel. According to a letter in *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxxvi. 287, the Amajava chief was named Buenéme.

[29] Correspondence respecting alarms and precautions. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 142–3; iv. 25, 28–9, 35–7; v. 77–8. June 21st, Sola approves sending spies to the sierra. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 11. Oct. 16th, Sola implies that the Amajavas had taken five neophytes and five horses. *Id.*, xlvi. 13. In the mission report of 1822 it is stated that in 1819 the Amajavas actually marched on San Gabriel, but contented themselves with killing some neophyte runaways. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 271.

About the northern expeditions we know little more than the fact that they were made. The first consisted of twenty-five men and marched early in October from San Francisco by way of San José to the lower San Joaquin Valley under the command of Sergeant José Sanchez. It was intended to send a boat up the river to coöperate, but there is no evidence that this was done. Sanchez scored what was termed a brilliant success. In a sharp fight which took place in the region of the modern Stockton—Padre Duran names the offending gentiles Muquelemes, this being perhaps the first writing of that name, or the later Moquelumne—he killed 27 pagans, wounded 20, captured 16, and took 49 horses. One of his neophyte allies was slain, and five soldiers were wounded, one of whom, José María Amador, lived long to tell the story. The force returned before the end of October, and Sanchez was recommended for promotion.[32]

The second expedition marched from Monterey later in October, and entered the valley of the Tulares by way of San Miguel under the command of Lieutenant José María Estudillo, Sergeant José Dolores Pico accompanying him as a man practically acquainted with the country. The force was about forty men. The 3d of November Estudillo had not yet returned; but his report was dated the 19th. The document is not extant, and we only know that the campaign was regarded as a failure. No proper places for a settlement were found on the west side of the river and lakes, and no convenient ford; therefore Estudillo thought a strong garrison necessary, not less than 115 men, if missions were to be founded on the eastern side.[33]

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[30] July 28, 1819, Payeras to the padres says that the best horses are being stolen; that in the Tulares all ride, even the women; and that regular fairs for the sale of horses are held there. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 436–7.

[31] Oct. 7th, Sola approves Moraga's suggestion that each presidio make its own expedition within the limits of its district. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 43.

[32] Duran's letters to Sola June 2d and Oct. 28th. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 82–4, 104–5. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 45, 49, 51–2; Sept. 24th, Sola to Moraga. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 40; *Amador, Memorias*, MS., 15–16.

Respecting the third campaign the records afford more information, though this like the one last described was not successful. Correspondence on the preparations from September to November was quite voluminous, and the plans were several times changed in detail.[34] At first it was intended to send sixty cavalrymen, whose places at Santa Bárbara and San Diego were to be taken temporarily by the newly arrived reënforcements from Mazatlan; but by the final arrangement of November 3d the force consisted of Lieutenant Gabriel Moraga, in command, with thirty-five cavalrymen; Lieutenant Narciso Fabregat, with fifteen of the Mazatlan infantry; four artillerymen with a small cannon, and a large number of native allies, both neophytes and gentiles. Moraga's instructions were to march to the Colorado and to the Amajava ranchería, where, if there proved to be any truth in the reports that had repeatedly reached San Gabriel, he was to capture all the fugitives and to give the gentiles such a lesson as they would not soon forget. The army marched November 22d from San Gabriel eastward into the desert. Padre Nuez kept

[33] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ix. 45, 49, 51-2; *Payeras, Memorial de 2 de Junio, 1820*, MS. Olivera, in *Taylor's Discov. and Found.*, ii. No. 26. The party was to explore the Ugame Lake, Telame region, and San Gabriel River. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 43-4.

[34] Sola's communications to Guerra and Moraga from Sept. 18th to Nov. 3d in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 35-7, 45, 49; and especially in *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 36-40, 43-4, 47-9; xlvi. 12-15. Padre Martinez on Nov. 14th says the 50 men are not enough. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 113.

a diary of the expedition, which was under the combined patronage of Nuestra Señora del Pilar and Archangel Gabriel.[35] There is little to be said further since nothing was accomplished. It was found that the Amajavas had revenged themselves for their treatment at San Buenaventura by ravages among the rancherías of gentiles; but after penetrating the desert for a distance estimated at seventy or eighty leagues, Moraga found that his horses and mules could go no farther for want of grass and water; and, turning back, he reached San Gabriel December 14th, recommending another attempt at a more favorable season of the year.

The annals of 1820, so far as Indian affairs are concerned, present little or nothing of interest. Early in the year the Indians of the southern frontier between San Diego and the Dominican mission of San Miguel were troublesome, particularly by their thefts of horses from the rancho del rey; and a little further north they burned the buildings of the Simí Rancho, for which act the leader was slain by Ávila and Alvarado of Los Angeles.[36] Rumors of impending hostilities from the Colorado tribes were still current; but we hear no more of the proposed expedition in that direction. Neither was anything accomplished for the conversion of the Tulareños; though late in the autumn we find Payeras proposing to make in person a tour through the valley.[37]

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[35] *Nuez, Diario del Capellan de la Expedicion para los Amajavas, 1819*, MS. Nov. 22d to Rancho de la Puente, 4 leagues; Nov. 23d, to Cucamonga, 8 l.; Nov. 24th to the Cajon de San Gabriel de Amuscopiabit, 9 l.; Nov. 25th, to ranchería of Guadalupe de Guapiabit, 9.5 l.; Nov. 26th, remained at Guadalupe to rest mules; Nov. 27th, to ranchería of Ánimas Benditas de Alongaibit (or Atongabi or Atonguibit or Atongayavit), 10 l. over the desert. Here was where the Amajavas had killed some neophytes of San Gabriel and San Fernando, whose bones were found and buried on Nov. 28th; Nov. 29th, to Jesus de Topipabit, 8 l.; and to San Hilario de Cacanmeat (?) named three years before by Moraga, 3 l.; Nov. 30th, to San Miguel de Sisuguina, or ranchería del Diablo, 4 l.; Dec. 1st, to San Joaquin y Sta Ana de Angayaba (or Agallaga), 14 l.; 16 animals gave out on the way; Dec. 2d, Moraga with ten men went forward a long day's march past Atsamabeat to Guanachiqui; Dec. 3d–5th, dealings with the Indians who had suffered much from the Amajava raids, and back to Angayaba; Dec. 6th, back to Cerro de San Rafael; Dec. 7th–13th, back by same route to San Gabriel.

Moraga's report dated Dec. 16th adds nothing save that on the way back a gentile killed a boy to get his blanket. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 236–8. Gonzalez, *Experiencias*, MS., 12, a soldier of the party still living (1879), says the boy killed was a servant of the padre. Reports of Guerra and Fabregat, and Sola's letters in *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 50–2; xlvi. 14–15; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 229; iv. 51–2.

[36] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 286–7; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xlix. 53; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 19.

In closing this part of the record for the decade allusion may be made to a peculiar class of information on Indian affairs; that is, to the statements obtained by me from old residents, many of which extend back to this decade and still more to the next. Naturally there is no subject more interesting to old Californians than the Indian campaigns of their youthful days or those of which they have heard their fathers talk. Neither is it strange that I find in these narratives a general uncertainty as to exact dates; much confusion, inaccuracy, and exaggeration, and not a little falsehood. I find many accounts of definite events that agree wonderfully with the original reports of the archives, and such matter of course I use like similar original testimony in each case. About other accounts of purely imaginary events, together with errors of detail in statements that are generally accurate, I say nothing, since in these manuscript narratives, written especially for my use and not for the public, it is my duty to search simply for the truth and not to point out defects. But there is also matter of a third class, statements more or less inaccurate but founded on facts not clearly recorded in the archives, which it would be hazardous to embody in chronological history, but which nevertheless merits brief notice, such as I give it in notes here and later.[38]

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[37] *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 34.

[38] 1812, etc., the Indians of Tachí had pits from which they discharged their arrows, into which the soldiers' horses often fell. *Boronda, Notas*, 15. Six men, including Inocente García, under Sergt. José Dolores Pico went with Padre Arroyo and 30 Indian auxiliaries from San Juan Bautista over to the other side of Santa Rita to the rancherías of Jayaya and Tapé to get some girls promised for converts; but the chief was absent and a fight ensued. Most ran away, but García and a few men continued the fight in aid of the Indian allies against the sergeant's orders, rescuing all but 2 who were killed, and all the horses. García was put in the stocks by Pico, but was pardoned and given a furlough by the governor at Arroyo's intercession. *García, Hechos*, MS., 10-15.

I regret that my space does not permit more extended extracts from these narratives, which are often full of interest.

1813, Boronda gives some details of an expedition to Tachí in the Tulares region under Sergt. Espinoza. *Notas*, MS., 13–15. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 103–7, says that soon after Quintana's murder, the padre of San José was attacked by 800 Indians in San Ramon Valley. Apolinario Bernal told the padre and the other soldier to run while he fought. He held the foe in check until his ammunition was gone and his horse killed, when he also died from loss of blood. 'The padres never wrote of this brave act; had it been a priest Rome would have echoed with it.' The death of Bernal was terribly avenged by the commandant of San Francisco.

About 1815, José Dolores Pico, corporal of the escolta of San Juan Bautista, while out after runaways was wounded with three arrows while warming himself at an Indian fire. A fight followed in which all the Indians but two were killed. *García, Hechos*, MS., 108–9. José de Jesus Pico told Mr Savage that he remembered, when he was a small boy, his father being brought in on a litter terribly wounded. Boronda, *Notas*, MS., 2–3, says he was wounded on the Reyes River about 1816.

Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 172–8; and García, *Hechos*, MS., 106, speak of an expedition under Sergt. Ignacio Vallejo in May 1818 against the Indians of the Tulares, who under Chalpinich of the ranchería of Joyima made hostile demonstrations against San Luis, San Antonio, San Miguel, and Soledad. Sergt. Pico was second in command. There were two hard fights, one at El Pleito on the Rio Nacimiento and the other to raise a siege on San Miguel. The Indians were terribly punished and driven back into the Tulares. I think no such affair could have taken place in or about 1818, and there is some error of date.

Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 170–1, tells us that Sola was very careful to conciliate the wild tribes, making regular treaties, issuing regular *despachos* to the chiefs, and renewing these every year. The treaties bound the Spaniards to aid the tribe against hostile tribes who had no treaty and to be neutral in quarrels with such as had treaties, always after the padres had tried in vain to effect a conciliation. Gifts were often made to the chiefs, who were always entitled to food, etc., on presenting their *despacho*.

In 1820 Amador, *Memorias*, MS., 17, records an expedition of Sanchez with 25 soldiers, 15 vecinos of San José, and 50 Indians against the Cosumnes. The Indians were attacked at daybreak and 8 or 10 were killed, and 70 horses recovered. García, *Hechos*, MS., 105–7, speaks of another expedition under Soto to the Mariposas, the ranchería of Nopochinches being named, in which 300 Indians of all ages and sexes were brought in to San Juan Bautista.

CHAPTER XVI.

LOCAL ANNALS OF THE SOUTH.

1811-1820.

San Diego Presidio—Officials—Troubles of Captain Ruiz—Population—Statistics—Proposed Removal—Petty Occurrences of a Decade—Mission San Diego—Padre Panto Poisoned—New Church—Chapel at Santa Isabel—San Luis Rey—A Prosperous Mission—Branch at Pala—San Juan Capistrano—Earthquake—Los Angeles—List of Citizens—Pueblo Chapel—Private Ranchos—San Gabriel—Francisco Dumetz—José de Miguel—Beginning at San Bernardino—Fathers Muñoz and Urresti—San Fernando—Santa Barbara Presidio—Biography of Captain José Argüello—Force and Population—Events—Mission—Padre Amestoy—New Church—San Buenavenventura—Purísima—Removal—Santa Inés.

Ignacio del Corral was nominally captain of the San Diego company throughout this decade, though he never came to California. His commission expired when his successor was named on July 12, 1820, but the news did not come until the next year.[1] Lieutenant Francisco María Ruiz was acting commandant until temporarily relieved in favor of Lieutenant José María Estudillo, of Monterey, on October 23, 1820. The reasons for this change were somewhat complicated. The coming of Captain Portilla in 1819, on account of his superiority of rank, and of minor disagreements between the old and new soldiers, led to misunderstandings between the two officers. Ruiz was now an old man in poor health, his illness being attributed by his enemies to the free use of intoxicating liquors, which he denied. He was charged with excesses during the visit of the British whaler *Discovery* in August 1820, whose captain he permitted to make a survey with soundings of the port. Portilla seems to have been the chief accuser. Ruiz was indignant on receipt of Sola's order of September 2d to repair to Monterey to take command of the company, and care for his health; but was appeased by the governor's later explanation that the new command was intended as an honor. It is not clear whether he actually reached Monterey; but he spent the last months of the year ill at San Luis Rey.[2] We shall see later that the substitution of Estudillo was not productive of the desired harmony. Ruiz performed the duties of habilitado in 1801–13 and 1817–18; José de la Guerra in 1813–15; Ignacio Martinez in 1815–17; and Santiago Argüello in 1818–1820. Ignacio Martinez was the company alférez until 1817, when he was promoted to be lieutenant of San Francisco, Gervasio Argüello taking his place on the rolls, and holding the position for many years; but as Don Gervasio was absent in Guadalajara as habilitado general and never returned to California, his brother Santiago, promoted at the same time to be alférez, served at San Diego, though belonging to the San Francisco company. José María Pico was company sergeant throughout the decade; but Joaquin Arce, the other sergeant, was succeeded before 1817 by Cristóbal Dominguez. Domingo Carrillo was a cadet in the company until 1817; and afterward José Guadalupe Moraga, who died early in 1821. He was a son of Gabriel Moraga and had been a 'soldado distinguido' at San Francisco.

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[1] Corral was promoted to be sargento mayor del batallon lijero de infantería provisional de Mexico. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xxii. 27.

The San Diego military force down to 1819 was uniformly one hundred men, including two officers, sixty-nine soldiers of the presidial company, twenty-three invalids, four artillerymen, and two mechanics.

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[2] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 46, 293–4; *Id. Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 15–21; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 32; xiii. 7–10; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 48–52; Ruiz's commission as captain was issued July 12, 1820, and forwarded by Sola June 21, 1821.

Of this number about 20 of the invalids lived at Los Angeles or on ranchos, and twenty-five soldiers served in the mission escoltas; so that the actual force at the presidio amounted to fifty-five men as at the end of the last decade. This number was, however, doubled in 1819 by the arrival of Portilla and his company of Mazatecos, about fifty-five of whom remained at San Diego. The total population de razon of the district in 1820, excluding as before the guard of San Gabriel and the invalids of Los Angeles, was, as nearly as can be determined, four hundred and fifty, a gain of one hundred and thirty during the decade, or of seventy-five besides Portilla's men.[3] The neophyte population of the district increased in ten years from 4,300 to 5,200, the whole gain, and more, being at San Luis Rey. For this as for the previous decade there are but a few meagre items respecting the presidial live-stock; no record whatever of such limited agricultural operations as were probably carried on at the presidio; and nothing to indicate the existence of private ranchos, except near San Gabriel, which, it must be remembered, was still within the military jurisdiction of San Diego.[4] Of presidial finances, as the reader of preceding chapters will readily understand, there is little to be said. No soldier or officer received any pay during the decade. Two small invoices of goods arrived from the south. Tithes were collected in kind. Tobacco was served out on account of wages so long as it lasted; possibly a few dollars were collected for papal indulgences and postage; the king's cattle were largely eaten and charged to the pay account. But for the most part the missions had to support the soldiers and their families, furnishing food and coarse cloth, or produce that could be bartered for the latter with the vessels that rarely touched on the southern coasts.[5]

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[3] For the earlier years of the decade statistics are very scattering and unsatisfactory. For 1818 Ruiz reports a total population of 498, including San Gabriel. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 81. In 1816 the total had been 448. *Id.*, xlvi. 30. At the end of 1819 the same officer reports the same total as 538—males 286 and females 252; of which number 12 are accredited to San Diego mission, 63 to San Juan, 41 to San Luis, and 175 to San Gabriel; the total without San Gabriel being 363, which cannot, I think, include Portilla's 55 men, because the population of the presidio proper is given as 130 males and 117 females, which, were the Mazatecos included, would leave only 7 male children, of course an absurdity. *Id.*, l. 52-3. No doubt Portilla's 55 men, or the same number of other soldiers, should be deducted from the number at San Gabriel, and even the 120 left seems a very large number. It is on these reports that I have based the figures in my text, allowing about the same increase in 1820 as in 1819. There is, however, a report for 1820 which makes the total 515.

For company rolls, official lists, financial accounts, statements of population, etc., for San Diego in this decade—not very complete—see *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 46-8, 118, 287-94; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xlii.-li. passim, especially xlvi. and xlix.; *Id., Presid.*, i. 41-50; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxi. 47-51; lxxxvii. 65; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., i. 7, 38; ii. 67; vi. 25-6, 32, 83; vii. 72; viii. 16-17; xi. 71; xiii. 7-10; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 180, 185; xii. 88; *Sta Clara, Parroquira*, MS., 55-6; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 256; xxviii. 105, 108; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 35, 143; vi. 48-52, 123.

[4] Yet a report of 1818 does not include San Gabriel. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 185.

Sola in his visit of 1817 found the presidio buildings in so "fatally ruinous" a condition that he was obliged to "adopt measures" for their removal to a better site about three hundred yards farther north.[6] I have no reason to believe that the governor's measures were carried out. This was an uneventful period even for San Diego, always the dullest place in the province. As elsewhere the inhabitants had the ever-increasing destitution as a subject for thought and conversation, too often without cigarettes to clear their minds for a proper consideration of the problem. Only twice did they see upon their fine bay the sail of any craft except that of their own flat-boat plying lazily to and from Point Guijarros, when Wilcox in the *Traveller* came for a load of grain in September 1817, and the whaler *Discovery* refitted in the port in August 1820.[7] The natives in this southern frontier were for the most part quiet, though thefts and petty disturbances were of sufficiently frequent occurrence to require an occasional raid into the mountains, and once in a while a trial at the presidio.[8] There was some kind of a school at San Diego during a part of the decade; but the educational advantages offered we may only conjecture from comparison with northern institutions of the same period.[9] The earthquake of 1812, so fatal in the northern part of the district, did no harm here, even if it was felt at all; but about the same time there was an arrest of several soldiers charged with a plot to revolt and seize the post.[10] And finally I may allude to the terror of Bouchard's invasion already narrated. In San Diego it produced no more serious effect than to furnish a topic of popular excitement, necessitate a strengthening of defences with preparations for a shower of red-hot balls upon the pirate foe, and to give the families an excursion to Pala.[11]

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[5] The only record of the annual appropriation was $19,695 in 1811; the only recorded invoice $9,046 in 1815-16. The habilitado's regular accounts are preserved from 1815 to 1818, but are not intelligible in all respects. The totals of debit and credit increase in those years from $67,000 to $102,000; inventories vary from $962 to $2,397; debts contracted with missions and private individuals increase from $43,000 to $71,000, and payments on account of those debts from $32,000 to $55,000. The exact nature of which latter accumulations is not clear to me. Mission supplies are given at $5,717 in 1811; $1,000 from San Juan in 1817; and in 1820, 1,300 fan. of barley, 286 fan. of beans, and 832 arr. of tallow. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 24. Average net proceeds of live-stock sales from king's rancho. $635. Down to 1816 there were about 1,200 head of cattle in the rancho. Average postal revenue, $35. Tobacco sales, $1,251 in 1811, $1,273 in 1812, and $97 in 1817. Probably no more tobacco was received, and the soldiers had to depend on other sources, or for the most part go without smoking. Papal bulls in 1811, $111. Gunpowder in 1816, $286; in 1817, $247. Proceeds of forge, 1818, $202. Tithes very irregular, from $76 to $924. Full accounts for 1817, duly sworn in *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xvi. 13. Cattle at end of 1816, 826; born in 1817, 212; lost, 40; sold, 88; product of sales, $306.

[6] *Sola, Observaciones*, MS., 185.

At the mission of San Diego Father Sanchez served as minister until the spring of 1820, when he was succeeded by Vicente Pascual Oliva. Panto, the associate of Sanchez, died in 1812 and was replaced by Fernando Martin. Panto was a rigorous disciplinarian and severe in his punishments. One evening in November 1811 his soup was poisoned, causing vomiting. His cook Nazario was arrested and admitted having put the 'yerba,' powdered *cuchasquelaai,* in the soup with a view to escape the father's intolerable floggings, having received in succession fifty, twenty-five, twenty-four, and twenty-five lashes in the twenty-four hours preceding his attempted revenge.[12] There is much reason to suppose that the friar's death on June 30th of the next year was attributable to the poisoning.[13]

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[7] See chap. xiii., this volume.

[8] Nov. 1811, trial of a neophyte for attempted murder of a padre, of which more elsewhere. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 2–7. 1814, murder case. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxi. 47–51. Oct. 1815, captive gentiles and investigation. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 5–6. Sept. 1816, horse-thieves sentenced to a *novenario de azotes. Id.*, xlvi. 8–9. Same punishments for stabbing a wife after putting *yerba* in her *atole. Id.* April 1820, complaints of depredations and report of skirmishes.. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 287.

[9] Pio Pico remembers being one of a class taught in 1813 by José Antonio Carrillo, and having covered divers quires of paper with reproductions of the name, 'Señor Don Félix María Callejas.' *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 3. There was a school in 1818. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 180.

[10] *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, xliii. 7–8. Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 3–4, says his father, Sergt. José María Pico, was arrested for complicity in this plot and that three soldiers died in prison.

[11] For map of San Diego district see chap. vi.

The new mission church, vaguely alluded to in the annals of the preceding decade, was completed in time for the dedicatory ceremonies to take place on the day of the titular saint November 12, 1813. The blessing was pronounced by Barona of San Juan. The first sermon was by Boscana of San Luis, the second by the Dominican Ahumada of San Miguel, and Lieutenant Ruiz served as sponsor.[14] The erection of a chapel at Santa Isabel, some forty miles from the mission, where two hundred baptized Indians lived, was also urged by the padres in 1816–19. The governor lacked enthusiasm for this scheme and there is no record that it was carried out until after 1820.[15]

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[12] In the investigation Domingo Carrillo was prosecutor, José María Pico defender, and Joaquin Arce, clerk. Pico urged that Nazario's offence was justifiable on account of Panto's cruelty, and he asked for acquittal especially as the dose was not fatal. Carrillo admitted the friar's cruelty, but insisted on a penalty of 8 months' presidio work as a warning. The sentence is not given. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 2–7.

[13] José Pedro Panto was a native of Valverde del Fresno, Estremadura, Spain, and took the habit in the religious province of San Miguel. He came to California apparently soon after joining the college of San Fernando, arriving at San Diego July 28, 1810. He served at this mission from Sept. 1810 until his death June 30, 1812. He was buried in the mission church by Boscana and Ahumada on July 2d. *S. Diego, Lib. Mision*, MS., 93; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 434; xi. 88; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 249.

[14] May 25, 1812, church not finished. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 297. Dec. 31, 1812, church will be ready next year. Neither old nor new one injured by the earthquake. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., iv. 23, 25. Dedication, *San Diego, Lib. Mision*, MS., 14.

[15] Oct. 12th, Dec. 19, 1816, Sanchez to Sola. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 67–8. Feb. 2, 1819, P. Sarría to President Payeras. *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., iii. 113–14.

San Diego lost about three per cent of her neophyte population in the whole decade, but was gaining rapidly in the last years, the death-rate being seventy-seven per cent of baptisms and thirty-five per cent of population. This mission now stood fourth in the list,[16] and was one of the six that had not yet passed the highest limit of population. In the matter of live-stock this mission's percentage of gain was greater than any other, and in its total number of sheep it stood at the head of the list. Agricultural progress was also much more satisfactory than in the past, perhaps on account of the irrigation works already described; yet the remark of Sola on his visit of 1817, that the padres "had now begun to bring water through conduits," may indicate that I have placed the completion of these works at too early a date.[17]

At San Luis Rey Father Antonio Peyri still toiled, but with frequent changes of associate, Estévan Tapis serving in 1811, Gerónimo Boscana in 1812–13, Francisco Suñer in 1814–16, Ramon Olbés in 1816–18, and Jaime Escudé from 1818, none of whom died or left California during this period. This mission was now by far the most populous in the province, with a death-rate of only forty-four per cent of baptisms and twenty-four per cent of total population. In agricul-

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The padres had a person *de razon* in charge, and were allowed by the prefecto to go there to say mass with a portable altar.

[16] Statistics of the decade: Decrease of population 1,611 to 1,567; 1,430 in 1817; 1,616 in 1812. Baptisms, 1,347; largest number, 227 in 1820; smallest, 49 in 1813. Deaths, 1,039; largest number, 118 in 1813; smallest, 61 in 1819. Increase in large live-stock, 3,720 to 9,162; horses and mules, 720 to 1,042; sheep, etc., 9,740 to 14,908. Crops in 1810, 1,545 bushels; in 1820, 5,472; largest crop, 13,215 in 1818; smallest, 1,740 in 1813; average, 17,500 bushels. Dec. 23, 1814, the padres report deaths exceeding births and baptisms for four years. *Arch., Sta. B.*, MS., iii. 32. 1819, neophytes dress in coarse woollen cloths made by themselves. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., l. 53. Mission wine raised from $20 and $25 to $30 per barrel in 1818. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 37.

[17] *Sola, Observaciones*, MS., 185. He mentions also the use of wells to irrigate vegetables, vines, fruit trees, and olives. In the proceedings in a criminal suit of 1830 reference is made to the murder of the majordomo Pedro Miguel Álvarez by three neophytes at San Diego in 1814; but I find no contemporaneous record of this crime. There is no doubt, however, of the occurrence. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxi. 47–51.

ture, but not in live-stock[18] except horses, San Luis stood at the head.[19] The mission church though comparatively new, did not come up to Peyri's ideal, and he asked the governor in 1811 for permission to build a new edifice of adobes and bricks; but there is no further record on the matter during the decade.[20] In 1816, however, the missionary founded a branch establishment under the name of San Antonio at Pala, six or seven leagues from San Luis. Here a chapel was built, one of the padres was generally stationed, and within a year or two about a thousand converts were gathered to till the soil and recite the doctrine.[21]

At San Juan Capistrano the leading event of the preceding decade had been the completion and dedication of the new stone church, and the most important and almost the only recorded event of this decade was the destruction of that church by an earthquake on the morning of December 8, 1812. It was at early mass on a Sunday when about fifty persons were in the church, and only five or six besides the officiating padre escaped with their lives. The edifice was of the usual cruciform shape, about ninety by one hundred and eighty feet on the ground, with very thick walls and arched dome-like roof, all constructed of stones imbedded in mortar or cement. The stones were not hewn but of irregular size and shape, a kind of structure evidently requiring great skill to ensure solidity.

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[18] We are told that in 1817 so many sheep died that the padres had to go north as far as San Juan Bautista for wool to clothe their neophytes. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 139.

[19] Increase in population 1,517 to 2,603. Baptisms, 1,898; largest number, 473 in 1819; smallest, 54 in 1816. Deaths, 847; largest number, 134 in 1819; smallest, 50 in 1811. Increase of large stock, 10,576 to 11,852; 7,862 in 1811; horses and mules, 776 to 1,352; sheep, etc., 9,710 to 13,641. Crops in 1810, 4,225 bushels; in 1820, 13,335; largest, 20,390 in 1817; smallest, 6,600 in 1816; average, 12,470 bushels.

[20] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 84. Mar. 11, 1811, Peyri to governor.

[21] Nov. 5, 1817, Sarría in *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., iii. 41–2; *Sola, Observaciones*, MS., ix. 185–6. San Luis had a hospital where the padre made every effort to stay the ravages of syphilis and dysentery among the neophytes; and in the hospital was a special chapel and altar. *Payeras, Informe Bienal, 1817–18*, MS., 303.

There is not much doubt that the disaster was due rather to faulty construction than to the violence of the *temblor.* A lofty tower at the church front fell upon the dome at the second movement of the earth, and in a moment the immense mass of stone and mortar came crushing down upon the poor neophyte worshippers. Thirty-nine bodies were recovered and buried during the next two days, and apparently several others later. In the search for bodies much of the débris was removed from the interior; but otherwise the ruin of the finest mission structure in California still stands as left in 1812, an apartment in an adjoining adobe building having been used ever since for religious service. In my visit in 1874 I noticed that at some time long past a feeble attempt had been made to rebuild a part of the walls with adobes.[22]

Beyond the earthquake disaster and the landing of Bouchard's insurgents in December 1818 as already recorded, there is nothing to be said of events at San Juan;[23] and it only remains to present the usual statistics. Father Barona continued his ministrations throughout the period; but at the end of 1813 or early in 1814 Suñer exchanged places with Boscana of San Luis Rey. In population San Juan reached its highest figure, 1,361, in 1812; but for the whole decade it lost six per cent, deaths exceeding baptisms. There was a gain in live-stock, and also in agriculture; though in the matter of crops this mission was surpassed by many.[24]

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[22] Barona's entry of burials in *S. Juan Cap.*, *Lib. Mision*, MS., 3. Dec. 3, 1812, report of the padres, who say that 6 besides the padre escaped as by a miracle. *St. Pap.*, *Mis.*, MS., iv. 22–3. Dec. 31st, Ruiz to Arrillaga. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xliii. 7. April 9, 1813, report of president, who says the padre was in the offertory and escaped by the sacristy door. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 91. A temporary apartment serving as church in 1818. *Prov. Rec.*, ix. 186. Trask, *Earthquakes in Cal.*, 133, on the stated authority of 'old inhabitants' tells us the day was clear and unusually warm. Half an hour after service a loud distant rushing sound was heard in the east and also out on the ocean, approaching without any breeze. Several were warned by this noise and left the church. Then came the first and heaviest shock which threw down the church. See also *Los Angeles*, *Hist.*, 9–10; *Bandini*, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 22; *Hayes' Mission Book*, i. 122. The number of killed has been stated all the way from 30 to 100 in newspaper articles, etc. It is also stated that many were injured besides the killed, of which there is no original evidence.

[23] 1811, an American ship anchored near the mission. *Taylor* in *Cal. Farmer*, March 21, 1862. 1816, Nieto complains to governor of the padres' encroachments on his cattle. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxiv. 4–5. 1818, a chapel has been built at the hospital. *Payeras*, *Informe Bienal*, MS., 303.

The pueblo of Los Angeles with the ranchos of the surrounding region had a white population of about six hundred and fifty in 1820, or together with its neighboring missions San Gabriel and San Fernando, of about seven hundred and fifty, though as we have seen there are some difficulties about the gente de razon at San Gabriel. There is extant a document which purports to be a list of all pobladores, ninety-one in number, six of them deceased, down to February 1816, a list which I have deemed sufficiently important to be reproduced in substance, though it is not altogether satisfactory.[25]

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[24] Decrease of pop., 1,138 to 1,064. Baptisms 735; largest number 240 in 1812: smallest, 41 in 1819. Deaths 755; largest number 177 in 1812; smallest, 51 in 1820. Increase in large stock, 10,213 to 11,480; 14,000 in 1817; horses, etc., 693 to 980; 866 in 1819; sheep, etc., 11,500 to 14,198. Crops in 1810, 5,300 bushels; in 1820, 1,840, the smallest; largest, 13,700 in 1811. Average, 6,530 bushels. Aug. 30, 1817, the padres ask the governor for lands at Las Bajios de Santa Ana and Las Bolsas on which to pasture mission cattle. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 140.

[25] *Los Angeles, Lista que manifiesta los pobladores, Inválidos, y Vecinos, con noticia de su entrada en este pueblo, tierras conque se les ha gratificado, y el tiempo que las poseen por repartimiento, y lo que cada uno acostumbra á trabajar*, MS. Signed by Guillermo Cota, on Feb. 4, 1816. Names of persons deceased are in italics. For convenience and to economize space I have classified the names. Fourteen had received lands in the pueblo, which had passed into the hands of their children or of other persons: Manuel Camoro, 1781; José María Navarro, 1787; *Francisco Reyes*, 1787; *Casimiro Varelas*, 1790; *Juan Olivas*, 1800; Antonio Ignacio Ávila, 1799; Anastasio Ávila, 1799; *Basilio Rosas*, 1781; *Joaquin Higuera*, 1791; Mateo Rubio, 1794; Pedro Álvarez, 1799; Manuel Valenzuela, 1800; *Manuel Machado*; 1800; and Guillermo Soto, 1789. Six still cultivated the lands given them—that is the regular pueblo *suertes* apparently: Eugenio Valdés, 1800; José Polanco, 1804; Jacinto Reyes, 1804; Fructuoso Ruiz, 1799; Tomás Oribes, 1798; José Palomares, 1810. Fourteen had received no lands but had cultivated the pueblo (common?) lands, and some had gardens: Felipe Talamantes, 1794; Ramon Buelna, 1793; Segundo Valenzuela, 1800; Juan Lopez, 1799; José María Aguilar, 1814; José Ruiz, 1815; Ignacio Varelas, 1815; Juan de Dios Ballesteros. 1796; Pedro Lizalde, 1808; Francisco Ávila, 1804; Javier Alvarado, 1810; José Bermudes, 1815; Francisco Sepúlveda, 1815; José Manuel Cota, 1815. Ten had no lands, but cultivated each a garden: Pedro Perez, 1805; Ignacio Valencia, 1808; Vicente Sanchez, 1814; Ignacio Rendon, 1810; Desiderio Ibarra, 1814; Cayetano Varelas, 1809; José Félix, 1813; Encarnacion Urguides, 1812; Claudio Lopez, 1811; Mariano Alanis, 1800. Five had no lands of their own but lived and worked with relatives and others: Dolores Sepúlveda, Juan Nepomuceno Alvarado, 1812; José María Soto, 1815; Bruno

Statistics of population are very incomplete; and those relating to live-stock, agriculture, and other industries are altogether inadequate to the formation of general conclusions. Sola, however, states that in 1817 the settlers had excellent lands, supplied much produce to the presidio, and in fact produced all that there was a market for. They had also 53,686 vines.[26] The official list is equally meagre. Guillermo Cota held the office of comisionado until the end of 1817; Juan Ortega, until August 1818; and subsequently Anastasio Carrillo. Respecting the civil government of the pueblo we only know that Antonio María Lugo was alcalde in 1816 and 1818, Anastasio and Antonio

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Ávila, 1815; Antonio Valdés, 1815; Antonio Lopez, 1813; José María Rocha, —. Twenty worked out as laborers or at a trade, and a few had gardens: Pedro Valenzuela, 1798; Nicolás Alanis, 1807; Rafael Arriola, 1811; Cayetano Duarte, 1813; Pedro Pollorena, 1805; Antonio Romero, 1807; Ignacio Almenares, 1813; Miguel Sais, 1806; Cosme Olivas, ——; José María Valenzuela, 1815; Agustin Carabantes, 1807; Gerónimo Cañedo, 1812; Francisco Olivares, 1815; Manuel Gonzalez, 1814; José García, 1808; Cárlos García, 1813; Juan Ruiz, 1812; Vicente Lorenzana, 1812; José María Farias, 1815; José Verdugo, 1814. Of fifteen it is simply stated that they had no lands: Bruno García, 1796; Ramon Sotelo, 1805; Francisco Acebedo, 1808; Urcino Tapia, 1809; Joaquin Ruiz, 1813; Juan José Duarte, 1814; Teodoro Silvas, 1816, Gabriel Sotelo, 1815; Ignacio Lugo, 1800; Francisco Sotelo, 1803; Leandro Duarte, 1809; Francisco Ávila, ——; Juan José Alvarado, 1815; Francisco Solorzano, 1816; Ramon Buelna. And finally 7 had apparently land-grants, ranchos, or *sitios* for cattle raising: Mariano Verdugo, 1787, at Cahuenga, which he held until 1810 only, and later a garden in the pueblo; Bartolo Tapia, 1791; a sitio, besides two suertes and two gardens; Francisco Félix, 1791, on a rancho given to his father, within the pueblo lands; Doroteo Félix, 1803, also a rancho of his father's; Antonio María Lugo, 1809; Manuel Gutierrez, 1811, on the rancho of the late Juan José Dominguez, which he now owned, three others, two Ávilas and Sepúlveda, living on the same rancho; and José María Verdugo. The last named, like Gutierrez and Tapia, had grants from the superior government.

June 12, 1819, Guerra speaks of the 50 vecinos of Los Angeles. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 142-3; 354 inhabitants in 1811. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxxiii. 105; 586 in 1818. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 187; 478 in 1815. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 43. October 1819, project to station 20 soldiers at Los Angeles approved by Payeras. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 128-30.

[26] *Sola, Observaciones*, MS., 187. In 1811 there were 4,000 cattle, 1,687 horses, 458 mules, and 29 asses. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlii. 8; in 1814, 6,295 cattle, 2,499 horses, 346 mules, 39 asses, and 770 sheep. *Id.*, xlii. 4; in 1817, 1,388 cattle, 419 horses, 63 mules, and 561 sheep. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., iv. 41-2; and in 1823, 10,623 cattle, 2,851 horses, 183 mules, 96 asses, and 468 sheep. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 122. Some of these statements include the ranchos perhaps, and others not. In 1811 the crop was 430 bushels wheat, 4,920 maize, and 230 beans. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xliii. 7; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 105. In 1814, 575 bush. maize, and 435 beans. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlii. 3. Tithes on grapes in 1820 amounted to 1,300 *cuartillos*, or quarts, of which 650 were taken by the collector. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 7.

Ignacio Ávila were alcalde and regidor in 1820, and the former with Tomás Uribes regidores in 1819.[27]

In 1811 authority was obtained for the erection of a new pueblo chapel by the citizens, and the corner-stone was placed and blessed in August 1814 by Father Gil of San Gabriel with the permission of President Señan. Beyond laying the foundation no progress was made before 1818, since in January of that year Sola ordered that the site be changed in favor of a higher one near the comisionado's house. At this time the citizens had subscribed five hundred cattle for the enterprise, but Sola feared that sufficient funds could not be realized by selling the cattle, and therefore proposed to take them and include the cost of the chapel in the next year's estimate. In 1819 Prefect Payeras by an appeal to the friars obtained seven barrels of brandy for the building-fund, worth five hundred and seventy-five dollars. This sum with earlier contributions was expended on the church, and the walls were raised to the window arches before 1821.[28] Meanwhile the matter of chapel service was still an open question, though little bitterness was shown in the correspondence of 1815–18. The padres of San Gabriel announced the impossibility of attending to the spiritual welfare of the pueblo and ranchos. Señan presented the matter in a strong light to the governor, who in his report of 1818 made an appeal to the viceroy in behalf of the veterans of the king's service who had gone to spend their declining years at Los Angeles, and ought not to be deprived of spiritual care. Yet the Angelinos obtained no chaplain.[29] The old controversy of pueblo and mission limits came up again in 1820 with a result that cannot be definitely stated. It was agreed mutually that the boundary should be fixed according to the decision of witnesses "de probidad, conciencia, y conocimiento;" but Padre Zalvidea complained to the governor that the pueblo officials refused to abide by the decision, because, as he believed, Antonio María Lugo, uncle of the comisionado, and others had much stock on what were justly mission lands.[30]

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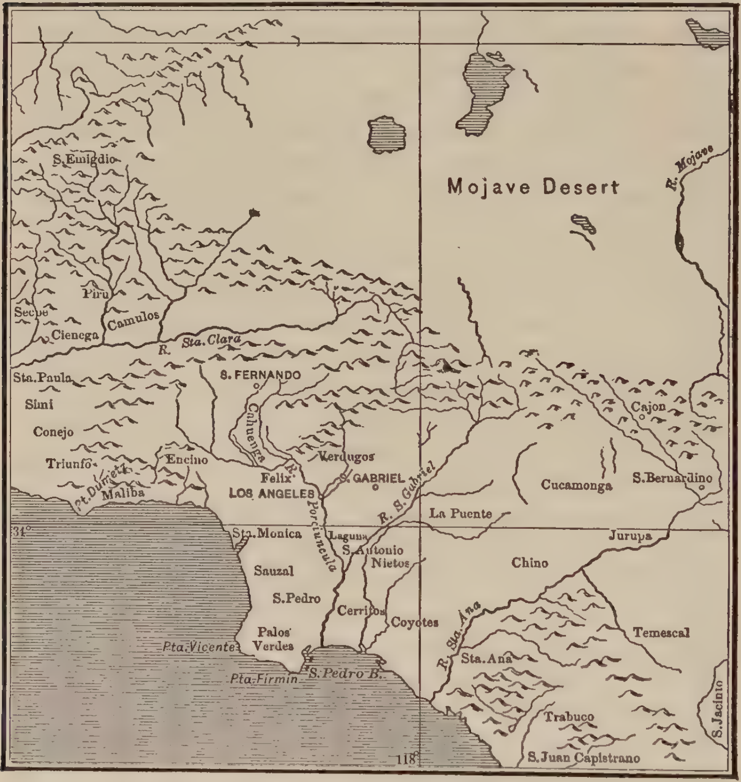
[27] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 327, 379; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlix. 53; *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 7; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 9, 18; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 199–200; iii. 83, 92; iv. 2; vi. 154; *Ávila, Notas*, MS., 1, 3, 9.

[28] *Payeras, Memorial, 1821*, MS. José Antonio Ramirez was architect, and neophytes from San Gabriel and San Luis Rey did the work at one real per day. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., viii. 137; xii. 148–9; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 8. It is not clear if the corner-stone was laid Aug. 15th or 19th. Sola, *Observaciones*, MS., 187, in his report of 1818 says that the citizens were building a new church, the old one being small and in a bad condition.

[29] *Señan, Informe Bienal, 1813–14*, MS., 93; *Sola, Observaciones*, MS., 187–8; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 67, 69; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 491; xii. 93.



MAP OF LOS ANGELES DISTRICT, 1800–30.

The pueblo was still within the military jurisdiction of Santa Bárbara, the sergeant comisionado being responsible to the comandante; but of correspondence between the local authorities and those of the presidio and province there is practically nothing extant. Yet as we have seen Los Angeles sent out a large force of her citizen soldiery to defend the coast from Bouchard in 1818; and two years later Sola commended the valor of Regidor Ávila and Citizen Alvarado, who marched against the hostile Dieguinos and slew their leader.[31] Moreover the occasional approach of a vessel to the San Pedro anchorage, the matter of the cannon left there by Noé in 1813, and the capture of Tarakánof and his Aleuts in 1815,[32] may be regarded as Los Angeles events. There was also a village school in 1817–18, for which a school-master was awarded $140 a year.[33]

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[30] March 27th, Zalvidea to Sola. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 9.

There is very little to record during this decade of the private ranchos in the Santa Bárbara jurisdiction, all classed as before with Los Angeles for convenience. The list of 1816 of the ranchos properly belonging to Los Angeles, mentions those of the two Verdugos, one of which is said to have been at Cahuenga, and to have been occupied only until 1810; that of Félix, within the pueblo bounds, and that of Manuel Gutierrez, formerly owned by Dominguez. It also includes the ranchos, not named, of Bartolo Tapia and Antonio María Lugo not mentioned in the records of the last decade, but omits those of Yorba and Nieto, thus suggesting that those ranchos were included in the San Diego jurisdiction, and that their inhabitants may have formed a part of the 120 gente de razon credited to San Gabriel.[34] Yorba's rancho is, however, mentioned in connection with the Bouchard affair of 1818.[35] Simí is also referred to in the same document. In February 1816 there had been a piteous appeal from Mission San Fernando that there was no place for the mission sheep now that Patricio Pico had notified the padres to remove them from his land; and in 1820 a portion of the Simí buildings were burned by the Indians.[36] In 1817 the mission sheep were in a like manner ordered away from lands claimed as a part of Refugio, much to the padres' disgust.[37] Of Las Vírgenes and El Conejo nothing is in the records. In 1816 the padres of San Gabriel objected to the granting of a site some twenty leagues from the mission to Francisco Ávila; and in 1817 a similar objection was made to the grant of Secpé near San Buenaventura. The friars did not approve of private land-grants, and there was no lack of plausible reasons or pretences.[38] Finally in December 1819 the regidores and thirty citizens represented that Captain Guerra, just at his departure for Mexico, had been induced to grant to Talamantes and Machado the rancho de los Quintos, which really belonged to and was needed by the pueblo. They claimed that the commandant had acted without due consideration and that the governor had in several instances refused such petitions for land. Acting Comandante Moraga seems to have left the matter *in statu quo* for the decision of higher authorities by permitting the townsmen to form corrals on the land.[39]

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[31] March 25, 1820, Sola to Moraga. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 53.

[32] See chap. xiii., xiv., this volume. The escape of a prisoner from the pueblo jail in Feb. 1818, and his flight with two companions toward the Colorado, together with the alcalde's pursuit of the fugitives, also caused a slight ripple of local excitement. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 82–5.

[33] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 180; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 74. The invalid Máximo Piña was the school-master.

[34] See p. 342, 357, this volume.

[35] *Sola, Instruccion Gen., 1818*, MS., 248.

[36] Feb. 16, 1816, Muñoz to Sola. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 15–17; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 53.

[37] Nov. 6, 1817, Ripoll to Sola. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 3. The padre protests against the removal, says that Ortega has land enough besides that in question for a whole mission, and that his past attempts to have the sheep removed have been fruitless.

[38] Feb. 15, 1816, Payeras to Sola. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 18. Señan and Victoria to Sola, May 31, 1817. *Id.*, iii. i. 129–33.

[39] *Los Angeles, Instancia de los Regidores y Vecinos sobre tierras, 1819*, MS. The names of the petitioners are all written in one handwriting, with a '+' attached by the two regidores, who could not write, to certify the genuineness of all. The names were: Anastasio Ávila, Tomás Uribes, Francisco Acebedo, José Palomares, José Polanco, Máximo Alanis, Vicente Sanchez, Mariano Verdugo, Juan de D. Ballesteros, José Félix, Cayetano Varelas, Mateo Rubio, Segundo Valenzuela, Ramon Buelna, Ignacio Rendon, Vicente Villa, Francisco Villa, José Bermudes, Antonio Ibarra, Andrés Ibarra, Pablo Franco, Juan José Higuera, José Antonio Botiller, José Antonio Remon, En-

January 14, 1811, Father Francis Dumetz died at San Gabriel where part of the time since 1806 he had lived as supernumerary. He was the oldest missionary in California, where he had served for forty years; and he was the only surviving companion of Junípero Serra who still remained in the province.[40] Zalvidea served as minister throughout the decade, but his associate Miguel died in 1813,[41] and was succeeded by Luis Gil y Taboada, who in 1814 was followed by Joaquin Pascual Nuez. Padre Urresti also lived here in 1804-6.

San Gabriel in 1820 was excelled in neophyte population by only San Luis Rey and San José. There had been more Indians baptized there during the decade than in any other mission except San José and San Francisco; it stood at the head of the list in the number of cattle, and in agricultural products was surpassed by San Luis only.[42] Sola in 1818 reported

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carnacion Urquides, Desiderio Olivera, Santiago Rubio, Ant. Reyes, Jacinto Reyes, Bernardo Higuera, Juan Pollorena.

[40] Francisco Dumetz was a native of Mallorca; was appointed to the California missions in August 1770; sailed with 10 companions from San Blas Jan. 21, 1771, and arrived at San Diego March 12th. He served at San Diego until May 1772; at San Cárlos until May 1782; at San Buenaventura until August 1797; at San Fernando until 1802, and again in 1804-5; and at San Gabriel in 1803-4, and from 1806 to 1811. In 1772 and 1775 he had made trips down to Velicatá to obtain supplies. He was buried by Zalvidea on Jan. 15, 1811, the day after his death. Though he appears to have been an efficient and zealous worker, he is perhaps the least prominent of all the old padres in the missionary records. Not a single document bears his name in my list of authorities. His fame must live in California chiefly as the latest survivor of the early friars and in his name applied by Vancouver to a point on the coast. Romero, however, *Memorias*, MS., 5, tells us that Dumetz was tall, stout, and of light complexion, addicted moreover to the use of snuff, traces of which were always unpleasantly visible. See *Mission Books*.

[41] José de Miguel came to California in 1790; served at Sta Bárbara from June of that year until October 1798, when he was allowed to retire to Mexico on account of ill health; returned in 1800 and served at San Luis Obispo until September 1803, and at San Gabriel from 1803 to 1813. He died on June 2, 1814, at San Fernando, and was buried by Padre Olbés. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 428-9; xiii. 307; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 52; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., v. 281; vi. 102; *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 86. It seems that during his absence in Mexico he left the college of S. Fernando and joined that of S. Pablo y S. Pedro de Michoacan; but repenting was taken back. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 281-2, 284.

[42] Increase in population, 1,201 to 1,636 (but in 1813-17 if there is no error the pop. was from 1678 to 1701, the highest number ever reached); baptisms, 2,005; smallest number, 98 in 1816; largest, 483 in 1811; deaths, 1,353; largest number, 159 in 1818; smallest, 108 in 1819. Increase in live-stock, 10,576 to 15,981; horses, etc., 776 to 981; small stock, 9,750 to 12,448. Crop in 1810, 19,140 bushels; in 1820, 11,550; largest, 19,900 in 1817; smallest, 2,845 in 1818; average, 11,400.

this mission as having the finest lands in California with abundant water; yet two years before Zalvidea had reported the land so exhausted that the neophytes had to go to La Puente to plant, nine or ten miles away, where six hundred were then at work, and where a chapel was much needed.[43]

A chapel was built in connection with the mission hospital, as at other southern establishments, before 1818. In 1819 the gentiles of the Guachama ranchería, called also San Bernardino, some fifteen leagues from San Gabriel, voluntarily asked for the introduction of agriculture and of stock-raising in their fertile lands, and a beginning was made in a way not specified. The padres regarded this as an important step toward the conversion of the tribes toward the Colorado; but it does not appear that any station was established at San Bernardino, nor were any buildings erected there down to 1822, in the report of which year the preceding facts are mentioned.[44]

There was constant alarm on account of the Indians in 1811, rumors of foes approaching from the Colorado being frequent. The alarm continued to some extent through the decade and was particularly active in 1819 in connection with the affair of the Amajavas at San Buenaventura. There is no evidence of hostilities, or even that any of the rumors were well founded.[45] The earthquake of December 8, 1812, at sunrise overthrew the main altar, breaking the St Joseph, the St Dominic, the St Francis, and the Christ, damaging the church considerably, bringing down the top of the steeple, and badly cracking the sacristy walls, and injured the friars' houses and other buildings.[46] As before stated San Gabriel belonged to the jurisdiction of San Diego, though it is more convenient to class it with Los Angeles in the Santa Bárbara district. In 1819 the mission was credited with 175 inhabitants de razon, of which doubtless fifty-one and perhaps more were soldiers stationed there only temporarily, while the occupants of some adjoining ranchos were probably included. The guard with the soldiers' families could not have exceeded thirty or forty persons.[47]

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[43] *Sola, Observaciones*, MS., 185–7; May 16, 1816. Zalvidea to Sola. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 40.

[44] *Misiones, Cuaderno de Estados, 1822*, MS., 268–9. An article in the *San Bernardino Times*, July 8, 1876, says a branch of San Gabriel with buildings was established here about 1820, the buildings having been destroyed by the Indians about 1832.

[45] See chap. xv. this volume.

[46] *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., iv. 21–2. Eulalia Perez remembered that María

Of the two ministers at San Fernando Rey, Muñoz and Urresti, the latter died in 1812, and the former left the country in 1817.[48] Urresti was succeeded by Joaquin Pascual Nuez who served in 1812–14; and by Vicente Pascual Oliva in 1813–15. Marcos Antonio de Vitoria followed Muñoz, serving from 1818 to May 1820. Roman Ullibarri came in January and Francisco Gonzalez de Ibarra in October 1820. From 1815 to 1820, therefore, there seems to have been but

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Ignacia Amador de Alvarado taught a kind of school at her own house in 1818. *Recuerdos de Una Vieja*, MS., 7.

[47] The mission statistics give San Gabriel from 1800 to 1819 a constantly increasing population de razon from 37 to 175; after which, as was customary at other missions, only the padres are given. The irregularity of course consisted in reckoning during these years the escolta and some of the rancheros. Its cause is impossible to state; but it introduced considerable confusion in the records, which, however, will not affect the totals for the whole province nor for the southern districts, only causing uncertainty in the division of the two districts.

[48] José Antonio Urresti came to California in August 1804; served at San Gabriel till September 1806; at Santa Bárbara to August 1809; and at San Fernando to his death, Jan. 5, 1812. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 445; *Libros de Mision*, MS.

Pedro Muñoz was born at Puerto de Baños, Estremadura, Spain, on July 19, 1733; took the habit June 10, 1793; became a member of the college of Bien-Parada; and after completing his studies and taking the different orders was ordered to San Fernando, sailing from Cádiz June 10, 1803, and arriving Sept. 9th. He left the college in April 1804. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 46–7; *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 404. He served at San Miguel from October 1804 to July 1807; and at San Fernando till November 1817, having been at San Francisco temporarily also for six months in 1808. He made several expeditions into the interior, the most important being that with Moraga in 1806 into the Tulares Valley, of which he has left a diary. *Muñoz, Diario*, MS., etc. By some indiscretion committed on the way to California he excited the suspicion of his superiors, and instructions came to the president that his conduct was to be watched. There was a scandal that gained some currency of his relations with the wife of a certain majordomo; but we have the padre's own statement that the charge was investigated by his superiors and proven false. *Arch. Azob.*, MS., ii. 6. Ill-health was the reason given for his retirement in 1817.

one minister. The earthquake of December 21, 1812, did no further damage than to necessitate the introduction of thirty new beams to support the church wall. In 1813 a neophyte was killed by the Indian alcalde, who threw a club at him from a distance of twenty yards with a view to quicken his movements at work. The killing was deemed accidental and the penalty imposed was only two months in the presidio. In 1816–18 there was complaint that neophytes were running away in large numbers. Before 1818 a new chapel was completed.[49] San Fernando gained slightly in population during the whole period; but reached its highest figure, 1,080, in 1819, and then its decline began. In agriculture and stock-raising this mission was tolerably successful, but except in the item of cattle did not rank with the largest establishments. Its lands though fertile were not broad; and when its sheep were driven off of Pico's rancho of Simí the friars complained that they must all be killed as there was no place for them. This sounds strange in view of the immense flocks of sheep pastured in this valley in later years.[50]

Captain José Argüello was commandant of Santa Bárbara[51] until the autumn of 1815, when he went south as governor of Baja California. As he never returned, and had no further connection directly with the province of Alta California, I have here to present in accordance with my general plan his biography.[52]

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[49] *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., iv. 21; *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlviii. 2; *Guerra*, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 26–30, 43; *Payeras*, *Informe Bienal, 1817–18*, MS., 302–3.

[50] Increase in pop., 955 to 1,028. Baptisms, 619; largest no., 181, in 1811; smallest, 30 in 1815. Deaths, 536; largest no., 67 in 1815; smallest, 40 in 1817. Large stock, 8,282 to 12,509; horses, etc., 862,509; sheep, etc., 3,264 to 7,650. Crops of 1811, 8,730 bush.; 1820, 5,270; largest, 7,720 in 1812; smallest, 3,950 in 1813; average, 6,210 bush.

[51] For map of Sta Bárbara district see chap. xxv.

[52] José Darío Argüello was born at Querétaro about 1753, and enlisted in 1773 in the Mexico regiment of dragoons. He served as a private about 6 years, and then as sergeant of the presidial company of Altar, Sonora, for two years and a half, until in 1781 he was promoted to be alférez of the company just organized by Rivera for the proposed presidio of Santa Bárbara. *Ar-*

He was the oldest resident of prominence, the ranking officer, and certainly the best known and most influential man in the province, where he had served faithfully for thirty-four years. His record was a perfectly clear one, and in ability and faithfulness Argüello bore a marked resemblance to Arrillaga. He was a good officer, a strict disciplinarian, an ex-

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güello, *Hojas de Servicio*, in *Prov. St. Pap. Presid.*, MS., i. 27; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., i. 55; *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., i. 83-4; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ii. 84. Accompanying Rivera on his march overland he left that officer on the Colorado, and with Lieut. Gonzalez and the company of soldiers and families passed on to San Gabriel, where he arrived July 14, 1781, and where he remained until the foundation of Santa Bárbara in April 1782. His first public service of importance was as comisionado appointed by Gov. Fages to distribute to settlers the pueblo lands of Los Angeles in August 1786. *Los Angeles, Reparticion de Solares*, MS. In February 1877 he was promoted to be lieutenant of the San Francisco company, and started in June to assume the new position. He served as commandant of San Francisco until March 1791, and again from April 1796 until July 1806, having occupied the same post at Monterey in 1791-6. For his services as comandante and habilitado I may refer the reader to the local and provincial annals of those years, since it is useless to repeat the record of so prominent a man. Fages, on turning over his office to Romeu in 1791, spoke of Argüello in high terms of praise. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., x. 148. In October of the same year Argüello was present at the dedication of the Soledad church. *Soledad, Lib. Mision*, MS., 1-2. In 1783-5 his name and that of his wife appear occasionally as god-parents at baptisms. *Sta Bárbara, Lib. Mision*, MS., 4, 6. In 1793, at the request of President Lasuen, the guardian of San Fernando issued a 'letter of brotherhood' for Argüello and his wife. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 234. In October 1797 he was promoted to be brevet captain, the commission being received in February 1798. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xv. 265; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., v. 208; vi. 70-1; *St. Pap. Sac.*; MS., v. 113. On the death of Lieut. Sal in 1800 Argüello desired a transfer to Monterey, but was unable to obtain it. He was, however, recommended for promotion in 1803, and on March 22, 1807, the king made him, 'in consideration of his merits and services,' captain of the Santa Bárbara company. His commission was received late in 1808, but he had been at Santa Bárbara since the autumn of 1806. At the end of 1808 Arrillaga certified him to be a man of 'well proved courage, much application, fair ability, and good conduct.' *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 79; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xxi. 12; *Id., Presid.*, i. 27; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., viii. 23. On the death of Gov. Arrillaga in July 1814, Argüello, being the ranking officer in California, became acting governor; but did not on that account cease to be commandant of Santa Bárbara, nor did he move his residence even temporarily to the capital. It was doubtless a disappointment to the old captain and his friends that he was not made governor; but he was commissioned instead on Dec. 31, 1814, to rule Baja California, and after awaiting the arrival of Sola he started for the peninsula by land in October 1815.

Argüello's wife was Doña Ignacia Moraga, of Altar, a niece of Lieut. José Joaquin Moraga, the founder of San Francisco, who came to California with her husband. Both were of pure Spanish blood, or believed to be so by the friars. *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., xii. 392-3. Their nine children were all born in California. The oldest was José Ignacio Máximo, baptized at San Gabriel on June 8, 1782, who was sent to Mexico to be educated for the priesthood. He came to California on a visit in 1809, and assisted at the dedication of the San Buenaventura church on Sept. 9th, also saying mass at San Gabriel.

cellent accountant, and withal a very popular man. If we consider his rise step by step from the ranks, his education was remarkably good. Both he and his wife took great pains with the home education of their sons, and the captain was very successful in pushing the three boys forward in the presidial com-

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According to the will of Arrillaga, by which it appears that Padre Argüello owed the estate $500 borrowed on the aforesaid visit, he was at that time curate of Torin, on the Yaqui River, Sonora; and a report was current later that he had been killed in a rising of the Yaquis. *S. Gabriel, Lib. Mision*, MS., 16; *S. Buenaventura, Lib. Mision*, MS., 15, 18; *Arrillaga, Testamento*, MS., 14; *Romero, Memorias*, MS., 9. Of Luis Antonio, Santiago, and Gervasio, men more or less prominent in California history, I have more to say elsewhere, as also of Doña María de la Concepcion Marcela, the heroine of the Rezánof romance. The other four children were Francisco Rafael, Toribio de Jesus, Ana Paula, and Gertrúdis Rudesinda, of whom I know nothing, save that Paula married a man named Obregon in Guadalajara, and that none of them seem to have remained in California. In consideration of his large family Argüello had apparently obtained in 1797 the Pilar tract of land near San Francisco for stock-raising. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., i. 5, 83–4; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., v. 103.

In Lower California the governor was far from being content, since in 1816 he complained bitterly in a letter to his old friend Guerra of his position as 'a veritable deception,' besides other sorrows not specified, which troubled him and his wife. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 131. In 1819 he had an idea of applying for the cross of the Order of San Hermenegildo, to which his services entitled him, but was dissuaded by Sola on account of the expense involved. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 46. He got not a cent of his pay, and though governor, was forced to live and support his family on small sums borrowed from friends. Old age and ill-health were added to the troubles of poverty. He was anxious but unable to go to Mexico or California to spend the rest of his life. He formally resigned his office on June 26, 1821, intending to start the next month for Guaymas; but suddenly changed his mind and resolved to await the viceroy's action, though sickness obliged him to give up the duties of his office until October. In the spring of 1822 his house at Loreto was sacked and stripped of everything worth stealing by Cochrane's insurgents. Finally in July or August he was relieved of his office by the imperial commissioner Canónigo Fernandez and sailed from Loreto Oct. 27, 1822, en route to join his son Gervasio at Guadalajara, though the state of his health made it uncertain if he would reach his destination alive. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 290; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 124, 128, 130–1; v. 216–19; vii. 73; *Lassepas, B. Cal.*, 107. See also my *Hist. North Mex. States*, vol. i.

Not much is known of the venerable captain's last years, spent in poverty and sickness at Guadalajara. His complaints to Capt. Guerra were very bitter toward the Mexican government, which owed him $15,000, and would not pay him anything to buy a uniform of the new style, paying no attention to his demands for a *retiro*. Some of his troubles were perhaps imaginary and the results of dotage, since for a part of the time at least he got $120 per month from some source. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 96–7, 133–4, etc. He died at Guadalajara late in 1827 or early in 1828, at the age of 75 years. The widow wished to return to California with Guerra in 1828, but was deemed unable to attempt the journey. She died on April 12, 1829. In a letter of Jan. 30, 1829, the daughter María Concepcion alluded to some reports in California derogatory to her father's good name, begging Guerra to contradict such calumnies. She returned later to California.

panies; but none of them ever equalled the father, except Don Luis in rank and perhaps in popularity. Don José was a pious man even for his time and country. Arrillaga used to refer to him familiarly as 'el santo;' and the padres regretted the departure of a man "who seemed like one of us." Old residents remember him as a tall stout man, very dark in complexion. Some of his descendants show the true Spanish type of face.

Argüello was succeeded in the command by Lieutenant José de la Guerra y Noriega who held it for twenty-four years. When the latter was promoted to be captain in 1818, Gabriel Moraga became lieutenant of the company instead of Ignacio Martinez, to whom the place belonged. By a strange error in Spain the companies of these two officers were transposed in their promotion, Martinez going to San Francisco.[53] The office of habilitado was held some years by the commandant and others by the alférez, who was José Joaquin Maitorena throughout the decade. Moraga was acting commandant during Guerra's absence in 1819–20. The company sergeants were three in number, Guillermo Cota, Cárlos Carrillo, Juan Ortega until 1818, and Anastasio Carrillo after 1818. Santiago Argüello was cadet until 1817.

The presidial company numbered sixty-six men besides officers, with from thirty-one to twenty-seven invalids. Of the soldiers at least twenty-five were absent on escolta duty; but it is impossible to learn what part of the invalids lived at the presidio. The total white population of the district, including its own five missions and also San Gabriel, increased from four hundred and sixty to seven hundred and forty, a part of the increase being the forty-five men of Portilla's company, who under Lieutenant Fabregat and Alférez Delgado were added to the garrison in 1819.[54] Adding the population of Los Angeles, which was subject to the Santa Bárbara *comandancia*, we have a total of 1,355. The neophyte population of the same district had decreased from 6,500 to 6,400. Adding the figures for the San Diego jurisdiction and we have for what may be termed Southern California in 1820 a population of 1,800 gente de razon, and 11,600 neophytes.[55] Financial statistics are naturally meagre, while those relating to agriculture and stock-raising are all together lacking. It appears, however, that in 1817 or 1818 the company established the rancho of San Julian as a source of meat supply for the soldiers. The padres granted the land provisionally, to be returned when the supplies should begin to come regularly; and it was stocked with the tithe cattle, about six hundred and fifty in number at the beginning. The undertaking was altogether successful.[56]

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[53] Yet the names and companies are correct in the announcement of promotion from Guadalajara, Dec. 11, 1817. *Prov. St. Pap.*, xx. 194.

[54] There were some complaints by Fabregat of slights from the officers of the presidial company. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 13–18.

Some items of local interest at Santa Bárbara have been recorded in other chapters. Such were the few Indian expeditions made by the company; the capture of Ayres and the *Mercury*, and the presence of the otter-hunters at the Islands in 1813; the investigation of the *Pedler* affair in 1814; some vague statements about the fate of the native islanders; the arrival of the *Atala* in 1815; the exciting episode of the *Lydia* and *Albatross* with the capture of Gyzelaar and Smith in the same year; the coming of Wilcox and the *Traveler* in 1817; the return of Gyzelaar the next year with a friendly warning; and the subsequent stirring events of the Bouchard invasion in 1818, involving the destruction of the Ortegas' rancho and smuggling depot at El Refugio; and finally the hard times, chronic at Santa Bárbara as elsewhere throughout the decade.[57] So I have spoken elsewhere of the earthquake shocks of December 1812 and the following months; but I append here correspondence and references on the subject.[58] Additional items are few and of minor interest. A presidio chapel of wood with tile roof was finished in March 1813. In consequence of the damage by earthquake it was proposed to rebuild the presidio on a better site nearer the mission; but the records do not show that even a beginning was made. I have in my collection of original manuscripts, under date of 1814, a defence of two Indians accused of murder addressed to the royal audiencia by Cárlos Antonio Carrillo, the sargento distinguido of the Santa Bárbara Company. In 1816 Guerra reports that the presidio had no hospital, though a lady at the mission "applied some medicines for charity's sake." At the beginning of 1817 a primary school for girls was opened under a female.

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[55] July 6, 1816, Guerra to Sola, says there are 100 *vecinos* and 35 invalids in the district, including Los Angeles, capable of bearing arms. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 112-13. List of 108 such persons in 1819. *Id.*, *Presid.*, i. 25. Financial statistics: Pay-roll of the company from $18,000 to $20,000 per year, not paid of course. This presidio's share of the invoice of 1815-16, $12,222; that of 1820 not given. Invoices of goods on hand, except in 1814, from $1,000 to $2,000. Totals of habilitado's accounts $50,000 to $120,000. Supplies from missions, from $10,000 to $18,000 per year (doubtful). Postal revenue about $40; tobacco revenue in 1811-12, $1,724; tithes, $200 to $1,700; total of tithes 1786-1815, $9,827; papal bulls $108 to $150. For company rosters, official lists, and financial accounts for the decade see *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlii.-lii. passim; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., iii.-ix.; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 362, 371; xx. 112-13, 227; *Id.*, *Presid.*, i. 25, 28-9; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 42-5; xi. 57; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 149-50, 158, 190; v. 78.

[56] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 96-7, 52-3; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 224. Gonzalez, *Experiencias*, MS., 13, calls the rancho Las Cañadas.

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[57] See chap. xi. xiii., this volume.

[58] Dec. 31, 1812, Argüello to Arrillaga, almost daily shocks this month. Several buildings ruined and damaged at presidio and mission. Earth opened in several places, with sulphur volcanoes. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xliv. 12. Jan. 14, 1813, commandant to governor, speaks of shocks of Dec. 21st, still in operation. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 361. March 6, 1813, Maitorena to Gov., the temblor has left him half in convulsions; sleeping in a tent; will start in April if fear will permit. *Id.*, xix. 341. March 19th, Com. to Gov., all in huts and suffering from fear. The last shock was on March 8th. Several *chapapote* (asphaltum) springs formed in the mountains and tulares; gaps in the sierra; the shore volcano has more openings, and another is reported behind the Sierra de los Pinos. Sanchez said he fled in fright to San Luis. *Id.*, xix. 339-40. Juan Lugo fled to Monterey frightened out of his wits. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxxvi. 287. Weather on the first day very fine; two heavy shocks at the beginning. *Gonzalez, Exper.*, MS., 2-3. P. Gil said there was a huge earthquake wave at sea; the people all ran to the mission to chant litanies; a stick with a pendent ball was set up, and the ball vibrated continually for 8 days, and later at intervals for 15 days. *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 56-7. Jan. 18, 1815, five shocks. Jan. 30th, more temblores. July 8th, 9th, six shocks. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 264, 268-70. Announcement by Argüello with autograph. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 110. Correspondence in 1813, about rebuilding the presidio on a higher site nearer the mission. Nothing seems to have been done, for in 1816 the bad condition of the buildings is noted. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 342, 361; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 183; xi. 19.

In 1818 the custom of burying in the presidio cemetery had been abandoned, and the governor refused permission to inter there a child of Alférez Maitorena. In February 1819 Padre Sarría refers to a quarrel between mission and presidio about the possession of a piece of land; but he gives no details.[59]

At the mission of Santa Bárbara Padre Gil y Taboada was succeeded by Ramon Olbés in 1813, and the latter by Francisco Suñer in 1816. Gil's associate Marcos Amestoy retired in 1814,[60] and after an apparent vacancy of nearly a year Antonio Ripoll took his place in July 1815. Under the ministers named this mission continued to decline in neophyte population, as also in cattle and horses; though in agriculture its success was somewhat greater than in the preceding decade.[61] A new church was begun in 1815, notwithstanding the extensive repairs that had been made on the old building after the earthquake. In 1816 the stone-work was nearly completed. In 1817 Captain Wilcox in the *Traveller* made a trip to Santa Cruz Island for timber. In 1818 the edifice still lacked certain beams; but on the 10th of September 1820 it was finally consecrated, the ministers being aided by three companions from abroad who brought large bands of neophytes, Sola standing as sponsor, the commandant assisting with all the soldiers and citizens, and the day being closed with military evolutions, Indian dances, and a banquet.[62]

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[59] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 340; *Carrillo, Pedimento de los Reos, 1814*, MS.; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 76, 103; iv. 11; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 46; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 115–16; *Prov. St. Pap. Ben. Mil,*, MS., xlix. 15.

[60] Marcos Amestoy left Guadalajara for California April 23, 1804, and arrived at San Francisco Aug. 14th. His only service was at Santa Bárbara from November 1804 to Sept. 22, 1814, when he sailed from Mexico, disabled by a paralyzed arm. Nov. 16th of the same year he was at Tepic greatly improved in health. He came to California under suspicion by reason of some indiscretion; but no subsequent complaint is recorded.

[61] Decrease in population, 1,355 to 1,132. Baptisms, 947; largest number, 124, in 1816; smallest, 48, in 1811. Deaths, 918; largest number, 97, in 1816; smallest, 72, in 1820. Large stock, 5,670 to 4,620; horses, etc., 1,390 to 1,120; sheep, etc., 8,190 to 8,300. Crops in 1810, 3,900 bushels; in 1820, and smallest, 2,500; largest, 10,265 in 1817; average, 6,350 bushels. Among the mission majordomos were Francisco García and José Dolores Ortega. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 490. Correspondence about cloth manufactured here, in which P. Ripoll was very successful in 1816, producing a better article than the Querétaro cloth. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i., passim; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 34–5; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 109. In 1817 José Ortega made a report to Sola on the extent of the Santa Bárbara mission lands in substance as follows: Eastward to Refugio 9 or 10 leagues; from N. to S. 1 to 3 leagues from the sierra to the sea, being narrowest at Las Llagas near Refugio. Five flowing streams: El Capitan, Las Llagas, Dos Pueblos, Tecolote, and Las Armas; with swamps at Mescaltitlan, etc. At first the sheep rancho was at El Capitan. Later P. Amestoy founded the rancho de San Marcos on the bank of the Calaguasa stream, extending up the stream from Teguepe. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 177–8. 1813, many runaways, who, however, returned before an expedition was ready to go after them. Chap. xv. of this vol. 1819, very heavy rains. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 249.

The earthquake at San Buenaventura in 1812–13 drove the occupants away to San Joaquin y Santa Ana for three months. A *jacal* church was improvised and several baptisms and burials are recorded in the mission registers as having taken place here. When the people came back in March or April 1813 it was found that in addition to some serious cracks in the mission buildings the new church was so badly damaged that a part of the façade and all the tower would have to be torn down and rebuilt. In 1814 all damages save those of the church had been repaired; and in 1818 not only was all restored to a condition better than the original, but a chapel in honor of San Miguel had been added.[63] The most exciting local event of the decade, not even excepting the earthquake, nor perhaps the temporary flight to Purísima Nueva to escape death at the hands of the pirates in 1818, was the fight with the Amajavas of the Colorado in May 1819, when two soldiers were killed and ten of the foe inside the mission enclosure; but these occurrences are elsewhere recorded.[64]

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[62] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., v. 164, 181; vii. 19–23; x. 302, 516–17; xii. 113; *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., iv. 20; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 166–8; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 183; *Gonzalez, Exper.*, MS., 3; *Vischer's Missions of Cal.*, 36. The dedication is described in the mission books by P. Suñer; and in the mission report of 1820 the church is described as 'of hewn stone and mortar, walls very strongly built with good buttresses, a tower of two stories holding six bells, a plaster ceiling frescoed, marbled columns, altar tables in Roman style, one of them with a pulpit. Image of Santa Bárbara in front in a niche supported by six columns; and at the extremities of the triangle the three virtues, all four of the figures being of cut stone painted in oil. The floor of burnished bitumen. Various decorations in church and sacristy. All agreeable, strong, and neat.'

[63] *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS. iv. 24, 26; *S. Buenaventura, Lib. Mision*, MS., 16, 17, 19; *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 34–5; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 302–3; xii. 90. All the work of rebuilding had been done by the neophytes under direction of the padres.

San Buenaventura reached its highest figure of population in 1816 with 1,328 neophytes, subsequently losing 200 of the number; deaths having exceeded baptisms by over 170. Though losing several thousand head of cattle, this mission still stood first, showing a gain in sheep, and making a somewhat favorable showing in agriculture.[65] The government owed San Buenaventura in June 1820, $27,385 for supplies, $6,200 in stipends, and $1,585 for a cargo of hemp, or a total of $35,170, which there was not the slightest chance of ever receiving.[66] The ministers were José Francisco de Paula Señan, president in 1812–15, and Marcos Antonio de Vitoria, though the latter was absent in 1818–19.

At Purísima, Father Mariano Payeras, president from 1815, served throughout the decade; but in the associates there were frequent changes. Boscana left the mission at the end of 1811; Estévan Tapis, president until 1812, served in 1811–13; Antonio Ripoll in 1812–15; Luis Gil in 1815–17; Roman Ullibarri in 1818–19; and José Sanchez in 1820–1. The population dwindled rapidly, the death-rate being fifty-three per cent of population and baptisms; but in live-stock Purísima was among the most prosperous of missions.[67]

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[64] See chap. xi. xv. this vol. There was an Indian murder case in 1817. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., l. 445–8.

[65] Decrease in population, 1,297 to 1,127. Baptisms, 713; largest number, 223 in 1816; smallest, 33 in 1819. Deaths, 880; largest number, 121 in 1818; smallest, 70 in 1819. Large stock, 21,221 to 18,741; horses, etc., 3,276 to 3,451; sheep, etc., 8,543 to 10,730. Crop of 1810, 7,275 bushels; of 1820, 7,437; largest, 12,135, in 1818; smallest, 6,660, in 1819; average, 9,340 bushels.

[66] *S. Buenaventura, Suministraciones al Presidio hasta 1820*, MS. Signed by Señan and Vitoria.

[67] Decrease in population, 1,022 to 840. Baptisms, 551; largest number, 115 in 1815; smallest, 23 in 1820. Deaths, 743; largest number, 93 in 1815; smallest, 41 in 1812. Gain in large stock, 10,015 to 11,061; horses, etc., 1,215 to 1,543; sheep, etc., 10,042 to 12,716. Crops in 1810, 5,970 bushels; in 1820,

The earthquake of December 21, 1812, destroyed the church, many of the mission buildings, and 100 neophytes' houses of adobe; and subsequent floods, caused by the rains and the bursting of a fountain, completed the devastation, so that very few buildings were worth repairing even for temporary use.[68] Huts of wood and grass were hastily erected for shelter and religious service; and in March 1813 the padres petitioned the president for permission to rebuild the mission, not at the old site, but at another across the river at Los Berros, or *Amun*, the advantages of which were apparent, and were fully enumerated. The request was granted, and the transfer effected; but of progress in erecting the new buildings little or nothing is known,[69] though church, houses, and an

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and smallest, 3,790; largest, 12,000 in 1813; average, 6,530 bushels. Dec. 1816, Jan. 1817, no rains; prospect of a drought; sheep dying by hundreds. But a little later it rained and snowed abundantly. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 24–6. Feb. 16, 1819, P. Ripoll asks governor that some Kodiaks be allowed to join the neophytes of Purísima as they desired. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 61–2. Purísima produced in 1819 500 *botas* of tallow of seven or eight *arrobas* (200 lbs.) each. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 163–4, In Jan.–Feb. 1816, some measurements were made by the padres showing the distance from Purísima to Sta Inés to be 6¾ leagues and 619 varas; and to San Luis Obispo by way of La Graciosa, 18 leagues less 250 varas, and by way of San Antonio rancho, 19 leagues and 550 varas; to San Antonio rancho by way of the garden of Mateo, 3 leagues and 3,400 varas. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 75.

[68] Dec. 22, 1812, Payeras to President. There were several light shocks on Dec. 8th, doing little damage. On Dec. 21st, at 10:30 A. M., a severe shaking for four minutes, doing much harm, with a light shock while the padres were making an examination. Just before 11 another furious *temblor* of five or seven minutes, and the church fell. Five or six light shocks in the evening and others next morning. The earth opened in several places, emitting water and black sand. Several wounded, but none killed. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 184–5. Dec. 31, 1812, report of Payeras and Ripoll, stating extent of damages. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., iv. 18–19; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xliv. 12. Trask, *Earthquakes in Cal.*, 132–3, erroneously states that a number of lives were lost.

[69] *Purísima, Peticion de los Padres sobre Traslado de la Mision, con otros Papeles, 1813*, MS. The old site is called *Lalsacupi*, and the distance 1¼ leagues, 'and the same distance back again'! Lasuen had been informed of the inconvenience of the old site, but had insisted. The name of the new site may be *Amúu. Purísima, Lib. Mission*, MS., 3; *Salsacupi*, *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 89. Governor's consent to the change March 16th–30th. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 104–5. Aid sent from Sta Bárbara, April. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 343. Old site *Alsacupi*, on south side of Rio de Sta Rosa, or San Verardo; new site Los Berros Cañada, or *Amun*, ¾ l. away, on north side of the river, 2,300 varas further east than old site, on the road from Sta Inés to San Luis, 1 l. nearer Sta Inés, and 1¼ l. nearer S. Luis. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., iv. 27–8. Change effected in two years. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 183. Romero, *Memorias*, MS., 1, calls the old site Lompoc, and the new Las Flores.

irrigating canal are said to have been completed in two years. The church was a provisional affair, and a new one of adobes and tiles was finished in November 1818. That same year, the 29th of September, nearly all the neophytes' houses were destroyed by fire, and it required a year to repair the damages.[70]

The earthquake of December 21, 1812, two shocks fifteen minutes apart, brought down a corner of the church at Santa Inés, destroyed one fourth of the new houses near the church, ruined all the mission roofs, and cracked many walls; but the friars did not deem the damage irreparable.[71] In 1813 the ministers' house was completed, and a granary was built which served temporarily for worship; but in 1815 a new church was begun, of adobes lined with bricks, which was dedicated on July 4, 1817.[72] The neophyte population reached its highest limit of 768 souls in 1816, from which time it steadily declined. The mission flocks and herds doubled in the decade, while agriculture flourished in the new fields.[73] Father Uría was in charge of Santa Inés continuously; but his associate, Calzada, one of the founders, died in 1814,[74] and there were several other changes; Ramon Olbés serving in 1812–14, Estévan Tapis in 1813–14, Roman Fernandez de Ullibarri in 1815–19, and Antonio Catarino Rodriguez, apparently in 1820–1.

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[70] *Payeras, Informe Bienal, 1817-18*, MS., 302; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 22; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 44-7.

[71] Report of the padres in *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., iv. 19-20.

[72] *Sta Inés, Lib. Mision*, MS., 14; *Payeras, Informe Bienal, 1815-16*, MS., 113; *Id., 1817-18*, 302; *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., iv. 27; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 183.

[73] Increase of population, 630 to 635; baptisms, 594; smallest number, 26 in 1819; largest, 183 in 1816; deaths, 544; smallest number, 36 in 1812; largest, 85 in 1817. Large stock, 3,692 to 7,720; horses, etc., 492 to 770; sheep, etc., 2,300 to 5,100. Crops in 1810, 4,430 bushels; in 1820, 3,415; largest, 10,490 in 1812; smallest, 2,730 in 1816; average, 4,340 bushels.

Nov. 10, 1814, first baptism of an *isleño* Indian from Limú Island; such baptisms frequent after April 1815. *Sta Inés, Lib. Mision*, MS., 12-13. Jan. 1816, much frost but no rain; prospect bad. March 1817, heavy rains and snow. 1819, heavy frost killed the wheat; corn crop light. Potatoes to be raised for the Indians. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 257-8, 262-3.

[74] Antonio Calzada was born in Florida Nov. 24, 1760; and took the habit at the convent of the Purísima Concepcion in Habana Feb. 3, 1780. He was ordained a priest in Mexico Dec. 18, 1784; and arrived in California in October 1787. His missionary service was at San Gabriel from 1788 to 1792; at Purísima until 1804, though absent in Mexico on account of ill-health from August 1796 to May 1798; and, founding Sta Inés in September 1804, he served there until a stroke of paralysis rendered him helpless in 1813. A second stroke put an end to his life on Dec. 23, 1814. He was interred in the church, and on July 4, 1817, his remains were transferred to the new church, outside the

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presbytery near the railing on the gospel side. *Sta Inés, Lib. Mision*, MS., 17–18; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 228; x. 409; *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 86; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 47.

CHAPTER XVII.

LOCAL ANNALS OF THE NORTH.

1811–1820.

San Francisco—Officials, Population, and Finances—Buildings—Lithographic Views—Foreign Visitors—The Mission—Father Saenz—Across the Bay—Mission San José—Santa Clara—Pueblo of San José—Officials—The Chapel—School—Road—Monterey Presidial District—Statistics—Presidio Buildings—Reconstruction—School—A Bear Story—Recapitulation of Foreign Vessels—Ranchos—San Cárlos—San Luis Obispo—San Miguel—San Antonio—Soledad—Florencio Ibañez—San Juan Bautista—Santa Cruz—Padre Marquinez—Murder of Andrés Quintana—Villa de Branciforte.

Luis Antonio Argüello commanded at San Francisco as lieutenant, while Rodriguez in Mexico held the captaincy, until 1817 and afterward as captain. He was also habilitado after 1816, up to which year his brother Cadet Gervasio Argüello kept the accounts. I have in my collection the original account-books kept by Don Luis in these times.[1] Gabriel Moraga, brevet lieutenant, was the alférez until 1818; but on his promotion, by some mistake in Madrid, he was made lieutenant of the Santa Bárbara company, and Ignacio Martinez came here as lieutenant. The alférez after 1818 was Santiago Argüello, serving not in his own company but at San Diego. After Gervasio Argüello's promotion Joaquin Estudillo was a cadet in the company from 1818. Luis Peralta and

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[1] *San Francisco, Cuentas del Habilitado de la Compañía Presidial, 1818–33*, MS., tom. i. xxix. Presented by General Vallejo. tom. i.–iv., contain Argüello's accounts from 1818 to 1820; stout leather-bound volumes 9x12 inches, in which a separate page, or more, is devoted to the account of each officer and soldier. Each volume has an index which is a full company roster.

José Sanchez were the sergeants, the latter being brevetted alférez in 1820.

The force was 68 soldiers, twelve invalids, and four artillerymen, of whom about 40 lived at the presidio until 50 men of Captain Navarrete's San Blas infantry were stationed here in 1819 under Lieutenant Valle and Alférez Haro. The total population in 1820 of presidio and missions, excluding Santa Cruz, had increased from 310 to about 430, to which number, if we add the population of San José pueblo, we have for the northern presidial district a total of 670; and the neophytes of the same district numbered 4,360, a gain from 2,930 in 1810.[2] There is no indication that any of the new artillerymen under Ramirez were stationed at San Francisco in 1820. Statistics are fragmentary, but I embody some items in a note.[3]

The fort of San Joaquin was rebuilt in 1816, a feat which gave rise to much correspondence, all going to show the fact of rebuilding and nothing more, except that the work was satisfactory to the commandant, who praised Lieutenant Manuel Gomez for the skill and energy displayed. The work was done by *presidiarios*, or convicts, native and Spanish, it being the part of the garrison to guard the laborers, eighteen of whom ran away on one occasion. Merlons and esplanade are favorite words with the writers; and among the material mentioned were 200 beams, 600 planks, 3,600 nine-inch spikes, and lime mortar.[4] There were twenty guns in 1820, three of which were twenty-four pounders. Of the battery at Yerba Buena nothing is heard during the decade. There are some rather vague allusions to the rebuilding or extensive repair of the presidio proper. At any rate the old chapel was torn down to be rebuilt, and a provisional building fitted up in which the first mass was said on Febuary 25, 1816. Osio tells us that Argüello and his soldiers began the work of rebuilding the presidio square in 1815, and nearly finished it before Sola found it out and ordered a suspension, summoning Don Luis to Monterey, and even going so far as to threaten him with personal chastisement. Amador also says the presidio was in process of reconstruction about 1818. Choris gives a lithographic view of the buildings as they appeared in 1816, a picture which imparts but very slight information, and seems to represent the structures as complete. Chamisso, however, says that the presidio was newly built and covered with tiles, though the chapel had not been begun. In April 1818 Sola informed the viceroy that the southern block where the church was to be was yet unfinished, as were the corrals on the four sides, thus implying a reconstruction,[5] respecting which, more or less complete, I think there can be no doubt.

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[2] I must note, however, that we have no exact and reliable statistics of white population in San Francisco from 1817 to 1828, nor in San José between 1816 and 1822. For the former I take the population in 1817, which was 380, and add the 50 infantrymen, not knowing exactly when the decrease to 280 in 1828 began. For San José, which gained from 137 in 1816 to about 300 in 1822, I adopt somewhat arbitrarily 240 as the population in 1820.

[3] The annual pay-roll was about $19,000; only invoice $7,253 in 1815–16; inventories of goods in the warehouse, constantly dwindling from $17,715 in 1810 to $1,257 at end of 1815, $3,848 in 1816, and $2,043 in 1817: supplies from missions from $4,000 to $11,000 per year. At the end of 1816 there was owing to the company $25,878, in sums ranging from $55 to $1,229, the largest amount being due to Sergt. Sanchez; while only two men, Gregorio Briones and José Castro, were in debt to the extent of 25 cents each. Tobacco revenue about $1,000 down to 1813. Tithes, $40, $28, and $7, in 1811–12–13, perhaps for presidio alone. Postal revenue, average $26 down to 1817. Papal bulls $71 in 1811. Sales of cattle from rancho del rey $260 per year. This rancho was located at Las Pulgas in 1816 when a new lot of cattle was obtained from the missions. After 1816 the best authorities on San Francisco presidial statistics are the *S. Francisco, Cuentas*, MS., tom. i.–iv. already noticed, and the original records in *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xv. 67–97; xvi. 2–95. See also *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlii.–lii. passim; *Id., Presid.*, 33, 36, 77–81; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., ii. 68; viii. 55; ix. 77; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 42, 45, 78, 134–6, 174; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 10, 24–7.

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[4] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 2-3, 43-5, 103, 123, 134-6, 232, 258-61; *Id. Presid.*, i. 33-5; *Prov. Rec.* MS., ix. 137, 155; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xv. 68-91.

[5] Provisional chapel. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 45. Sept. 16, 1816, one of the soldiers' houses was burned, and 14 prisoners employed to put out the fire escaped. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 37. Choris says of the presidio, 'sa forme est carrée. Il a deux portes toujours occupées par une garde; les fenêtres ne sont ouvertes que sur la cour.' And of the fort, 'il est muni de tout ce qui est nécessaire pour la défendre avec avantage.' *Choris*, *Voy.*, *Pittoresque*, (iii.) p. i. pl. ii. Amador, *Memorias*, MS., 16, says the old structures were of *palo parado*, the new ones of adobes. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 5-21, says that Sola with his stick and Argüello with his sword made some hostile demonstrations, whereupon Sola threw away his stick and extended his hand, desiring to be

The leading events at San Francisco, chiefly the visits of foreign vessels, have been recorded in other chapters. In 1811 Padre Abella made a boat voyage on the bay, applying some new names. This year and the next the Aleut otter-hunters frequented the bay in their bidarkas. In 1812–13 came the news of the Russian settlement at Bodega, with some excitement involving several expeditions to the north. In 1813–14 communication with Ross was continued, and Slobódchikof came down more than once with bidarka loads of goods for traffic. In the latter year there came also Black in the *Raccoon* and Eliot de Castro in the *Ilmen*, returning in 1815. This year Makárof brought a cargo in the *Suvárof.* In 1816 was the visit of Kotzebue in the *Rurik,* a visit resulting in the publication of three books which afford very few items of information about San Francisco that the reader had not learned better from other sources.[6] Padushkin, Hagemeister, and Kuskof were guests at the presidio in 1817; and finally Roquefeuil in 1817–18 brought the *Bordelais* into the port three times, the first French craft ever seen within the Golden Gate.[7] In 1818 a school was in operation; and in December 1819 a soldier was killed while firing a salute to the Virgin of Guadalupe.[8]

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friendly with so brave a man! He says a boat was built by an English carpenter in which timber was brought from San Rafael. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 227–8, says the boat was built by three English carpenters, deserters from the Columbia River, captured in Alameda county, in 1816. The boat was launched in November 1813, Doña Magdalena Estudillo coming up from Monterey to serve as *madrina*, and naming her the *Paulina*. This *lancha* was of about five tons. Feb. 1816, correspondence between Argüello and Sola, showing that the old boat had been badly damaged and after repairs destroyed in a gale. A new one to be built. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 42, 46. April 3, 1818, Sola to viceroy on presidio buildings. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 176. Chamisso, *Remarks*, 49, is wrong in saying the buildings were of stone. Roquefeuil, *Voyage*, 26, says that in 1817 the church which had been burned had not been rebuilt; but the temporary hall used as a chapel was kept in excellent condition.

[6] I have already given the observations of Kotzebue, Choris, and Chamisso on general matters; also some items respecting buildings; and I have yet to give others about the mission. It may be noted here that Chamisso says something of the geology, fauna, and plants of the peninsula; and also that he uses for the first time the name Point Lobos.

[7] See chapters xiii., xiv., this volume.

[8] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 180; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 253.

Visitors to San Francisco were in most cases entertained by the padres at the mission; and of that institution those who wrote books have more to say than of the presidio. These writers, however, devote most attention to the Indians and to the imperfectly understood workings of the mission system. Choris reproduces the various types of neophytes' heads, and incidentally in his picture of a native dance portrays a portion of the church, the building begun in 1782 and still standing in 1885.[9]

San Francisco reached its highest limit of population in 1820 with 1,252 neophytes on its registers. Its baptisms were exceeded only at San José, and its deaths, 2,100, nowhere, the death-rate being 63 per cent of original population added to the baptisms. It is to be noted, however, these figures include the *asistencia*, or branch, of San Rafael; that the population of San Francisco proper had decreased to 622, and that its death-rate was nearly seventy-five per cent. The mission lost heavily in cattle, but held its own in sheep.[10] Of the two associate ministers Saenz de Lucío left the province in 1816;[11] while Ramon Abella left this mission in 1819. Oliva served in 1815–19, and Juan Cabot in 1818–20; while Ordaz and Altimira came in 1820. The terrible mortality among their neophytes was the great trouble of the friars throughout the decade; and the establishment of San Rafael as a kind of hospital to which many were transferred has already been recorded. There seems also in 1819 to have been a beginning of agricultural and stock-raising operations across the bay, where Oakland or Alameda now stands; but no particulars are recorded. According to the land commission records, however, the San Antonio rancho was granted to Luis Peralta in 1820.[12]

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[9] In 1883 a new brick church was built adjoining the old structure; but no change was made in the latter, though its destruction was announced in the city newspapers of the time. Choris, *Voy. Pittoresque*, (iii.) p. 2–6, pl. iii.–vii., says the mission 'forme un village assez considérable. L'église est grande, et tient à la maison des missionaries, qui est simple, passablement propre et commode.' The Indians have their own gardens. Twenty looms in constant operation. Two mills moved by mule-power. Much information about the Indians. Chamisso, *Remarks*, 49, says all the buildings, including the houses of the Indians, were of stone covered with tiles; horse-power mill in which one stone is moved over another without mechanism. Kotzebue, *Voyage*, i. 279–81, marked the favorable contrast of scenery, vegetation, etc., at the mission to the surroundings of the presidio. Says the church was 'spacious, built of stone, and handsomely fitted up.' 'The habitations of the Indians, consisting of long low houses built of bricks, and forming several streets. The uncleanliness in these barracks baffles description, and this is, perhaps, the cause of the great mortality;' for of 1,000, 300 die every year. Roquefeuil, *Voyage*, 24–6, says: 'The soil seems much more fertile than at the presidio, and the temperature is sensibly milder. The church is kept in good order, and handsomely decorated. It may contain from 500 to 600 persons. There is not a single seat in it.' April 3, 1818, Sola reports to the viceroy that the church is commodious and neatly adorned. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 177.

[10] Population, 1,059 to 1,252. Baptisms, 2,238; largest number, 321 in 1811; smallest, 120 in 1820; deaths, 2,100; largest number, 314 in 1815; smallest, 118 in 1819. Large stock, 12,250 to 4,695; horses, etc., 1,010 to 859; sheep, etc., 10,000 to 10,280. Crops in 1810, 7,678 bushels; in 1820, 6,280;

At mission San José Duran and Fortuni continued their ministry, baptized more Indians than the missionaries at any other establishment, buried a smaller percentage of their converts than at any other except San Luis Rey, and took the second place in the list so far as population was concerned. Sheep-raising and agriculture were also prosperous.[13] The decade was as quiet as prosperous. In January 1811 the

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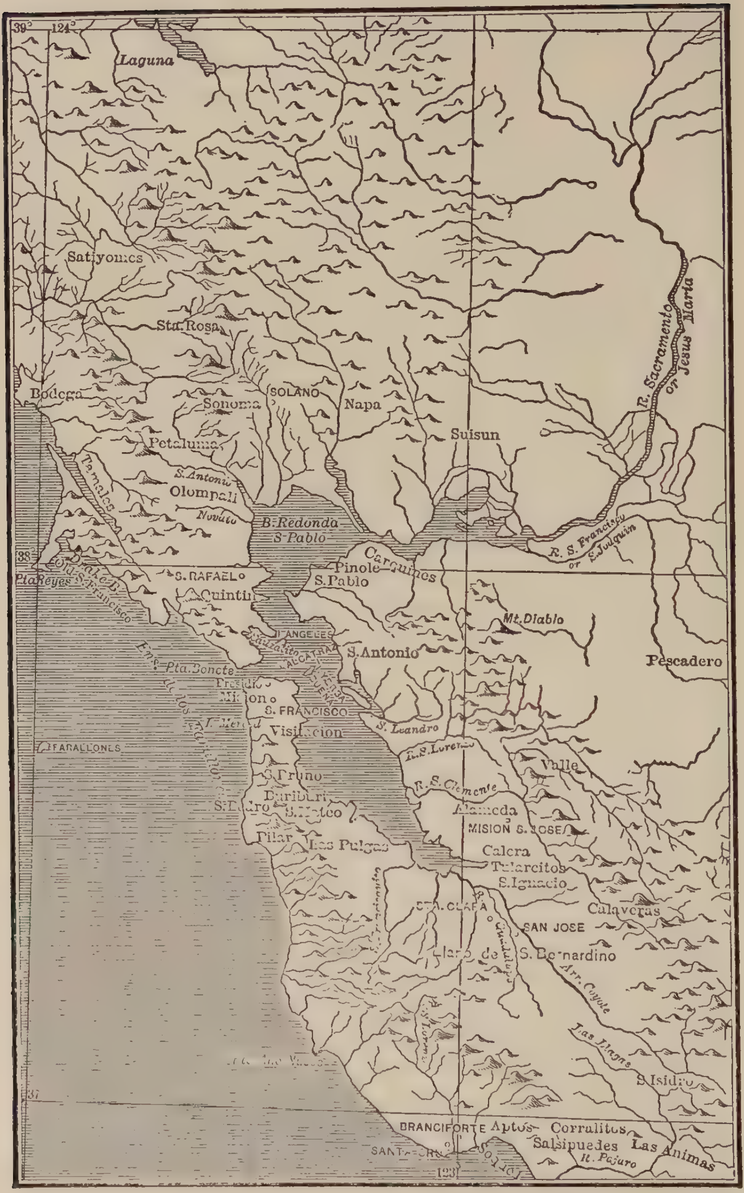
largest, 10,070 in 1814; smallest, 3,520 in 1819; average, 6,850 bushels, of which 3,900 were wheat, yielding 11 fold; 1,950 barley, eight fold; and 223 corn, 100 fold. In 1814 limits were assigned to the mission lands by Gov. Sola according to P. Esténega's statement in 1828; but 'East to Laurel Creek and south across the sierra so as to include San Pedro rancho on the coast' is the substance of information given. *Register of Brands and Marks*, MS., 1. July 22, 1814, P. Abella buried an old woman said to be 259 (?) years old, and the last living native within six leagues who could remember the founders of the mission. *S. Francisco, Lib. Mision.*, MS., 74. March 21, 1820, 20 runaways, mostly across the bay. Pomponio and his company committing ravages. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 29. The mission supplied the presidio in 1818 $1,107; in 1819, $1,500; and in 1820, to May, $683. *Id.*, iv. i. 32.

[11] Juan Saenz de Lucío was a native of Cantabria; left his college for California in February 1806; his last signature on the San Francisco books is on Aug. 7, 1815, and he seems to have spent some months at San Juan Bautista before leaving the province in November 1816. His license was announced by Sarría Nov. 6, 1815.

[12] Oct. 30, 1819, letter of P. Cabot. The stock was transferred, 'frente de su mision, tierra firme con San José,' where extensive planting was to be undertaken. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 116. Grant of San Antonio. Aug. 16, 1820. *Cal. Land Com.*, no. 4, 273, 274.

[13] Increase in population, 545 to 1,754. Baptisms, 2,601; largest number, 348 in 1812; smallest, 81 in 1814; Deaths, 1,380; largest number, 193 in 1817; smallest, 83 in 1814. Large stock, 7,190 to 6,859; horses, etc., 1,190



MAP OF SAN FRANCISCO DISTRICT, 1800–30.

dead were transferred from the old to the new cemetery. In 1813 there was an expedition after runaways, involving a fight on the San Joaquin, already recorded. In 1817 a grand *fiesta patriarcal* was held the 29th of April, to which the governor was invited; and finally in 1818 there was an Indian murder case of no special interest.[14]

The annals of Santa Clara are likewise brief and unexciting. According to the biennial mission report for 1817–18 a fine new church of adobes with tule roof had been completed during that period. Hittell and Tuthill, to say nothing of various newspaper writers, tell us that the mission church was thrown down by an earthquake in 1818; but I think there is no authority for such a statement.[15] Santa Clara was one of the six missions that still baptized over one hundred Indians per year, and had not yet reached their highest limit of population; still its death-rate was very large and its gain only twenty-five in ten years.[16] The missionaries were still Catalá and Viader.

The population of the pueblo of San José, including that of some adjoining ranchos, increased during this decade from 125 to about 240, records of population being very fragmentary like all other statistics. For

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to 859; sheep, etc., 7,002 to 12,000. Crops in 1810, 4,075 bushels; in 1820 and largest, 9,775; smallest, 3,030 in 1811; average, 6,020 bushels, of which 5,040 were wheat, yield 27 fold; 243 barley, 17 fold; and 435 corn, 132 fold.

[14] *San José, Patentes*, MS., 43; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 349–9; chap. xv. of this vol.; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 5; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 222.

[15] *Payeras, Informe Bienal, 1817–18*, MS., 302; *Hittell's Resources of Cal.*, MS., 43; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 116. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 142–3, and Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 37, state that one night in 1814 or 1815, Padre Viader was attacked by the Indian Marcelo and two companions, who were overcome by the muscular friar single-handed. They were pardoned after a homily on the terrible sin of attacking a priest, and Marcelo was afterward a faithful friend of the Spaniards.

[16] Gain in population, 1,332 to 1,357. Baptisms 1,266; largest number, 192 in 1811; smallest, 42 in 1817. Deaths, 1,158; largest number, 192 in 1811; smallest, 86 in 1814. Large stock, 8,353 to 5,024; horses, etc., 2,032 to 722; sheep, 10.027 to 12,060. Crop in 1810, 6,525 bushels; in 1820, 6,770; largest, 9,480 in 1813; smallest, 5,130 in 1811; average, 7,120, of which 4,800 were wheat, yield 16 fold; 630 barley, 33 fold; 1,117 corn, 181 fold.

1819 a list of 48 stock-raisers is given; but there is no definite mention of private ranchós, though those of Ortega and Castro were in this region and perhaps others.[17] The town was still in the military jurisdiction of Monterey; but the governor's comisionado in charge was Sergeant Luis Peralta of the San Francisco company.[18] Antonio Soto was alcalde in 1818, José Castro in 1819, and Teodosio Flores in 1820. For the earlier years I find no record. The chapel begun in 1803 was finished before 1812, in February of which year the inhabitants petitioned President Tapis for religious services, which had been promised by Lasuen whenever the chapel should be ready. In his reply the president reminded the citizens that wine, wafer, and wax were yet lacking, but authorized them to apply to the padres of Santa Clara for mass and sacraments to the sick. How the friars welcomed the call we are not informed.[19] In 1811 the citizens made a contract with the retired corporal Rafael Villavicencio to teach their children; a contract which was approved at the capital with certain modifications, including school regulations, and which may be supposed to have been carried into effect. Of educational progress nothing more is known until 1818, when Antonio Buelna was appointed teacher, and the fitting-up of a new school-room was ordered. Buelna, who had previously complained that a fanega of grain from each parent was an inadequate salary, wished to give up the school in the autumn of 1820, but was required to wait till a successor could be found, which seems to have been in the spring of 1821, when Rafael del Valle took charge.[20] The only other work of public importance to be noticed was the construction of a wagon-road with suitable bridges between San José and Monterey. In November 1816 the authorities and citizens were invited to coöperate and Sergeant José Dolores Pico was appointed to direct the work.[21]

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[17] I have no definite figures of pueblo population from 1816 when it was 137, to 1822 when it was about 285, being about 370 in 1823. Making allowance for 15 or 20 Indian inhabitants, 240 is a fair estimate from these figures. List of stock-raisers in *S. José, Arch.*, MS., vi. 4. Tithes in 1811-17 ranged from 72 to 180 fanegas of grain, and from 60 to 100 head of cattle. *S. José Arch.*, MS., vi. 52-3. In 1817 the governor reprimands the comisionado on account of the small amount of tithes collected. *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., i. 143-4. In 1811 the crop was 1,491 fan.; in 1814, 1,544 fan. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlii. 3, 7. No other years are given. In 1811 cattle numbered 4,673; horses, 296; mules, 84. In 1814, cattle, 9,896; horses, 482; mules, 89. *Id.*, xlii. 4, 8.

[18] Nov. 17, 1817, Sola to Peralta. The alcalde and regidores must come to an understanding with the comisionado, who represents the governor in all political matters. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 25. Nov. 24th, Sola to Peralta, complaining of the small amount of tithes, and blaming the comisionado for permitting the settlers to cheat him in this matter. *Id.*, i. 143-4. The sudden death of Alcalde Soto in June 1818 is alluded to by the governor. *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., i. 122, 128, 133. Joaquin Higuera and Felipe Briones were regidores in 1820. *Id.*, i. 117.

[19] *San José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 17; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 311.

Lieutenant José María Estudillo was comandante of Monterey[22] till ordered to San Diego temporarily in October 1820, when José Estrada, company alférez throughout the decade, became acting comandante of the company, and Captain José Antonio Navarrete of the post whenever in the governor's absence such an official was needed. Estrada was habilitado till 1818, after which to June 1820 the accounts were kept by José Joaquin de la Torre, who had just become a cadet in the company, having been previously the governor's secretary. Down to 1818 Raimundo Estrada had been a cadet. The company sergeants were still Ignacio Vallejo and José Dolores Pico. Manuel Quijano still served as surgeon. The force of this company was usually 81 soldiers and non-commissioned officers, one bleeder, three mechanics, five artillerymen, and 28 invalids, most of the latter living at the pueblos but being sometimes called in as volunteers or artillery-militia for the defence of the presidio. Twenty-five men were absent on escolta duty at the six missions of the jurisdiction, leaving a force of about 65 at the presidio proper and at the rancho del rey, a force increased in 1819 to

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[20] *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iv. 40-3; *Hall's Hist. S. José*, 97-101; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., v. 45; vi. 27; *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., i. 119, 121, 229-30; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 179-80.

[21] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 105.

[22] For map of Monterey district see chap. vii. this volume.

115 by the addition of Navarrete's men. The total population of the presidial district with its mission guards, given as 480 at the end of the last decade, had increased probably in 1820 to about 700 souls.[23] Adding the population of Santa Cruz and Branciforte we have a total of 795, with a corresponding neophyte population of 4,500 instead of 5,100 in 1810. Thus in what may be termed northern California we have 1,465 white persons and 8,900 neophytes, against 1,805 white men and 11,600 neophytes in the southern districts.[24]

At the end of 1816 Alférez Estrada made a report on the presidio buildings. describing them somewhat in detail. In January 1817 Sola reported that he had caused the battery to be repaired with masonry; and in his report of April 1818 he stated that the southern line of the presidio square had yet to be rebuilt, and cross-beams to be made for the northern and eastern sides, only the lieutenant's house remaining to be built besides.[25] Thus it appears that under Sola's directions a general work of reconstruction was being prosecuted. Then came the disaster of November 1818, described in a previous chapter, in which the cross-beams of the northern block were burned so that the roofs fell in, while the material collected for the lieutenant's house was badly damaged. The work of repairing the injuries caused by Bouchard's men and of completing the general work which the invasion had interrupted lasted far into 1821 if not longer, and the missions were often called upon for materials and workmen.[26] It is stated that the work of reconstruction was under the superintendence of Sergeant Vallejo, who had also a favorite plan of bringing water to the presidio from the Carmelo by an aqueduct, a plan that he could not carry out for want of means, though it was approved by Sola.[27] Ramirez brought from Mexico $1,477, which sum, with other small amounts lent by Ramirez and Sola, was spent in making preparations for the artillery reënforcement and the munitions brought by them. Indeed this is the only clear evidence extant that Ramirez and his men were in California at all in 1820.[28]

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[23] The population de razon in 1816 was 602, and I have no more definite figures until 1826, when it seems to have been 790. To the 602 I add Navarrete's 50 men, and 50 more for the natural increase in four years, which seems certainly small enough. Still it must be admitted that the figures do not rest on a very solid foundation.

[24] Amount of the Monterey pay-roll per year, $23,000. Invoice of 1815–16, $5,109. Inventories of goods in the warehouse, $10,000 to $13,000. Fonde de retencion in 1812, $2,807. Deduction for montepio and inválidos in 1816, $635. Mission supplies 1811, $7,984; 1812, $7,551. Tobacco revenue $1,732 in 1811; $2,503 in 1812. Postal revenue $69 in 1811; $49 in 1812. Tithes, $242 in 1811; $164 in 1812, not including evidently those of San José. Sales of papal bulls in 1811, $127. For the statistics of this decade see *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlii. lii. passim; *Id., Presid.*, i. 13, ii. 19; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., i. 59, 65; ii. 67, 125; iii. 3, 10–16, 29–31; v. 9, 12–13, 79–80; vi. 53, 75, 78, 99; vii. 2; viii. 1–2, 52; ix. 83, 100–1; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xvi. 60; xvii. 191; xviii. 105.

[25] In 1811, according to Tapis, the governor was going to have a baptistry built at the presidio; and the friars were to attend to baptisms there. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 84. Dec. 31, 1816, Estrada's description of Monterey buildings. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., viii. 56–7. Jan. 20, 1817, Sola to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 168; *Sola, Observaciones*, MS., 180. According to Estrada the square was 175 by 128 varas. On the north was the main entrance to the guard-house, on one side of which were a jail, barracks, and four corporals' houses; and on the other a jail, a small room for the sick, and the sergeant's house. On the south was the church, with a house of two rooms and a small gate on one side; and on the other five rooms recently re-roofed. On the east was the main gateway for horses, 14 houses, and the smithy. On the west were the officers' houses and two warehouses. On the north, outside the walls,

At Monterey, as at the other presidios and pueblos, a school was established by the efforts of Sola. Much is said of this school and the manner in which it was conducted by Corporal Archuleta, the schoolmaster, by the pupils, since prominent men in California history. But their recollections will be more appropriately noticed in some remarks to be made later on the general subject of education. In these days a retired soldier known as 'Tio Armenta' had a house at some distance from the presidio walls, to which certain men were accustomed to resort at night to play at monte. This was kept secret for a time, but at

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was a granary 10 by 15 varas. The presidio was built of stone and adobes, roofed with tiles.

[26] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 11, 44, and passim.

[27] *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 84, 172-7; *Vallejo (J. J.), Reminis.*, MS., 77.

[28] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 232, 235, 264-6.

last became known to Sola through a practical joke. Victor Arroyo, a young man, disguised himself as a bear and lay in wait on the trail to Armenta's house one night for two Spanish traders who had arrived on the *Cazadora* and had plenty of money to lose in gambling. The two were so terrified at being chased by a bear, that in their flight they fell into a ravine and were so badly hurt that a surgeon had to be summoned, and the adventure became known. The gamblers said they had been chased by eight bears, but Sola having learned from the Indians that no indications of any bears at all could be found, was led to follow up the matter, discovering the trick, bringing to light the gambling, and putting Tio Armenta in jail. The two victims, recovering, swore vengeance, not on Arroyo, but on Lieutenant Estudillo, whom they believed to be the real author of the trick; and a few months later they had the satisfaction of seeing the dignified lieutenant kept for an hour or two in the muddy waters of the Lagunita by two bears, while they with a party of friends looked on from their place of concealment near by. It was long before it was deemed safe to tell the commandant that the *osos* were Arroyo, his private secretary, and a friend in disguise.[29]

Visits of foreign vessels to Monterey in this decade, as elsewhere recorded in full, were as follows: In 1814 the *Isaac Todd* brought to California John Gilroy, the first permanent foreign resident. In 1815 came the *Columbia*, an English vessel. In 1816 there were the English *Colonel*, Captain Daniels; the *Sultan;* and the American *Lydia*, Captain Gyzelaar. In 1817 the visitors were Wilcox in the *Caminante*, three tallow-seeking Spaniards from Lima and Panamá, and the Russian Padushkin. In 1818 an English craft came from the Columbia River, and the Russian American Company was represented by Hagemeister and Golovnin, to say nothing of Bouchard's insurgent fleet. And finally in 1820 Khlébnikof anchored at Monterey in a Russian vessel.[30] Respecting private ranchos in the Monterey jurisdiction at this period I find only two items of record; one a mention of the ranchos of Ignacio Ortega and Mariano Castro, apparently in the region of San José, as inhabited places at the time of the Bouchard affair; and the other a statement that the Rancho de la Vega del Pájaro was granted to A. M. Castro in April, 1820.[31]

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[29] *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 159–71. The same author, *Id.*, i. 284–5, narrates that in 1817 a quarrel between José de la Guerra and Salvador Aspiroz led to a challenge by the latter; but the padres and governor succeeded in preventing a duel. During the heavy rains of the same year two soldiers, Cayetano Rios and Ignacio Castro, were drowned while attempting to ford a stream with the mails. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 236.

At San Cárlos a quiet decade was passed. Beyond the building and dedication of a new chapel adjoining the church, in honor of the 'pasion del señor,' intended to excite devotion and at the same time protect the mission church from the strong south winds,[32] and the slight put upon San Cárlos by the failure of Bouchard's pirates to sack the mission, there is absolutely nothing to record, except the usual statistical summary of progress. Padre Sarría served here throughout the decade, but Amorós was succeeded in 1819 by Ramon Abella. Estévan Tapis was here as supernumerary in 1812, and Vicente Pascual Oliva in 1813–14. The convert population continued to decline. Cattle and horses increased somewhat, but there was a falling-off in sheep, and crops were less satisfactory than in the preceding period.[33] In 1820 Comandante Estudillo made a full report, showing that since 1796 the friars had faithfully attended to the spiritual interests of the presidio soldiers.

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[30] See chap. xiii.–xiv. this volume.

[31] *Sola, Instruccion General 1818*, MS., 245; *Brands and Marks*, MS., 23–7. Gen. Vallejo, however, states, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 159, that four retired soldiers, Armenta, Cayuelos, Toribio, and Boronda, early in Sola's rule built houses some three fourths of a league away from the presidio; though it does not appear that they obtained more than permission to occupy building-lots.

[32] *Payeras, Informe Bienal, 1817–18*, MS., 302. In *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 225, 249, 255, 270, 288; iii. 348, are given the names of alcaldes and regidores composing the 'neophyte ayuntamiento' from 1811 to 1816.

[33] *Estudillo, Informe sobre oficios de Capellan en Monterey, 1820*, MS. Decrease in population, 513 to 381. Baptisms, 245; largest number, 41 in 1819; smallest, 18 in 1815. Deaths, 405; largest number, 52 in 1811; smallest, 22 in 1819. Large stock, 2,530 to 3,438; horses, etc., 430 to 438; sheep, etc.,

At San Luis Obispo the American smuggler *Pedler* was captured in 1814, and near by was effected the capture of Eliot de Castro in 1815. Luis Martinez continued his ministry, and was involved more or less perhaps in smuggling operations. He showed great military zeal in the campaign of 1818, and was ever ready to contribute anything the mission had to the government, either as a loan or gift, for he had but slight faith in the missionary future. Father Marquinez was replaced in 1811 by Antonio Catarino Rodriguez. San Luis continued to lose in population, but there were in 1820 three smaller missions.[34]

At San Miguel the veteran Father Juan Martin remained at his post, and so did Juan Cabot until 1819, having made a trip of exploration to the valley of the Tulares in 1814 as elsewhere narrated. Vicente Pascual Oliva served in 1819–20, and Tomás Esténega in 1820–1. A new church was ready for roofing in 1818.[35] This mission reached its largest population with 1,076 neophytes in 1814; and it had two more at the end than at the beginning of the decade, its baptisms having exceeded its burials by five. In livestock San Miguel showed an encouraging gain; but its agricultural progress was less satisfactory.[36]

6,045 to 4,032. Crop in 1810, 3,675 bushels; in 1820, 1,950; largest, 3,800 in 1818; smallest, 1,170 in 1814; average, 2,550 bushels, of which 973, wheat, yield 9.6 fold; 815, barley, 13.5 fold; beans 207, 23 fold.

[34] Decrease in population, 713 to 504; baptisms, 272; largest number, 49 in 1813; smallest, 16 in 1817; deaths, 470; largest number, 59 in 1813; smallest, 33 in 1816. Gain in large stock, 7,050 to 8,971; horses, etc., 1,050 to 1,270; sheep, etc., 9,054 to 6,800. Crop in 1810, 2,910 bushels; in 1820, 3,400; largest, 6,418 in 1819; smallest, 1,360 in 1812; average, 3,487 bushels, of which 2,985 wheat, yield 17 fold; barley, 6; corn, 222, 62 fold; beans, 64, 18 fold. José de Jesus Pico *Acontecimientos*, MS., 15–16, says that the Indians of this mission were always well dressed, better than most of the gente de razon in the country. Good blue cloth was made and woolen *manta;* also some home-grown cotton was woven.

[35] *Payeras, Informe Bienal, 1817–18*, MS., 302. In subscribing for subsistence of troops in 1815, San Miguel could give only wine and wool. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 202.

[36] Increase in population, 973 to 975; baptisms, 603; largest number, 135

At San Antonio Pedro Cabot and Juan Sancho still toiled together, and were obliged to bury many more Indians than they baptized. The new church was still in progress in 1812, but there is no record of its completion before 1820.[37]

Father Antonio Jaime still remained at his post in La Soledad; but his associate, Florencio Ibañez, died in 1818,[38] and left Jaime alone until Juan Cabot came

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in 1813; smallest, 31 in 1818; deaths, 598; largest number, 73 in 1811; smallest, 41 in 1812. Gain in large stock, 5,281 to 9,449; horses, etc., 581 to 1,349; sheep, etc., 11,160 to 14,160. Crops in 1810, 7,309 bushels; in 1820, 1,587; largest, 3,433 in 1815; smallest, 909 fan. in 1812; average, 2,310 bushels, of which wheat 1,830, yield 11 fold; barley, 200, 7 fold; corn, 243, 116 fold.

[37] Decline in population—1,124 to 878. Baptisms, 489; largest number, 59 in 1812; smallest, 24 in 1820. Deaths, 727; largest number, 81 in 1815; smallest, 61 in 1820. Increase in large stock, 3,700 to 6,596; horses, etc., 700 to 796; sheep, etc., 8,066 to 9,910. Crops in 1810, 3,085 bushels; in 1820, 3,270; largest, 4,790 in 1818; smallest, 2,310 in 1819. Average, 3,300 bushels, of which 2,650 wheat, yield 11 fold; 375 corn, 228 fold; 127 barley, 6 fold. New adobe church mentioned as being built in May 1812. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 297. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 58, says the flour from San Antonio was famous throughout California, and considered by far the best made in the province.

[38] Florencio Ibañez, or as he and others wrote it, Ybañez, was a man of large and varied experience, and quite famous among his associates. He was born at Tarragona in Catalonia, Spain, on Oct. 26, 1740, and became a Franciscan at the convent of Jesus at Zaragoza Feb. 8, 1757. Here he received the several orders, serving as master of the choir; and afterward served as *precentor* at the convent at Calatayud. He arrived at the college of San Fernando de Mexico in May 1770, and was attached to the choir there until 1774, when failing health induced him to obtain a transfer to a convent in Michocan, whence in 1781 he was transferred again to the college of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, as a member of which company he served 17 years in Sonora, chiefly at Dolores del Saric, making the journey out and back on foot. In 1800 he again joined the college of San Fernando, and was sent in 1801 to California. He served until 1803 at San Antonio, and from that time until his death on Nov. 26, 1818, at La Soledad, where he was buried next day by Jaime and Sarría in the mission church.

In a report of 1817 Prefect Sarría pronounced Ibañez a missionary of mediocre ability, who could be relied on only for masses and like routine duties except in cases of urgent necessity. The criticism seems to have been directed chiefly against his lack of success as a doctrinal preacher and instructor of Indians; and it was attributed by Ibañez himself to his ignorance of the native language. In matters connected with temporal management he seems to have been very active and intelligent. In person he was tall, broad-shouldered, and of great strength. In character he was noted for his kindness to all of low estate or whom he deemed in any way oppressed. He was fond of teaching the soldiers of the escolta to read and write; and never tired of instructing the neophytes in work and music. He seems to have had an inclination, or an affectation, to show on every possible occasion his regard for the poor and lowly, and his disregard for those of higher position. Nothing in the way of food was too good for a private soldier; but to officers Ibañez rarely showed even courtesy, feeding them from the common *pozolero*, and declaring that they had their pay and might live on it. It was sometimes hinted by him in 1820. In population Soledad was now the smallest mission in the province except San Cárlos; but there was a gain in all the different kinds of live-stock, and crops were less irregular than in the preceding decade.[39]

At San Juan Bautista, Arroyo de la Cuesta was still senior minister; but his associate, Ulibarri, was succeeded in January 1815 by Estévan Tapis. Saenz de Lucío was also here for a time in 1816. The new mission church was at last finished, and was dedicated on June 23, 1812, the padres of Santa Clara and San José aiding in the ceremonies, and Don Manuel Gutierrez of Los Angeles standing as sponsor. In 1818, a new altar was completed. For its decoration the painter Chavez demanded six reales per day, more than the mission could pay, and accordingly the Yankee Felipe Santiago, or Thomas Doak, undertook the job. Let us hope with the padres that "the Anglo-American, by the aid of God and of some *muchachos*," succeeded in the enterprise, and that the altar was consecrated in November as intended.[40] This

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that he had left Sonora on account of a personal quarrel with an officer, which may account for his strange prejudice. Yet Arrillaga and Ibañez were always firm friends, having known each other in the south. On Arrillaga's second coming to California he was welcomed by the friar at Soledad with vocal and instrumental music, and with verses composed by the reverend poet himself. The verses, if correctly preserved by Inocente García, were more creditable to the author's friendship for Arrillaga than to his poetical skill. A quatrain composed on hearing of Sola's arrival ran as follows:

'De Sola el nuevo gobierno
Echando á la bigornia
Convertirá en un infierno
A toda la California.'

In his last illness the friar refused to excuse himself from any of the duties imposed by his church or order. Sarría, who was serving as chaplain at the camp on the Salinas, hastened to Soledad to perform the last sad offices for the old missionary, and to leave in the mission record a narrative of his life and virtues. *Soledad, Lib. Mision*, MS., 22. See also Sarría's report of Nov. 5, 1817, in *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 60-1; *García, Hechos*, MS., 31-4; and *Autobiog. Autog.*, MS. In fragments of the old mission books of Pimería, are the signatures of Ibañez as *Conministro* of Caborca in April 1796; and as minister of Saric in 1783, officiating often at San Francisco del Atí down to 1790.

[39] Decline in population, 600 to 435. Baptisms, 349; largest number, 59 in 1817; smallest, 13 in 1819. Deaths, 403; largest number, 48 in 1715; smallest, 32 in 1817. Large stock, 2,987 to 6,030; horses, etc., 286 to 1,030; sheep, etc., 8,038 to 9,040. Crop in 1810, 3,085 bushels; in 1820, 2,653; largest, 4,273 in 1817; smallest, 1,575 in 1815; average, 2,883 bushels, of which 1,537 wheat, yield 11 fold; 415 barley, 21 fold; 421 corn, 88 fold.

[40] Church not done in May 1812. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 297. Dedication,

mission was still gaining in neophytes, though it had shown a decrease during the first six years of the decade. In cattle it was far in advance of any other establishment in the north.[41]

There were frequent changes in the ministers of Santa Cruz. Quintana served till 1812, Rodriguez till 1811, Tapis for a time in 1812, Marquinez in 1811–17, Escudé in 1812–18, Olbés from 1818, and Gil from the end of 1820. Of the number Quintana died in 1812, and Marquinez left the country in 1817.[42] The former was found dead in his bed on the morning of October 12, 1812, and was buried by Viader and Duran, who chanced to be at Santa Cruz, on the 13th. The suddenness of the death caused an investigation, which at Arrillaga's order was conducted by Lieutenant Estudillo during the following week; but the conclusion was that there were no signs of violence,

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S. Juan B., Lib. Mision, MS., 17. According to a scrap in *Hayes' Mission Book*, i. 147, the church was 160x60 feet, paved with brick, and the ceiling supported by brick arches. Altar and its decorations. *Payeras, Informe Bienal, 1817–18*, MS., 302. Tapis to Sola, Oct. 12, 1818. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 45. Justo Larios, *Convulsiones*, 2–3, relates that his father, José María Larios, was killed by a bear in November 1818 at Las Aromas rancho.

[41] Increase in population, 702 to 843; 575 in 1816. Baptisms, 710; largest number, 213 in 1820; smallest, 23 in 1814. Deaths, 543; largest number, 69 in 1819; smallest, 35 in 1817. Large stock, 6,175 to 11,700; horses, etc., 575 to 700; sheep, 9,720 to 9,530. Crops in 1810, 7,173 bushels; in 1820, and largest, 6,708; smallest, 894 in 1815. Average, 3,333 bushels, of which 2,200 wheat, yield 22 fold; 132 barley, 20 fold; 735 corn, 128 fold.

As a sample of statistics that have been current I may note the statement by Cronise that San Juan had in 1820, 43,870 cattle, 6,230 horses, and 69,870 sheep! In January 1820 President Tapis reported that many Indians of the Tulares had come to San Juan asking for baptism. *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, March 21, 1862. July 30, 1817, P. Arroyo informs the governor that he is about to dye wool. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 145.

[42] Marcelino Marquinez was a native of Treviño, Vizcaya, Spain, born in May 1779, took the habit at Vitoria in November 1798, and came to the college of San Fernando in 1804. He arrived in California in July 1810, served at San Luis Obispo from September of that year to November 1811, and then at Santa Cruz until May 1817. As late as 1821 he was still living at the college, and occasionally corresponded with Gov. Sola on the condition of public affairs. This friar was possessed of much ability in the management of temporal affairs, and had some skill in medicine; and he was, moreover, a sensible man, and witty in his methods of expression, as shown in his letters to Sola. He was subject to attacks of colic, having on one occasion in 1816 taken the sacraments in expectation of death, and his ill health was doubtless the cause of his retirement. *Sarria, Informe del ex-Prefecto 1817*, MS., 65–6; *Marquinez, Cartas al Gobr. Sola*, MS., *Autobiog. Autog.*, MS.

and that the frair, who for some time had been in poor health, unable to dress himself unaided, had died a natural death.[43] About two years later suspicions were aroused; a new investigation was made, and it was ascertained that Quintana had been called from his room at night to visit a man said to be dying, and that while on his way he had been murdered in a diabolical way and replaced in his bed, the door of his room being carefully locked. Nine or ten neophytes were tried for the crime, and the case was sent to Mexico for final sentence. Respecting the discovery of the crime and the details of the trial there are no original records extant.[44]

In the spring of 1816 the sentence came from Mexico, by which five of the culprits were condemned to receive two hundred lashes each and to work in chains from two to ten years. Two others of the accused had meanwhile died in prison, and one of the five, Lino, supposed to have been the leader, died in 1817 at Santa Bárbara, where the convicts had been sent to serve out their time. Galindo states that only one survived the punishment.[45] In the sentence it appears that the defence of the murderers had been excessive cruelty on the part of the murdered friar, who it was testified had beaten two neophytes almost to death, and had ordered the making of a new instrument of torture, to escape which his death had been planned. The officials in Mexico evidently attached some importance to this testimony, and Sola felt himself called upon to reply.[46] He denied the charges of the neophytes, and eulogized Quintana as a model of kindness, who had sacrificed his life in the cause of duty; first in leaving San Cárlos to relieve his sick associate, and then in rising from a sick-bed to visit that of a neophyte supposed to be dying. And still further, the governor declared that after a close investigation he could find no evidence of cruelty on the part of the padres generally, their errors being for the most part on the side of mercy.[47]

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[43] Certificate of burial by P. Marquinez, who arrived from Monterey just after the ceremony, with a brief biographical sketch, in *Sta Cruz, Lib. Mision*, MS., 36-7; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 102. Oct. 13, 1812, comandante of S. Francisco to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 323. Oct. 15th, Arrillaga to Estudillo, and to Argüello. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 221-2; xii. 223. Oct. 23d, Estudillo's report. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xliv. 21.

[44] Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 12-14, says that a dying Indian at San Luis Obispo confessed that he was one of the murderers. Galindo, *Apuntes*, MS., 63-4, states that the revelation resulted from a quarrel between two women. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 98-100, tells us that the majordomo Cárlos Castro overheard some Indians talking about serving another padre in the same way. Amador, *Memorias*, MS., 77-8, says 16 Indians were accused, and taken to San Francisco by himself. The authors mentioned give many absurdly inaccurate details which it is unnecessary to reproduce; but *Simpson's Narr.*, 364-5, may be noticed as equally unfounded. He says that in 1823 Quintanes, priest at Sta Cruz, was brutally and fatally mutilated by an Indian whose wife the padre had seduced. The man, according to the popular rumor, was carried off by the devil for his impiety, and it was long before the truth was known through the woman's confessions. The general facts about the murder are briefly stated, however, in a marginal note attached to the record in the mission-book already noticed, in a statement of the president on May 13, 1815. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 93-4, and in the *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 86.

[45] There are some slight discrepancies respecting the numbers, names, and

The leading event of Santa Cruz annals in this decade was the flurry caused by Bouchard's appearance in 1818, with the resulting charges made by Padre Olbés against the *villanos;* but this affair with all its interesting and amusing complications has been fully recorded elsewhere. In 1815–16 there had been expeditions after runaway neophytes of which not much is known, but the rancherías of Pitemas and of Malmí are named. In 1817 Wilcox visited Santa Cruz in the *Traveller;* and the same year, on petition of the padres, the rancho known as Bolsa de Salsipuedes, belonging to Branciforte, was provisionally ceded to the mission by the villa on condition that it

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sentences of the culprits, which it is not necessary to notice. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 135, 138–9; xi. 33; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 7; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 75–6. On Nov. 21, 1820, another neophyte, Alberto, imprisoned at San Francisco, was examined on the subject, and confessed that he had been urged to join the conspiracy and had refused, having done wrong in not revealing the plot and in subsequently running away. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 59–61.

[46] *Sola, Defensa del P. Quintana y otros Misioneros, 1816*, MS.; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 138–9.

[47] Andrés Quintana was a native of Antoñana, Álava, Spain. He landed at Monterey Aug. 31, 1805, and was minister of Santa Cruz from November of that year until his death on Oct. 12, 1812.

must be given up at any time on six months' notice.[48] Olbés was back at the mission in February 1819, when he complained to Argüello that all but three of his neophytes had fled because they had been told at the villa that soldiers were coming to take them all prisoners. This irritable friar's troubles with his citizen neighbors were well nigh unceasing.[49] In population Santa Cruz lost heavily during the first half of the decade, but gained after 1816, some new ranchería of gentiles having apparently been discovered. The mission raised good crops and was quite successful with its cattle and sheep.[50]

The population of Branciforte I give as 75 in 1820, though that figure rests on no more solid foundation than the record that it was 40 in 1815, 53 in 1818, and 114 in 1822.[51] The corporal in charge, or comisionado, seems to have been changed each year, and the position was held by José Rodriguez, Juan José Peralta, Marcos Briones, Luz García, José Antonio Robles, Joaquin Buelna, and Manuel Rodriguez from 1810 to 1819, there being no record for 1813-14, 1816, and 1820. In March 1816 Sola issued a series of instructions to the comisionado for the government of the villa. The general purport of this document was that harmony and good morals must be maintained, and particular precautions taken to prevent adultery, gambling, and drunkenness; that a performance of religious duties must be enforced by a free use of the stocks; that no intercourse of any kind was to be permitted between the citizens and the Indians; that persons wishing to settle at Branciforte must apply to the governor; that no person could leave the villa without the governor's permission; that the settlers must be made to work; and finally, that full reports must be sent in of lands and crops.[52] At the beginning of the decade there was some correspondence about work on the Santa Clara road. There are preserved a few minor items relating to petty criminal proceedings, including one disgusting incest case in 1819,[53] but beyond these items and others recorded in connection with Santa Cruz there is absolutely nothing to be added either in the way of events or statistics. San Rafael, the only establishment north of the bay, has already been disposed of as a new foundation.

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[48] Correspondence in May and June 1817. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 134-6.

[49] Feb. 24, 1819, Olbés to Argüello, in *Id.*, iii. pt. ii. 63-4.

[50] Decrease in population, 507-461. Baptisms, 393; largest number, 112 in 1820; smallest, 8 in 1813. Deaths, 399; largest number, 51 in 1813; smallest, 33 in 1817. Large stock, 1,753 to 3,492; horses, etc., 953 to 492; sheep, 3,098 to 5,700. Crops in 1810, 2,734 bushels; in 1820, 4,300; largest, 8,400 in 1818; smallest, 826 in 1817; average, 3,142 bushels, of which 1,482 wheat, yield 26 fold; 414 barley, 33 fold; 678 corn, 266 fold.

Willey, *Centen. Sketch Sta Cruz*, 14, gives some statistics of 1814. In *Sta Cruz, Parróquia*, MS., 10, 24-7, are some accounts for the years 1812-16, showing about $500 per year to have been supplied to San Francisco presidio. In 1817 the *chahuistle* destroyed the wheat crop. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 5.

[51] In 1818 there were 11 houses and 53 inhabitants. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 190. See also, on population, *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlii. 2, 4-5; xlvi. 30; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 105. Of the 11 vecinos who signed the concession of Salsipuedes to the mission in 1817, only two could write. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 135.

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[52] *Sola, Instrucciones al Comisionado de Branciforte, 1816,* MS.

[53] *Sta Cruz, Arch.,* MS., 13; *Sta Cruz, Peep,* 47; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.,* MS., l. 32-44.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MISSION AFFAIRS.

1811–1820.

Population—Missionaries—Neophytes, Baptisms, Deaths, Agriculture, and Live-stock—President—Comisario Prefecto—Guardian—Mission Documents—Decree of Secularization—Duties of Friars—Exhortations of Supervisors—Extravagant Luxury—Autobiography of the Padres—Mission Management—Need of New Workers—Cession to College of Orizaba—Protest of Payeras and Southern Friars—Señan to Write a History—Ecclesiastical Affairs—Inquisition.

I have now to present some general views of provincial progress for the decade, partly summarized from other chapters but chiefly composed of additional matter. In population of Spanish and mixed blood, known as gente de razon, I note an increase from 2,130 in 1810 to 3,270 in 1820. This total is the sum of the figures elsewhere given for the several districts. Some of those figures are not quite exact, resting on estimates from the population a few years before or after 1820; but the total given, if not altogether satisfactory, is as nearly so as it can be made. General official estimates for the whole province are: 1,969 in 1811, 2,370 in 1814, and 2,674 in 1816; while in 1817 Sola states that the population was 3,000 souls. I suppose there may be an error in this last statement; but taking the figures for 1811–16 and adding the average of natural increase, we have 3,242 for 1820, apparently agreeing with my total obtained in another way, but not really so, since besides the natural increase there had been an accession of 200 soldiers from San Blas and Mazatlan. Thus it would seem that my total of 3,270 is rather under than over the actual number; yet the reports of later years apparently call for a reduction rather than an increase.[1] The foreign population, that is, of other than Spanish or Indian blood, was as yet small, the number in 1820, so far as definite records show, being 13, as follows: three Americans, Thomas Doak and Daniel Call of 1816, and Joseph Chapman of 1818; two Scotchmen, John Gilroy of 1814, and John Rose of 1818; two Englishmen, Thomas Lester of 1817, and Ignacio Thomas of 1818; one Irishman, John Mulligan of 1814-15; one Russian, José Bolcof of 1815; one Portuguese, Antonio Rocha of 1815; and three negroes, Bob or Juan Cristóbal of 1816, M. J. Pascual, and Fisher or Norris of 1818.[2] The total of neophyte population had increased from 18,800 to 20,500 in the ten years.

There were nineteen missions in 1820, as in 1810, that is, if we regard San Rafael as a branch of San Francisco, as indeed it was at this time, just as San Antonio de Pala was a branch of San Luis Rey; yet as San Rafael later became a regular mission, and as the opening of a separate set of registers shows it to have been regarded in a slightly different light from Pala, it is perhaps best to increase the total number of missions to twenty. Of the thirty-nine missionaries in the province at the end of 1810, four retired to their college before 1820; seven died at their posts; and nine was the number of new-comers, so that thirty-seven still remained at work, not two for each establishment, to say nothing of those incapacitated for active service by age or infirmity. Death had now taken Father Dumetz, the only survivor among Junípero Serra's companions, and had left Señan as the sole representative of those who came to the country before 1790. Likewise Miguel had been taken from the twelve who came before 1800. None of the departing friars require special mention, nor of the new-comers, though nearly all the latter became well known in the province which was long their home.[8]

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[1] For the general statements referred to, see *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlii. 2, 6; xlvi. 30; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxxiii. 105; *Sola, Inf. Gen., 1817*, MS., 162; *Id., Observaciones*, MS., 1818, 191.

[2] For information about these men before 1820, see chapters xi., xiii., xiv., of this volume. For a list of foreign residents ten years later, see p. 680.

Baptisms were, in round numbers, 18,000, 8,000 being so-called adults and 10,000 children under eight years. The smallest number in any year was 1,254 in 1814, and the largest was 2,417 in 1811 Deaths numbered 15,500, of which 10,000 were adults. The highest number was 1,674 in 1815, and the lowest 1,343 in 1814. The death-rate was 86 per cent of baptisms and 42 per cent of total population. In 1815 the president stated that in many years there were three

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[8] The 39 serving in 1810—those who died before 1820 in italics, and those who retired marked with a *—were as follows: Abella, *Amestoy, Amorós, Arroyo, Barona, Boscana, Cabot (J.), Cabot (P.), *Calzada*, Catalá, *Dumetz*, Duran, Fortuni, Gil, *Ibañez*, Jaime, *Marquinez, Martin, Martinez, *Miguel*, *Muñoz, *Panto*, Payeras, Peyri, *Quintana*, Rodiquez, *Saenz, Saizar, Sanchez, Sancho, Sarría, Señan, Suñer, Tapis, Ulibarri, Uría, *Urresti*, Viader, and Zalvidea.

The nine new-comers were: Altimira, Escudé, Esténega, Martin, Nuez, Olbés, Oliva, Ordaz, and Ripoll. In the spring of 1811 six padres were destined for California, but were delayed by the insurrection at San Blas. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 301. They started in July for Acapulco, where they were delayed by a pestilence, and left one of their number, Oliva, sick. The others, Escudé, Martin, Nuez, Olbés, and Ripoll, sailed, and arrived in Lower California April 23d, starting north in May, and reaching San Diego July 6, 1812, except Olbés, who was delayed by illness. Oliva recovered and arrived at Monterey Aug. 4, 1813. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 89; *Autobiog. de los Padres*, MS.; *Sarría, Inf. del Comisario Prefecto, 1817*, MS. Meanwhile, Dumetz had died in 1811; Panto, Quintana, and Urresti in 1812; and Miguel in 1813. In 1814 Calzada died and Amestoy left the province. In 1815 two of the padres only were of American birth. *Indios, Contestacion*, MS., 113. These two were Gil and Rodriquez; a third, Calzada, having died before. In 1816, Saenz retired, and in 1817, Munoz and Marquinez. In 1818, Sola reports four missions with only one padre each. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 195–6. In Sept. 1818, the guardian wrote that only lack of vessels prevented several good friars from coming. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 324. This year Ibañez died. In Sept. 1819 Suñer was refused permission to retire by the governor. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 44–5. Finally in 1820, 8 friars were expected, 4 Fernandinos, and 4 from Orizaba; and the former arrived in August on the *Señoriano and San Francisco*. They were Altimira, Esténega, Ibarra, and Ordaz. See correspondence in *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 328–30; xii. 397; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt. ii. 79–80; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 198; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 33; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 31, deaths to two births. The gain in neophytes was 1,700, from 18,800 in 1810 to 20,500 in 1820, or nine per cent, as against 39 per cent for the last decade; but as we have seen, the total had been about as large in 1805 as it was in 1820. From 1805 to 1825 the variation is hardly noticeable. The difference between baptisms and deaths in this decade was 2,500, exceeding the registered gain in population by 1,300, which may be regarded as representing not very accurately the apostates. Marriages ranged from 729 in 1811 to 322 in 1814, averaging 535 per year for the decade. Among the gente de razon, as registered in the mission books, there were 1,375 baptisms, 535 deaths, and 250 marriages.

In this period of ten years the mission cattle increased from 121,400 to 140,000; horses from 17,400 to 18,000; mules from 1,565 to 1,882; and sheep from 157,000 to 190,000. Agricultural products averaged 113,625 bushels per year, or 5,970 bushels for each mission. The largest crop was 139,500 bushels in 1817; and the smallest, 93,000 in 1814; yet not a single mission raised its smallest crop in 1814, and only four their largest in 1817. Five was the largest number of missions that raised their largest crop in any one year, 1818; while only 1816 was not the best year for any mission. On the other hand, three missions produced their smallest crop in 1812, three others in 1820, and only 1814 was unrepresented among the worst years. These figures show that there were no years of general drought, and that local drought was more or less under control by means of irrigating works. Of the average crop above noted, 67,380 bushels were wheat; 16,230, barley; 22,920, corn; 2,655, beans; and 4,440, pease and miscellaneous grains. Wheat yielded 15.6 for one; barley, 14.6; corn, 180 for one, nearly double the previous yield; beans, 24; and minor grains, 34. The lowest and highest crops of each kind were: wheat, 49,500 bushels in 1814, 82,500 in 1818; barley, 7,500 in 1820, and

24,000 in 1818; corn, 5,000 in 1815, and 33,000 in 1817; beans, 1,950 in 1813, and 3,600 in 1818; minor grains, 3,300 in 1812, and 5,850 in 1818. A comparison of all these statistics with those of the preceding decade shows a notable improvement in stock-raising and agricultural industry, and this despite certain obstacles with which the reader is familiar, albeit with certain encouragements also in the increased demand for products.[4]

The presidency of the missions was held by Estévan Tapis until 1812. On July 13th of that year the discretory of the college in Mexico elected José Señan, "religioso de ciencia, prudencia, y experiencia," to succeed Tapis. The appointment was announced in California in November, and Señan assumed the duties of the office in December, receiving also the appointment of vicar from the bishop, continuing to reside at San Buenaventura, and holding the office till 1815.[5] The president's powers were, however, abridged at this time by the creation of a new and superior office. On the same day that Señan was elected president there was also an election of a *comisario prefecto*, at which Señan received twenty-three votes, and Sarría was elected by twenty-seven votes. This was announced July 15th by Juan Bautista Ceballos, who signed himself visitador and president of the college of San Fernando, and who by special commission of the comisario general of the Indies had presided at the election. It was a year later, in July 1813, that

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[4] For mission statistics, see *Señan, Informes Bienales 1811–14*, MS., and *Payeras, Informes Bienales 1815–20*, MS. Also the annual and biennial reports of each mission, most of which are preserved in one archive or another, many of them at Sta Bárbara. See *Misiones, Informes Anuales y Bienales, Indice y Notas*, MS. See also general tables for 1811 and 1814 in *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 105; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlii. 3–5, 78. I deem it unprofitable to refer in detail to the hundreds of sources from which much of my statistical information is derived. Few documents in the archives do not contain some information in this direction.

[5] July 15, 1812, guardian to Señan, announcing his election, and enjoining upon him the *santa obediencia*, in *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 11, and elsewhere, since the document was copied into the *Libro de Patentes* of each mission. Nov. 1812, Señan to Tapis. Dec. 8th, Señan to padres, in *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 320–1; xii. 355.

Sarría announced his assumption of the office.[6] The duties of his position were not specified in the announcement of his election, but were made clear, not only by the prefect's subsequent acts, but by an exposition of the matter by Sarría in later years.[7] The prefect was the president's superior, or prelate, and delegate, or representative, of the Franciscan comisario general of Indies in Madrid. He was likewise comisario of the inquisition, and had full control of all matters pertaining to the temporal management of the missions. The president, on the other hand, while charged with *debida obediencia* to the prefect in business matters, was responsible as a missionary official only to the guardian of San Fernando College, and was the bishop's vicar, or representative, in ecclesiastical affairs. As to their authority over the friars in respect to missionary duties not connected with the temporalities, I am unable to make a satisfactory distinction between prefect and president; but there was never any clashing between the two, nor any apparent jealousy. Prefect Sarría's headquarters was at San Cárlos, but he travelled much from place to place, and one of the friars at the mission where he chanced to be served as his secretary.

In 1815 President Señan resigned, and Mariano Payeras was chosen to take his place. The election was announced from Mexico by Guardian Calzada, the 24th of July, and by the new president in California the 22d of November. In December he asked the bishop for the usual appointment as vicario foraneo, which he obtained a year later. He resigned in 1818, but his resignation was not accepted, as he was informed by Guardian Lopez the 12th of September, and as he notified the padres the 31st of December.[8] For a time Payeras had all the old authority of president, as the guardian notified him that in the absence of orders from Spain no election for prefect had been held, and the office no longer existed.[9] No official information on the subject reached Sarría; but he announced in a circular that on the expiration of his term of six years, with the six months in addition required by the rules of his order, he would no longer hold the position; repeating his determination in another circular the day before the whole term expired. President Payeras also issued two circulars, accepting "with great sorrow" the full responsibilities of the presidency as it existed in former years.[10]

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[6] July 15, 1812, Ceballos to Sarría. July 7, 13, 1813, Sarría to the padres. *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 54–7; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 304–7. Certified by Viader on July 11th, in *Sta Clara, Parroquia*, MS., 24. Certificate of election by the secretary of the discretory on July 28, 1813. Sarría. 27 votes; Señan, 23; and Garijo, 13. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 435.

[7] Sept. 17, 1823, Sarría to governor. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 72–3. He cites as authorities statements of the guardian.

In October 1819, however, a new election was held, and Payeras was raised to the position of prefect, while Señan was again made president. The two officials assumed their respective positions April 1, 1820, and on the 4th Señan was also appointed by his prelate as vice-prefect. Señan was likewise vicar, and Payeras commissary of the holy inquisition.[11]

There are extant several important documents bearing on mission affairs and dated in the different years

[8] July 24, 1815, guardian to Payeras, announcing election, and imposing subjection to his prelate the prefect. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 353–4; *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 128–9; *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 16; *Sta Clara, Parroquia*, MS., 24. Nov. 22d, announcement in Cal. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 103. Appointment as vicar in 1816. *Id.*, iii. pt. i. 40; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 124. Reappointment in 1818. Original circular of Payeras, Dec. 31st, in *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 409–16; *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 18; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 164.

[9] Sept. 12, 1818. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 17–18; *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 343; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 324; xii. 316–18. The meeting of the chapter at which the matter came up seems to have been held on Aug. 8th. *Id.*, xi. 164.

[10] Dec. 18, 1818, Jan. 12, 1819, Sarría's circulars. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 163–8; xii. 116–18. Dec. 31st, Jan. 19th, Payeras' circulars. *Id.*, xii. 541–5; x. 296; *Arch. Azob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 48.

[11] Communications of Oct. 11, 1819, April 1 and April 4, 1820, in *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 20, 78; *Sta Clara, Parroquia*, MS., 25; *S. José, Fatentes*, MS., 353–9; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 192, 194; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 294; xii. 455–6. Payeras elected by 18 votes. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 27, 29. Aug. 21, 1820, bishop grants powers of vicario foraneo. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 103. The guardians of San Fernando college so far as the records show during this decade were, Agustin Garijo in 1811, Miguel Lull in 1812, Juan Calzada in 1815, Baldomero Lopez, formerly of California, in 1818 and 1819. The procurador at Mexico was Pedro Martinez in 1812, and Juan Cortés from 1818. The síndicio at Tepic was Eustacio de la Cuesta until 1819, and subsequently Juan Martiarena. Ignacio Estrada was síndico at Guadalajara in 1820.

of this decade, by the mention and grouping of which I may best place before the reader what remains to be said upon the general topic. And first I may notice the subject of secularization, in later years the ground of bitter controversy, but not yet agitated in California. In theory it was the duty of the missionaries to convert and instruct the natives, fit them for citizenship, and finally turn them over to the care of the regular clergy. The missions were never intended to be permanent institutions. Practically, however, the friars were never ready for the change; always declared that the neophytes were not yet fit to become citizens, and never gave up a mission of any value without a struggle. These contests with episcopal authorities had been bitter and not infrequent in various parts of America for more than two centuries, and many missions had been secularized in spite of the friars' arguments and protests. But, as I have said, the Californian establishments were as yet undisturbed, not even threatened, because the bishop, if he desired to get possession, which is doubtful, had no curates at his disposal who could be put in charge. The missionaries in California knew this, and had no fear of ecclesiastical interference. Elsewhere, however, in the missions of Guiana, South America, the bishop did interfere, and with such success that on September 13, 1813, the córtes of Spain passed a decree to the effect that all missions in America that had been founded ten years should at once be given up to the bishop "without excuse or pretext whatever, in accordance with the laws." It was provided that friars might be appointed if necessary as temporary curates, and that one or two might remain in each district where they had convents and had been serving as curates; but with these few and temporary exceptions they must move on to new conversions, and must at once yield the management of temporalities, the mission lands having to be reduced to private ownership, and the neophytes to be governed by their ayuntamientos and the civil authorities.[12] This decree, perfectly in accord with Spanish law and policy, applied to the missions of California and of all America as directly as to those of Guiana, and it certainly was something more than "an opinion that the missions ought to be secularized," as some of the land-lawyers have regarded it,[13] but there was no attempt to enforce it in California, where it was not officially published as a law, and perhaps not even known, for eight years. So safe did the friars deem themselves that in 1819, and perhaps also in 1818, President Payeras by direction of his college informed the bishop that he might put clergymen in charge of the southern missions if he thought them 'ripe' for the change.[14]

In several mission papers the padres were instructed in their duties or exhorted to a faithful performance of the same. Sarría, on assuming the office of prefect, issued a pastoral letter,[15] bristling with learned quotations, very general in its nature, with no direct bearing on the state of affairs in California, and dealing almost exclusively with the spiritual interests of padres and neophytes. The author, with profuse expressions of his own unworthiness, enjoined a strict compliance with Franciscan rules, and uttered a warning against neglect of the annual religious exercises of the friars for their own benefit. He favored the acquiring of the native languages to insure real instruction in the Christian mysteries,[16] and devoted more than half the articles of his pastoral to details of spiritual training of neophytes. He reminded the missionaries that in the absence of curates the souls of the gente de razon must by no means be neglected. He alluded to the care of temporalities as a duty which must not detract attention from more solemn spiritual obligations, and closed as he had begun, with a general exhortation.

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[12] *Secularizacion, Decreto de las Córtes de 13 de Setiembre de 1813*, MS. See also partial translations and mentions of the document in *Jones' Report*, no. 8; *Halleck's Report*, 125; *Dwinelle's Colon. Hist.*, 39; *St. Pap. Miss. and Col.*, MS., ii. 59–60; *Hall's Hist. S. José*, 430–1; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 126; *Taylor's Eldorado*, i. 181; also official mention in Feb. 1821 by the guardian in *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 491–2.

[13] Dwinelle erroneously says it 'never attained the form or force of a law.'

[14] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 188, 219.

[15] *Sarría, Exhortacion Pastoral del P. Comisario Prefecto, 1813*, MS. Dated S. Cárlos. July 8, 1813, and divided into 48 articles. Also in *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 12–16.

[16] He also favored the teaching of Spanish to the Indians in accordance with the king's wishes. What he objected to, and very sensibly, was the parrot-like repetitions by neophytes of religious forms in a language they did not understand. Especially he urged the rendering of the doctrina and cate-

In 1817 the prefect again addressed the friars on their missionary duties.[17] This time he had more definite suggestions to make, having just completed a tour of inspection, which, as he affirms, had filled him in a general way with joy and satisfaction. Yet he had noted a few rooms of the friars much too large and sumptuously furnished for the "cells of poor evangelical toilers." He was grieved at this, and at certain comforts in dress and food more in accord with the "spirit of the century" than with Franciscan rules. He entreated them to avoid scrupulously every appearance of worldly ease, and not even to wear shoes except in cases of great necessity and on formal permission from prelate or confessor. A caution was given to avoid suspicious company and all counsel and association with women, that no breath of scandal might be raised. The matter of neglect to teach in the vernacular was touched upon more emphatically than before, and the case of a Jesuit, miraculously warned from heaven not to preach in Spanish, was cited. He had noted a few cases where persons had died without the sacraments. The padres were reminded that there was a time for everything, includ-

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chism in the native idioms; but he did not deem it necessary to acquire a perfect conversational knowledge of those idioms. There was not much agitation about the teaching of Spanish to the neophytes during this decade. In their report of 1815, *Indios, Contestacion*, etc., MS., the padres represented that Spanish was taught and its use encouraged at all the missions; but that the religious instruction was given in Spanish and the vernacular alternately. Sola in his report of 1818, *Sola, Observaciones*, MS., 182, 184, gave the same idea, and said the Indians learned Spanish very readily, especially those who came in contact with the troops. In Sept. 1812 the guardian sent to California a patent of the comisario general on mission schools. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 327; *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 19.

[17] *Sarría, Carta Pastoral del Comisario Prefecto, 1817*, MS. Dated San Cárlos, Jan. 25, 1817, and divided in 27 articles.

ing recreation, social intercourse with each other, and especially the eight days of rest from all worldly cares in the "holy idleness of Mary." Sarría objected to the neophytes being required or allowed to work on the day of St Francis, and favored greater attention to other *dias de fiesta*.

The same year President Payeras issued a circular to the padres on their duties, as representatives of the bishop, as confessors, as guardians of the public morals, with particular reference to their obligations toward the Spanish population.[18] In 1820 Guardian Lopez of the mother college thought it necessary to preach the padres a sermon on their worldly extravagance, and to warn them earnestly to avoid even the appearance of evil. It was reported in Mexico, and unfortunately with much truth, that the Franciscans in California, forgetting the example of their predecessors, only the old and infirm among whom had travelled on muleback or otherwise than on foot, were using carts of two wheels, and even coaches of four wheels! This fact had given rise in Mexico to the scandalous report that the Fernandinos of California, far from enduring hardships, were living in wealth and ease. Consequently the discretory had voted unanimously that every carriage must be burned at once if it could not be converted to some other use than the carrying of friars. The prefect was charged with the immediate execution of this order, which was, however, accompanied with much flattery of the padres for their faithfulness in other respects.[19]

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[18] *Payeras, Circular del Presidente á los Padres, 1817*, MS., dated Purísima, Dec. 19, 1817. Another circular of President Payeras dated Dec. 31, 1818, relates not to the duties of the padres, but to the offices of president and prefect. Original in *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 409-16.

[19] *Lopez, El Guardian á los Padres prohibiendo el uso de Carruajes, 1820*, MS. In a report of Nov. 5, 1817, Sarría admitted that he had allowed the rooms of the friars to be kept neater than might be thought proper for Franciscans, and had also permitted some privileges in the matter of foot-wear. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 80-1. In a communication to the padres on business matters in 1817, Sarría had attributed the excessive demands of the government on the missions for supplies, and the slowness of the authorities in Mexico to relieve mission needs, in part to the extravagance of the friars in the matters of carriages, dress, etc., begging them to discontinue such foibles.

The comprehensive report of 1815, in which the president and padres in reply to inquiries from Mexico told officially all they knew about the manners and customs of the California Indians, and also Sola's descriptive report after a personal visit to all the missions in 1817, have already been noticed.[20] I may also note the pastoral in which Fr. Juan Buenaventura Bestard, comisario general of Indies, instructed the American Franciscans at great length in August 1816 on their duties as loyal subjects of the king of Spain.[21] In May of that year the same official had, with profuse expressions of the deep interest he was in duty bound to feel for his ultramarine flock, called upon the American friars of the order for information about themselves, their past lives and present positions. The reports were to be rendered to their immediate prelate, who was to add notes on various topics, but especially on the conduct of the padres during the present revolution.[22] In accordance with this demand, Prefect Sarría on May 23, 1817, sent out a circular of eight blank leaves, enclosing a copy of Bestard's pastoral, and in a few lines on the first page of his circular calling on the padres for the record of their lives and services. Each on receiving the circular inscribed on it in his own handwriting a brief autobiography of himself, signed his name and rúbrica, and passed the paper on to the nearest companion friar, until within a month the document contained the life of each of the thirty-five missionaries serving

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Id., vi. 63–6. There was some aid furnished to the Dominicans of the peninsula; several of the latter visited the southern missions. They are several times alluded to as 'elder brothers,' and there was a mutual agreement to say three masses for the soul of a deceased padre of either order. *Id.*, iii. 91, 145; xi. 163. For some unimportant orders of 1817–20 relating to the retirement of padres who had served out their term of 10 years, see *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 18; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 34; *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 17.

[20] *Indios, Contestacion al Interogatorio de 1811*, MS.; *Sola, Observaciones*, MS.

[21] *Bestard, Pastoral del Comisario General de Indias de 28 de Agosto de 1816*, MS.

[22] *Bestard, Pastoral del Comisario General de Indias de 6 de Mayo de 1816, en que pide informes sobre los frailes*, MS.; *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 16; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 401.

in California. The original of this most interesting document I regard as one of the most important in my possession.[23] The original statements thus obtained were embodied with some amplification and change of arrangement in Sarría's report of November 5, 1817, to Bestard, to which he also added his testimony on the unwavering loyalty of the missionaries, and the zeal with which they performed their evangelical duties, adding some information about the details of mission management.[24]

Bestard's demand had been not only for one report but for a series of annual reports. Only one of later date is, however, extant, if more were rendered, which is somewhat doubtful. This was made by Prefect Payeras in 1820, and covered precisely the same ground as that of Sarría, including a biographical sketch of every missionary.[25] In addition to the regular annual and biennial mission reports by padres and president, I may note a special report made by Sarría to Payeras in 1819, just after a tour of inspection, of no special general importance, and fully utilized elsewhere in local annals;[26] and also a report by President Payeras to the governor in September 1819, which was an eloquent presentment of the mission troubles, particularly in their relations to gentiles and runaway neophytes. Formerly, says Payeras, the soldiers protected both padres and gente de razon; kept the neophytes under the *suave yugo* of the gospel, and inspired respect and fear among the gentiles; but now a spirit of insubordination and independence spreading through the world had reached California, affecting both soldiers and Indians. The neophytes were deserting the missions, and the gentiles, under the leadership of renegade Christians, were daily becoming more bold and hostile. All this was urged to obtain a resumption of military expeditions; and, as we have seen, was successful.[27]

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[23] *Autobiografía Autográfica de los 35 Padres Misioneros que sirven en la Alta California en los meses de Mayo y Junio de 1817*, MS. The information contained in this document is utilized elsewhere in my biographical account of each padre.

[24] *Sarría, Informe del Comisario Prefecto sobre los Frailes de California, 1817*, MS.

[25] *Payeras, Informe por el Comisario Prefecto del actual Estado de las 19 Misiones de la Nueva California, 1820*, MS. Dated December 31, 1820, though in the title it is said to have been sent in March and duplicated in May.

[26] *Sarría, Informe de Misiones, dirigido al P. Presidente, 1819*, MS. Dated San Cárlos, Feb. 2, 1819. There are in the report some vague allusions to an *asunto reservado*, to clear up which the report was probably made.

I have elsewhere noted the refusal of the padres at San Gabriel to attend to the spiritual interests of the citizens of Los Angeles; a refusal which, however, at this period seems to have caused no controversy; and I have also mentioned several minor and local disagreements about mission lands. The only other subject of dissension deserving brief notice here is one previously noted in the annals of each decade; a kind of connecting link between the earlier and later grounds for dispute—the use of horses by Indians. In January 1818 Sola issued stringent orders that only a certain number of neophytes, formally appointed by the padres as vaqueros, as per lists furnished to the corporal of the escolta and other military authorities, should be allowed to ride, any other Indian found on horseback to be arrested and punished. In connection with the enforcement of this order, besides much correspondence, there were signs of a quarrel between Captain Guerra and Padre Señan at Santa Bárbara; but the prefect interfered to restore harmony, and the president ordered strict compliance with Sola's requirements, which he deemed just. If the evil complained of, especially at San Fernando and San Gabriel, was reformed altogether we are not advised of the fact.[28]

There is a little to be added on the matter of mission supplies to the presidios to what has been said in the chapters devoted to chronological annals. Upon the Franciscan establishments fell the whole burden of supporting the provincial government and the troops, and their dues for unpaid drafts amounted in 1820 to nearly half a million dollars. Not a dollar of stipend was received by the friars during the whole decade; and not a single invoice of goods for the missions—goods usually bought with the proceeds of habilitado's drafts and the friars' stipends—could be forwarded,[29] except one or two of very small amount obtained from other sources. The fact that the stipends came from the pious fund, to which the treasury had no claim save as a kind of trustee for the missions, and the fact that other missionaries were not so entirely neglected as those of California, made the situation all the more exasperating; yet the protests and complaints of the friars were neither so frequent nor so bitter as might be expected, considering the legal rights that were being violated. In reality, however, as the reader is aware, the padres' condition during this decade was by no means a hard one. They were much better off than any other class in the province, and the current reports in Mexico of the comparative ease and wealth in which they lived were not wholly without foundation.[30]

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[27] *Payeras, Peticion al Gobernador, 1819,* MS. Dated Sept. 17th.

[28] Jan. 2, 1818, Sola's regulations. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 143–5; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 28; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 45–6; iv. 363; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 33; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 102–4; xi. 172, 436; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 435–6.

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[29] Annual payment interrupted from 1811 to 1834. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 5. Procurador Juan Cortés stated that the stipends for 1819 were collected in 1820-1, but unfortunately fell into the hands of Síndico Escalante, whose financial embarrassment prevented anything being paid to the padres. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 255-6. In 1810 P. Cortés wrote to the president that in spite of repeated efforts since 1813 nothing could be obtained. Occasionally payments were ordered with a view to keep the padres quiet, but were never made. He urged that the padres should continue their efforts and petitions for their just dues; and mentioned that current reports of mission wealth had much to do with the refusal to pay; $4,000 had been sent from California to buy goods, but had not yet arrived in September. *Id.*, xii. 395-7. In 1817 Prefect Sarría had proposed that the Californian missions pay a debt of the college amounting to $5,000. *Id.*, iii. 88. Aug. 17, 1819, the viceroy had promised $10,000 or $12,000 from the pious fund, and afterward $15,000 per year; but the administrator of the fund said he had no money for this year. Back pay must be collected at Guadalajara. *Id.*, xii. 394-5. On Feb. 24, 1813, the viceroy ordered $45,526 paid by the Guadalajara treasury; and again in 1815 the procurador was ordered to apply to Guadalajara; but all such applications proved a useless expense. There were various other orders in 1815 to pay travelling expenses and freight, and once a very small amount was collected. The guardian states in 1819 that the padres of Zacatecas and of Lower California were being paid. He pictured the needs of California in dark colors, and earnestly entreated the viceroy for relief, even warning against the imminent danger of revolt growing out of the prevalent neglect and want. *Lopez, Quejas del P. Guardian al Virey, 1819*, MS.

The greatest trouble, or that about which most was written, was that of obtaining new missionaries to take the place of those who had died, of the aged and infirm, and of those who having served out their term were anxious for one reason or another to retire. Of what was accomplished enough has been said earlier in this chapter; what was not accomplished requires brief notice here. The failure to pay stipends seems to have been the smallest difficulty in the way; the failure of the government to pay travelling expenses was a more formidable obstacle; and worse yet, the college had rarely any padres to spare for the northern field. As early as 1801–11 there was a proposition for the Fernandinos to cede half the California missions to the college of San José de Gracia de Orizaba, with a view to devote themselves to new foundations. Exactly what form the proposition assumed is not known, but it was rejected by the discretory.[31] In 1816 Sola wrote to the viceroy on the great need of friars to relieve the old and infirm, attend to chaplain and pueblo duties, and to found new missions in the east. Twenty was the number he asked for, and he suggested that they might be obtained from Orizaba, either acting for their own college, or being incorporated with that of San Fernando.[32]

In 1817, however, a cession was voluntarily made to the Orizaba college of nine missions from Purísima south, the alleged reason being inability for want of laborers to carry on so great a missionary work. The cession was accepted July 16th and approved by the viceroy.[33] It was announced in California by Sarría in a circular of October 11th, and was approved by him, though the archives show no previous correspondence on the subject.[34] There was, however, a delay of two years in despatching the new missionaries, mainly attributable, I suppose, to the impossibility of getting money from the treasury; and meanwhile a hitch occurred in California which prevented their being despatched at all. While Sarría was pleased with the cession, the southern friars to be displaced were astonished and disgusted. President Payeras shared their feeling, but a sense of duty and submission to his prelate led him to comfort the friars as best he could by suggesting that some of them might escape removal by joining the other college. Early in 1819, however, Payeras, becoming absolute prelate, was in a position to express his views, and he lost no time in doing so, protesting to the guardian that the northern missions to be retained were but worthless skeletons in comparison with the southern ones to be given up, and insisting at the least on delay, deliberation, and consultation of the padres in California. Both guardian and viceroy saw the justice of his request; in fact, the hasty cession by the college had been most astonishing; a stay of proceedings was effected, four friars from each college being ordered to California to take the places that might be assigned them by the prelate, temporarily, till the main question could be settled.

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[30] The somewhat meagre information extant respecting the pious fund estates in earlier and later times contains of course some slight items bearing on this decade, but nothing, I believe, which can be brought out here with profit to the reader. See *San Miguel, Doc. Rel. Fondo Piadoso*, 16–18; *Mexico, Mem. Relaciones*, 1831, 44–7; *Id.*, 1835, 36–7, and annex No. 10; *Id.*, *Mem.*, *Hacienda*, 1825, 10–11; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 270. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 89–90, mentions the death of one José Verdia in California in 1816, who left all his property to the fund, and it was ordered distributed among the missions, but had been for the most part destroyed to prevent the contagion of the phthisic.

[31] *Garijo, Carta del P. Guardian, 1811*, MS., 218.

[32] Aug. 21, 1816, Sola to viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 142; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 200–2.

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[33] Sept. 23, 1817, viceroy to guardian. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 497–9. The cession, dated June 10th, included Los Angeles and the two presidios.

[34] Oct. 11, 1817, Sarría to padres in *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 377–8. He states that the viceroy's approval is still lacking. He expresses his own satisfaction in his report of Nov. 5th. *Sarría, Informe del Comisario Prefecto, 1817*, MS., 89–99. Sept. 12, 1818, the guardian writes that arrangements have been made for seven of the Orizaba friars to come this year to take the ceded missions, the viceroy having ordered the payment of travelling expenses. He urges the padres in California to receive the new-comers kindly and remember that all are Franciscans. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 325–7; *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 340–5; *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 18–19. July 24, 1819, viceroy informs Sola that the Orizaba padres had been detained by the war, but would start as soon as possible. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 79. Aug. 29, 1819, Com. Gen. Bestard announces that P. Garijo is forming in Spain a new party of 40 friars for the Mexican college. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 404.

The Orizaba friars naturally refused to come north on the experimental basis proposed, and the four Fernandinos came alone. In a private letter from the guardian, Payeras was informed of the trouble brewing, and was reminded that it would be absolutely necessary to cede some of the missions. He was requested to consult with both northern and southern padres as to what missions should be surrendered, and to send in for the viceroy's consideration his reasons in full for opposing the action of his college.[35] Accordingly Prefect Payeras addressed the padres at considerable length on the subject, urging upon them the importance of voting to surrender the nine missions from San Miguel northward rather than the nine of the south. That the southern establishments were the richest and the most desirable in respect of climate, soil, and products was "clear as the noon-day sun." For the young friars of Orizaba to reap the advantage of all that had been achieved, expelling the old and infirm Fernandinos from the homes to which they had become attached, would be an injustice equally manifest. Moreover, the southern friars would all retire to Mexico rather than endure a transfer to the north; while on the other hand, the change southward would by no means be deemed a hardship by those of the north. It might be said that San Fernando was a college de propaganda, not propagata, fide, and should therefore choose the district where there were most gentiles to be converted. But Payeras ingeniously combated that argument, the force of which he admitted, with the plea that while gentiles were doubtless most numerous in the far north, yet they were not so situated as to be accessible for missionary purposes without a strong military force, which there was no prospect of obtaining; while in the south there were five or six places where new missions might be founded,[36] if only padres and some church furniture could be obtained. As to the latter he had a scheme in his head whereby a market might be found at Tepic or Guadalajara for the oil, wine, tallow, woods, and soap of the southern missions, and the needed funds be thus raised; while it was well known that in the north but little produce could be offered, even if there were a market.[37] To what extent the California friars shared their prelate's enthusiastic preference for the south does not appear, as they were not called upon to vote upon the proposition. I do not know exactly how the question was settled in Mexico; but it could not make itself heard above the political din of the next few years, and never reappeared in California.[38]

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[35] *Lopez, El Guardian al Presidente sobre Cesion de Misiones al Colegio de Orizaba, 1820*, MS. The exact date is not given. The guardian informs Payeras that his proposal or plan will not be needed, for the *viáticos* have been ordered paid from the pious fund. The reference was to a plan for paying the expenses of some new friars by subscriptions among the missions, proposed to the padres on August 28, 1819. *Payeras, Circular á los Padres sobre medios de conseguir nuevos misioneros, 1819*, MS., approved by the padres, or rather referred by most of them to PP. Señan, Tapis, and Sarría.

Only one point remains to be noted in mission history—a proposition to write that history, or to have it written, at this period. In August 1818 Comisario General Bestard instructed the prefect to release Padre Señan from other duties in order that he might be induced to prepare a historical account of the missions, a work which he was exhorted to begin in the Lord's name and with the comisario's benediction. In September 1819 President Payeras, having consulted Señan and obtained his consent to undertake the task, instructed the padres to render him every possible assistance.[39] Probably Señan collected some material for his missionary chronicle; but he died in 1823, and there is no evidence that he left any part of his work completed.

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[36] The places mentioned were El Cajon de les Difuntos and Tejon, inland from San Fernando; San Antonio de Pádua between Pala and Temecula, San Bernardino, and Santa Isabel, at each of which three latter a beginning had already been made.

[37] *Payeras, Memorial á los Padres sobre la cesion propuesta de las 9 misiones del sur, 1820*, MS. Dated June 2d, and divided in 29 articles, and written in a very able and business-like manner.

[38] In December 1820 the bishop writes that the transfer has been suspended by the viceroy. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 25; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 31.

Ecclesiastical affairs afford but few items of sufficient interest, or sufficiently intelligible to the secular mind, to claim a place in the annals of the period. Bishop Francisco Rouset de Jesus died in December 1814, and was succeeded by Bernardo del Espíritu Santo in May 1818.[40]

The president, as usual, held under the bishop the position of vicar, and in that capacity issued at least two formal circulars of instruction on public morality and compliance with church duties.[41] Authority to administer the rite of confirmation was not secured for the California prelate, though there was some correspondence with a view to obtain either a renewal of the old *facultad de confirmar*, or at least a visit from the bishop in person.[42] Respecting chaplain duty by the friars at presidios and pueblos, the old difficulties still existed, and indeed became constantly greater as the friars became old and infirm. Yet this difficulty was not made the subject of any general controversy, though the friars were obliged to refuse a regular attendance at Los Angeles. The soldiers often complained because their own leisure and disposition for spiritual matters did not always coincide with the convenience of the padre, and the urgent need of supernumeraries for chapel service still had a place in communications to Mexico.[43]

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[39] *Arch. Sta B.* MS., ix. 69–70; xii. 404; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 446–7; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 24.

[40] *Arch. Arzob.*, 76; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 304.

[41] *Señan, Circular del Vicario Foraneo, 1815*, MS., dated Jan. 28th; *Payeras, Instruccion del Vicario Foraneo 1817*, MS. In 1812 Antonio Briones is put in the stocks for failure to 'cumplir con la iglesia.' *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iv. 30. In 1817 Sarría says the whites seem disposed to promote the establishment of the third order of penitencia at the presidios. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 92. At a ball given at San Francisco in 1816 the music stopped at the stroke of eight o'clock to allow time for prayer. Foreign visitors were, however, not favorably impressed with the prominence given to St Francis in comparison with Christ at a fiesta. *Chamisso, Reise*, i. 135; ii. 25.

[42] This correspondence was in 1815, 1817, 1819–21. At one time it was said that there was a disposition to grant the faculty on petition of the governor, who was urged by the president to exert his influence. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 92; xii. 97; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 59–61; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 20. Another fruitful matter for correspondence was the obtaining of holy oil from the bishop; which oil the padres had to pay for by assuming certain masses for which the bishop had been paid; but which, being thus paid for, there was much difficulty in obtaining. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 276–98; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 48. The matter of Russian Indian converts, their instruction and baptism, was likewise referred to the bishop, who advised great caution in receiving Russians or other heretics into the true church, and approved the refusal to bury in holy ground a Russian prisoner who had died suddenly, though the Greek church rite of baptism differed but little from the Catholic. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 171–9. The bishop had also to decide now and then a case where a criminal claimed the privilege of church asylum, as in the case of the Indian murderer of the majordomo at San Diego in 1814. *Prov. St.*

The prefect was also representative of the inquisition, but the duties of that position were not arduous. An occasional edict had to be published, generally having no special force in California. Ramon Sotelo was threatened with a trial before the dread tribunal for having expressed views about some religious mystery which "not even a Protestant would have dared entertain." Sotelo's weakness was a tendency to argue with the friars; and it was deemed by the prosecuting attorney a sufficient punishment to condemn him to the chain-gang for a time, with daily lessons in Christian doctrine from the padre whose arguments he had failed to appreciate; but the culprit simplified matters by breaking jail at Los Angeles.[44] The conversion of John Rose, the Scotchman, so far astray that it was deemed unsafe to expose the Indians of San Diego to his influence, seems also to have been effected by the efforts of Comisario Payeras.

Pap., Ben. Mil., MS., lxxi. 47–51. Prayers ordered on death of king's relations and on pregnancy of the queen, 1818–19. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 288; xi. 438. Bulls of papal indulgence ordered to be sold to people of San José in 1820, whether they had money to pay or not. *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., i. 120.

[43] March 20, 1820, Lieut Estudillo gives a historical account of chaplain service at Monterey since 1796, his aim being to secure the services of a friar on fixed days, and not according to convenience as Sarría insisted. *Prov. St. Pap.*, xx. 276–9. Monterey to have a *bautisterio* in 1811. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 84. For the trouble at Los Angeles, see *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 187–8; *Arch. Sta B.*, x. 491; xii. 93; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 67–8. May 9, 1820, the president asks governor to revoke the order for soldiers to confess at the presidios instead of missions. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 183.

[44] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xii. 114; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 10–12; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 136–7, 74. Case of Rose, *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 24, 30–1.

CHAPTER XIX.

INSTITUTIONS AND INDUSTRIES.

1811-1820.

Pueblos—No Colonists or Convicts—Ranchos and Lands—Spanish Decree on Public Lands—Inoperative in California—Laror and Laborers—Natives Bear the Burden—Manufactures—Roads and Bridges—Primitive Mills—Mines—Traditions of Gold—Agriculture—Flood and Drought—Pests—Special Products—Live-stock—Commerce—Free Trade—Duties—Lima Ships—Export of Tallow—Furs—Retail Shops at Monterey—Prices—Finance—Habilitado General—Gervasio Argüello—Military—Force and Distribution—Provincial and Municipal Government—Administration of Justice—Crimes and Penalties—Sola's Efforts for Education—School-boy Days at Monterey.

The white population of pueblos, villa, and ranchos increased in ten years from 540 to 930, the figures not being entirely satisfactory, and all other statistics being practically lacking. The source of increase was still from children who grew up to manhood in California, and from soldiers who retired from military service in their old age. There was no influx of colonists from abroad; not even convicts were sent from Mexico to swell the criminal population;[1] and no measures whatever were adopted by the authorities to promote the settlement of the province by Spaniards, though there was as usual an occasional allusion to the importance of such promotion. In the methods of pueblo management there was no essential variation, the few regulations issued being copied in substance from those of former time. I do not therefore deem it desirable to reproduce here to any extent the items that have been presented in connection with local annals elsewhere. The same remark may be made respecting private ranchos and land grants. It is likely that one or two pieces of land were newly occupied, as eslewhere noted, and that some of the old ones were abandoned; but in this last decade of Spanish control the changes were few, and the system remained monotonously in statu quo. The padres still opposed the granting of private ranchos, and kept up here and there a minor local quarrel with the occupants.[2] To some extent ranchos of neophytes had been formed in connection with the missions; but this practice was not encouraged, because the neophytes' chief object was found to be removal as far as possible from the watchfulness of the missionaries.[3]

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[1] On the contrary, there are indications that several vagrants 'leeches' were in some way gotten rid of by the governor and Capt. Guerra. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 16; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 259.

One important act of the Spanish government requires notice here in its chronological order, though without practical effect in California in this decade. This was the decree of the córtes, 1813, on the reduction of public lands to private ownership.[4] The avowed motives of this decree were: first, the welfare of the pueblos and the improvement of agricultural and industrial interests; second, to relieve public necessities and reward the country's defenders. There were reserved only that class of pueblo lands known as *egidos*, or necessary suburbs; but any revenues thus lost by the pueblos were to be made up in some other way. Residents of the pueblos were to be preferred in the transfer; they were also to have the preference in the payment of their claims against the government; lots were to be assigned to such residents as had none, and lots were also to be assigned as 'patriotic rewards' to invalid officers, and to officers and soldiers who served the king in the late wars. All these grants, for the most part gratis, were to come from one half the public lands, and were to be in fee-simple after four years, but not subject to entail or transfer by mortmain title. The other half of all the public domain was to be sold or hypothecated for the payment of the national debt according to some plan to be proposed later by the territorial deputations. This decree, as I have said, was inoperative and perhaps unknown—like the secularization decree of the same year—in California before 1820 but it was a prominent element in later discussions.

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[2] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 18; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxiv. 4–5. Zavalishen, *Delo o Koloniy Ross 19*, says a rancho of San Pablo was established north of the bay in 1819—doubtless an error.

[3] May 16, 1816, Zalvidea to governor. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 38–9. The writer says it would be better to attach the ex-neophytes to the pueblos than to let them live on distant ranchos. April 3, 1818, Sola to viceroy. The experiment was a failure at Santa Clara. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. It would be desirable to have more information about these early experiments, but none is extant. Payeras, in a report of 1820, speaks of 38 ranchos in California, *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 142; but this doubtless includes the farms cultivated by neophytes living at the missions as well as those occupied by Spanish rancheros.

[4] *Decreto de las córtes sobre reducir los baldíos y otros terrenos comunes á dominio particular, 4 de Enero 1813*, in *Mexico, Leyes Vigentes*, 56, etc.; Translation in *Dwinelle's Colon. Hist. S. F., add.*, 20–3; *Hall's Hist. S. José*, 105–10; *Jones' Report*, No. 7; *Wheeler's Land Titles*, 6. I find no copy in the Californian archives. Since the two objects of the decree are set forth with equal clearness, it is hardly just to term one of those objects a 'pretence,' as writers have been disposed to do.

Of labor and manufactures there is little to be added to what has been said of these topics for the preceding period. Spaniards showed an undiminished willingness to have all work save military service performed by Indians. At the presidios imprisoned criminals, both neophytes and gentiles, were largely utilized, and for the rest, reliance was placed on the hiring of savage and Christian servants. That gentiles were regularly hunted with the reata, and dragged in to toil at the presidios, as is charged by certain foreigners, there is no good reason to believe. At the pueblos a large part of the settlers were content to be idle, giving the Indians one third or one half the crop for tilling their lands, and living on what remained.[5]

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[5] Dec. 31, 1814, receipt of padre of Soledad for $485 for neophyte labor at Monterey. *Prov. St. Pap., Presid.*, MS., ii. 29. 1814, Indian servants, male and female, employed by troops and families at San Diego, by whom they are

No more is heard of artisan instructors from Mexico. The prevalent want in the country must naturally have had an effect to stimulate manufactures, in quantity if not in quality; but we have no definite record on the subject save that Padre Ripoll at Santa Bárbara was somewhat successful in improving the quality of home-made clothes.[6] There are a few allusions to work on the roads and bridges, especially between San Francisco and Monterey, where Sergeant Pico was commissioned to bridge the Pájaro in 1816. All the lumber used was hewn by hand, there being no saw-mill. At several places one millstone was turned upon another by the direct application of horse-power without mechanism; and I suppose that equally rude water-power mills were running at San José, Branciforte, and San Gabriel, though there is no record on the subject; but most of the flour consumed in the country was yet ground by women on the hand metates. A visitor in 1816 says the windmill of the Russians at Ross was an object of wonder, but found no imitators.

In the last decade it will be remembered that Arri-

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fed, clothed, and educated. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 35. Work at the pueblos, 1815. *Id.*, viii. 207-9. Sept. 30, 1815, padres of San Francisco refuse to furnish 20 Indians as boatmen because Indians are scarce, and because, being poor oarsmen, they will surely be drowned. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 102. June 29, 1816, Guerra says there are plenty of Kodiaks who would make good servants if baptized; wants two of them himself. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 108. 1817, Sarría complains of the non-payment of neophyte laborers, who are counted on for all work, the white people scorning to learn trades or to do any but military service. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 84-5, 90-1. 1818, Golovnin, *Voyage*, 120, gives a very highly colored account of the lassoing of Indians for servants. 1820, the $8 per month allowed each neophyte in the maestranza should be paid to the Indian community fund. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 28. Never any armorers in California only very bad blacksmiths. *Id.*, iii. pt. ii. 132-3. In 1819 Sola asked for invalid mechanics from Mexico, but there were none to be had. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 79.

[6] Mention of the usual mission industries. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 298; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 179, 182, 185. Oct. 16, 1819, Sola complains to the president that the Indians do not do all that they might for the troops; implying that laziness, bad supervision, and lack of energy on the part of the padres were the cause. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 433-7. In 1819 Payeras circulates a 'recipe' for making cloth 'suitable to remedy the present urgent need, if not presentable on a counter.' *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 5. Ripoll's efforts. *Id.*, iii. pt. i. 50-1, 54. Road and bridge making. *Id.*, iii. pt. i. 21-2. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., viii. 64; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 143. Remarks on industries in 1816. *Chamisso, Reise*, i. 129; ii. 29.

llaga had reported against any prospect of mineral wealth in California; but Sola, on the contrary, in his report of 1818, declared that most of the mountains showed indications of metal, alluding also to the extraction of eight or nine marks of silver by smelting a few years before, doubtless in the Ortega mine. It was also about 1820 that some English captain is said to have obtained from this country a splendid specimen of gold in quartz, which was preserved by Edward Ellice in 1850, and by him exhibited at the Royal Institute. The popular rumors of gold near San Luis Obispo would seem to date back to this decade; since José de Jesus Pico narrates that he and his boy companions knew of certain mysterious operations with flasks of quicksilver in the mission cuadro where none but the initiated might enter.[7]

Statistics of agriculture and stock-raising have already been given in this chapter for the missions, and there are no reliable data for anything more. Weather reports show 1816–17 to have been a year of heavy rains, causing some damage from inundation; while 1820–1 was remarkable for drought.[8] The *chapulin*, the *chahuistli*, ground squirrels, gophers, and rats—these animals having rapidly multiplied since the Indians had no longer need to hunt them for food—were the agricultural pests still complained of occasionally in different parts of the province, to say nothing of the mustard, which sometimes choked the crop and furnished a hiding-place for live-stock.[9] Respecting the cultivation of special crops I append a few minor items.[10] A slaughter of horses to keep the numbers within limits was ordered on several occasions at different places; but there was no general slaughter throughout the province.[11] Meat was plentiful for all classes, there being large numbers of wild cattle to be had for the hunting. The padres, however, complained that their herds did not increase as rapidly as they ought, because many cattle were killed as wild that were not so, soldiers and not Indians being in most instances the culprits. Gentiles and bears still made inroads, however, on the livestock.[12] On the superiority of California-bred stock

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[7] *Sola, Observaciones*, MS., 190–1; *Quarterly Review, 1850*, lxxxvii. 416–17; *Pico, Acontecimientos*, MS., 15–16. The writer in the *Review* does not fail to expatiate on what England might have gained, and what troubles avoided, to say nothing of how Mr E. might have become the 'richest individual in Europe,' had he realized that 'such a lump must have many companions.'

[8] Weather reports and items relating almost exclusively to 1817 and 1820 in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xliii. 6–7; xliv. 12–13; xlvii. 5–6; xlix. 56; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 361; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 234–5; v. 207–8; *Vallejo, Sequias en Cal.*, MS., in *Arch. Arzob.*, MS. iii. pt. ii. 9–16, 22; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 169.

[9] *Prov, St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 341; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xlii. 5; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 189; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 105. Great scarcity of agricultural implements in 1819. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 73.

[10] In 1810 olives had begun to be planted at many missions; and in 1818 olive culture was already an assured success, especially in the missions of the San Diego district, which furnished other missions all the oil they needed. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 299, 304; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 189. Lands of San Fernando deemed well fitted for sugar-cane 1817. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 6. Dec. 1816, President Payeras asked for 20 laborers from Mexico to cultivate vines. *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, March 21, 1862. Los Angeles had 53,686 vines in 1818, and all the missions south of Sta Bárbara made wine of different kinds. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 187–9. A little hemp was raised and made into coarse stuffs during the hard times; but although the commanders of San Blas vessels were ordered to load with hemp if possible, it does not appear that any considerable quantity was obtained. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 131, 242; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 31; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 304; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 44. Oranges abundant at San Gabriel, Angeles, and Sta Bárbara in 1820. *Vallejo's Letter to Warner.* There was an effort made to raise cotton and with a little success at San Diego, despite the fogs. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 189; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 3, 32–3; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 281; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 25.

[11] *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., i. 145–6; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 16–17; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 52, including a reprimand to Juan José Nieto for allowing his *caballada* to increase, with a threat that he will forfeit his rancho.

[12] Complaints of the padres. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 15–17, 30, and passim. P. Amorós is especially bitter, mentioning instances within his knowledge, and not hesitating to pronounce the soldiers worse than the Indians. Yet the soldiers say 'all is the king's, and the Indian is a thief.' 'El Indio todo para todos Indio es, Indio morirá, y por esto tenemos padre.' The governor complains that the yield of tallow was much less after the license to hunt wild cattle in 1818. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 51. Much meat taken to the plains and burned at slaughtering times, so says the president in 1815. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vii. 182. Number of cattle much diminished since the *yerba de puebla* could no longer be obtained to poison wolves. *Roquefeuil's Voy.*, in *Nouv. en. Voy.*, xviii. 248. Ravages of bears. *Boronda, Notas*, MS., 13. Price of cattle in 1816, $4 to $6. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 13–14. Some changes in regulations for branding, and clipping ears. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 143; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 136; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 36; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. i. 117; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 23. Martiarena asks for a team of carriage mules from Cal. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 129. One of Gov. Sola's first acts was to issue an order forbidding the burning of pasture lands

in these early days I may note the request of a gentleman at Tepic that Captain de la Guerra would send him a span of mules for his carriage.

Spanish commercial regulations were not modified,[13] but there was little need for a resort to smuggling, especially during the last half of the decade. The provincial authorities were glad to purchase every cargo, Spanish or foreign, that could be paid for in mission produce, deeming themselves especially fortunate when a seller could be induced to accept a draft on the treasury. Sola insisted on the collection of duties on all exports and imports according to a tariff apparently devised to meet the needs of California,[14] but otherwise there was practically no obstacle thrown in the way of free trade after 1816, though there is very slight evidence that any trade, even contraband, was carried on with foreign vessels except by the government.[15] The Lima trade in Spanish vessels assumed considerable proportions, tallow being the chief article of export, with small quantities of grain, soap, and hides, though the era of the hide trade had not yet begun. There is nothing to be re-

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without permission of the authorities, except by the padres. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 49; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 20.

[13] In 1820, on complaint of Sierra, a Cádiz merchant orders that the old decrees of 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1818, relieving national goods and products sent to or from the Californias in Spanish vessels, be strictly enforced. Printed decree in Pinart collection. Bustamante, *Medidas*, MS., i. 141–56, has much to say on the importance of Californian trade.

[14] In August 1817 Sola ordered that imports pay the same rates as they had paid at the ports of exportation as shown by their manifests; and in November it was decreed that foreign goods pay 12 per cent on the price of sale. The export duty was 19 cents per arroba on tallow; 37 cents on soap; 37 cents per fanega on corn and beans; and similar rates according to value on other articles. Roquefeuil paid 7.5 per cent on imports, 15 and 16 per cent on corn and tallow. On imports the duty was reduced to 6.25 per cent in 1820. Hemp exported paid 12.5 per cent. There was some opposition to the payment of the duty on tallow, or rather the foreigners thought it ought to be paid by the padres. Sola exempted from duties all articles bought for the use of church or padres. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 154, 168, 212, 285; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 17; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 250; iv. 11–12; v. 209; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 131; xi. 51–5; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 44; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 26; *Arch., Sta B.*, MS., ix. 376; *Roquefeuil's Voyage*, 109.

[15] In a later report, *Figueroa, Cosas Financieras, 1834*, it is stated that Sola opened the ports to foreign trade in 1819 with excellent results.

marked of the Lima trade that has not been said in recording the visits of each vessel, and the same remark may be made of the whole topic of commerce.[16] The Indians still caught now and then an unfortunately slow-motioned sea-otter that came in their way, and the padres shipped the small store of skins or sold them whenever they found a chance. The Russians took a constantly and rapidly decreasing number of otter each year, a number which was greatly exaggerated in the ideas of the Spaniards.[17] Retail trade there was none in the country, unless we reckon as such the operations of 'Tia' Boronda and 'tios' Armenta and Cayuelos, who in their extra-mural cots at Monterey are said to have kept a variety of small articles for sale, some of which there is much reason to fear never paid duties. Tio Armenta was a great man in this little band, being a reputed protégé of the Ortegas, and he sometimes engaged in grand affairs, such as raffling a dozen China handkerchiefs, or getting a bushel of salt from the *salinas* in spite of the Spanish *estanco*.[18]

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[16] Guerra's commercial ventures seem to have continued more or less constantly through the decade so far as can be judged from fragmentary invoices and accounts. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 31–40. 1811, circulars distributed proposing barter for tallow. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 220. 1814, Sarría disapproves of middlemen, or rather of the percentage allowed them in the soap trade. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 17. 1816, trade with foreigners positively forbidden by viceroy. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 5. Negrete of Tepic says he has lost $10,000 invested in the tallow-trade because the padres refused to take *manta* or anything but dollars. *Id.*, xx. 127. Deers' grease taken by hunters and shipped to Peru. *Vallejo, Sequias en Cal.*, MS., 1817. Sola says there are 100,000 arrobas of tallow in California. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 245–6. Vessels taking tallow. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 167, 180, 185–6. Sola complains of trouble about closing business with the friars, who are very hard to please, and regrets that they will not appoint an agent to do business for all. *Id.*, xx. 180. It was found necessary to issue strict orders to prevent frauds in the delivery of tallow, with penalties for adulterating the staple with sand, etc. *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., i. 135–7; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 19, 1818. Delivering tallow for lard, and vice versa, forfeited the goods and resulted in two months' imprisonment. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., v. 47.

[17] Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 105–6, says the otter were so abundant in 1812 that they were killed by the boatmen with their oars in passing through the sea-weed; and that the Russians killed 10,000 a year for five years, and 5,000 a year down to 1831. Chamisso, *Reise*, i. 132, in 1816, estimates the annual catch at 2,000, selling in China for $60 each on an average.

[18] *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 158–9; ii. 214; *Cerruti's Ramblings*, MS., 202–3. Many Indians of San Diego mission went to the presidio to sell a variety of small articles, and the padres wished them arrested if they had no

I do not deem it necessary to recapitulate here the fragmentary financial statistics that have been given elsewhere for each of the four presidios; neither is it desirable to recur to the most prominent but threadbare topic of hard times and failure to obtain the memorias from Mexico. Therefore, appending some general provincial statements on the subject in a note,[19] I pass on to a brief record of the *habilitacion general.* It will be remember that Ormaechea took charge in 1810 ad interim, and he held it—the regular habilitado general, José de la Guerra, not having been able to reach Mexico—until 1816,[20] not giving satisfaction during his incumbency, nor, as it appears, rendering any proper accounts on leaving the office. A new election being ordered in 1815, the comandantes left the choice to the governor, who appointed Gervasio Argüello. The latter left California late in 1816, never to return.[21] His services never amounted

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pass. *Arch. Arzobispado,* ii. 83. Prices of the period include the following: Tallow, $1.50 per arroba; lard, $2.50; sugar, $5; rice, $2.50; wheat, $2 per fanega; barley, $1; pease, $1.62; cattle $2 to $6; mules, $10; aparejos, $5; sheep-skins, $1.50; calicoes, 87 cents per yard; flannels, $1.75; Cuzco cloth, $1.50; alpaca, $1.75; cueras, $24 each; serapes, $5.

[19] Appropriation in Mexico for the California presidios in 1811, $82,333. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.,* MS., xlii. 16. Invoice of 1815, $34,840. *Id.,* xlvi. 29. Sola's statement of pay-roll, etc., for year in 1818, $91,778, or less the deductions, $89,071. *Id.,* xlix. 75. Invoice of 1819–20, $41,319. *Id.,* li. 10. July 20, 1820, artillery account of Lieut. José Ramirez: rec'd $5,039; paid $4,708; balance paid to Lieut. Gomez, $331. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.,* MS., liii. 3. Dec. 31, 1820, account of Gomez: receipts since May, $2,184; paid out $2,155; balance to last six months, $29. *Id.,* liii. 3. Correspondence about mails 1811–20 of no importance, but showing that Sola made an effort to introduce more system and despatch. *Prov. St. Pap.,* MS., xx. 79, 83, 229–30; *St. Pap., Sac.,* MS., vi. 30; *Gaceta de Mex.,* xli. 128–9; *Arch. Arzob.,* MS., iii. pt. i. 55–60; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.,* vi. 10; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.,* i. 143–4. Net yields of tobacco sales: 1811, $5,851; in 1812, $5,871. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.,* MS., xlii. 17–18; xliii. 13, 14. In 1816, P. Marquinez of Sta Cruz writes to the governor that he has but 50 puros left, and fears he will have to give up smoking when those are gone. *Arch. Arzob.,* MS., iii. pt. i. 85.

[20] 1812, report that Felipe Maitorena had succeeded Rodriguez. *Prov. Rec.,* MS., x. 4. Vote at Loreto in May 1812, in which all voted for some officer of that presidio. *Prov. St. Pap.,* MS., xix. 326–7. I have found no definite record of Guerra's election in 1810. Jan. 26, 1815, viceroy orders a new election, as Ormaechea could no longer attend to the duties. *Id.,* xix. 371.

[21] Oct. 14, 1815, comandantes to governor. *Prov. St. Pap.,* MS., xix. 380, 292. Argüello was to have $1,000 extra pay and $500 for travelling expenses. Sailed Nov. 1816. *Prov. Rec.,* MS., ix. 154. At Guadalajara in February, 1817. *Prov. St. Pap.,* MS., xx. 190. Feb. 26, 1817, Sola reminded by a friend of the great importance of having a trusty agent in Mexico. *Id.,* xx. 151.

to much to the province he represented; but perhaps no one could have done better. To escape his importunities, the viceroy sent Argüello to reside at Guadalajara, the California drafts being payable at that treasury. Here he had nothing to do but present his claims and listen to the invariable reply, "no hay fondos." José de la Guerra was charged with reforming the *habilitacion* in 1819–20; but though the two officers managed to secure a small invoice of goods, Guerra could succeed neither in transferring Argüello to Mexico nor in getting him sent back to his company in California.[22] No successor ever took the position.

The military force on duty in the province, including officers and men of the four presidial companies, invalids, and veteran artillerymen, did not vary more than one or two men during the decade from the 410 at its beginning,[23] involving an annual expense to the Spanish government of $89,000, an expense rendered much less burdensome by the fact that it was never paid. In 1819 there came to the country Captain Portilla's Mazatlan company of cavalry, the 'Mazatecos,' and Captain Navarrete's San Blas company of infantry, the 'Cholos,' both companies numbering 203 men.[24] The veteran artillerymen under Gomez were reënforced in 1820 by the coming of Lieutenant José Ramirez, who probably brought with him 15 or 20 men.[25] There were besides the company of militia

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Sola asks viceroy to give Argüello as much pay as his predecessors had received. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 169. 1817–18, Argüello has to give bonds of $6,000. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 192–3, 219.

[22] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 155–6; iv. 9, 29–30, 164; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 443–4.

[23] See chap. ix., this volume, for distribution in 1810. A general statement of July 20, 1818, makes the corresponding total 407. *Sta Clara Parroquia*, MS., 55–6.

[24] Portilla's company: 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 2 alfereces, and 95 men, including sergeants, corporals, drummers and privates; Navarrete's company: 1 captain, 1 lieut., 1 sub-lieut., 3 sergeants, 10 corporals, 1 drummer, and 86 privates. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 34.

[25] Cost of the artillery detachment, $2,700 to $3,600 per year. On the reënforcement under Ramirez, see chap. xii., this volume.

artillerymen, several times called into active service, numbering 82 men in 1816, but reduced to 64 in 1819.[26] Thus the total force available in 1820 was about 700 men. The services of the army on the several occasions when the province was threatened, or supposed to be threatened, with invasion by foreign foes, in the various expeditions against Indian foes in the interior, and in the continual battle against the want and nakedness resulting from Spanish neglect, are already well known to the reader, and the military annals of the period demand no further notice.[27]

Beyond the actual succession of political and military rulers—Arrillaga, Argüello, Sola—there is nothing to be added respecting the theory or practice of provincial government.[28] In municipal government there was a decree of the córtes of May 23, 1812, on the formation of ayuntamientos, which would have increased the number of regidores at San José and Los Angeles, but which had no immediate effect in California.[29] In those branches of government connected with the administration of justice and the preserving of public order, there is nothing new to be said so far as system is concerned; and illustrative items of the decade may be conveniently grouped in a note.[30]

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[26] Names of the 82 members of the company on Aug. 19, 1816. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvii. 11-13. Distribution in 1817, 70 men. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., ii. 93. July 6, 1819. These men are to receive the same pay as veterans, by governor's order. *Id.*, viii. 56.

[27] It is but fair to allude also to Padre Ripoll's companies of native *macheteros* and lancers and archers at Sta Bárbara, trained by the valiant padre to fight against pirates. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 17. In the law of Oct. 11, 1813, calling on each province for its quota of men for the army, California was exempt. *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., iv. 126-7. 1815-17 there was a correspondence leading to the recommendation by Sola of a list of officers for promotion. It appeared that Californian officers were in danger of being neglected in favor of 'cowards in Mexico who want to make a show without doing any work.' *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 1-11, 115-16. Nov. 29, 1816, viceroy orders release of 4 soldiers imprisoned on charge of sedition. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 25. Order to release military prisoners not liable to penalty of death or sedition. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 143. May 1820, a San Blas soldier sentenced to 4 years' work in shackles for stoning his corporal. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., li. 4.

[28] From Sola's letter it appears that the governor's term of office was considered 5 years. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 149; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xlix. 33.

[29] *Ayuntamientos, Decreto de las Córtes de 23 de Mayo 1812, sobre formacion de Ayuntamientos Constitucionales*, in *Mexico, Leyes Vigentes*, 1829, 28, etc.; *Rivera, Nueva Coleccion de Leyes*, 1835, i. 890; *Dwinelle's Colon. Hist. S. F., add.*, 1820; *Wheeler's Land Titles*, 6; *White's Recopilacion*, 416; *Hall's Hist. S. José*, 102-4. June 15, 1814, order of viceroy that ayuntamientos are to follow the law of 1808. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 135.

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[30] Oct. 9, 1812, Spanish law relating to jurisdiction of judges. *Hayes' Mex. Law*, 13–16. Sept. 8, 1813, Spanish law abolishing whipping for criminal offences. Circulated by President Señan Sept. 13, 1814. *Id.*, 24; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxiii. 17. Jan. 20, 1816, viceroy orders that governors and comandantes must inspect public prisons on the eve of Christmas, whitsuntide, and easter, to report on cases pending. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 1–2; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 141. April 30, 1816, governor says no Indian prisoner must be released without his order. Calls for a monthly list of names, crimes, dates, etc. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., viii. 63. July 20, 1818, Fermin de Genoa y Aguirre says to Capt. Guerra jocosely that the people are fast becoming converted and orderly; for instance, one Luisa killed another Luisa with a knife; one Castillo broke the head of another Castillo with a stick; two Michaels lost the mail and are now sweeping the plaza, wearing *calcetas de Vizcaya;* and two sisters gave each other a sound drubbing. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 128.

1813, the Indian alcalde of San Fernando killed a neophyte by throwing a stick at him to make him work faster. Fiscal Maitorena thought he should be sentenced to 2 months in the chain-gang to satisfy the *vindicta pública* and teach alcaldes care and humanity. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlviii. 2. 1814, artilleryman charged with poisoning another soldier—charge not proven. *Id.*, xlv. 7. 1817, the neophyte Gorgonio murdered his wife at San Buenaventura; took asylum in the church, but left that asylum by breaking a window; was recaptured and tried. The fiscal recommended a very severe punishment, because such cases was becoming too frequent. No sentence. *Id.*, l. 45–8. 1818, two Indians at mission San José killed another and were in turn killed while sleeping by 4 relatives of the first victim. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 222. 1818, a neophyte of San Diego going to mass with his wife noticed that she had a piece of white cloth which excited his jealousy, though she claimed to have found it. By administering a sound flogging he elicited a confession that the cloth had been given by a gentile for sexual favors. After the castigation had been prolonged to the satisfaction of marital wrath and honor, he did all a fond husband could for a wife's comfort by stretching her on a heap of green branches over a fire and bringing her cold water with which to bathe; yet she died, and he was tried for murder. Santiago Argüello was fiscal, and the accused chose Cristoból Dominguez for defender. In consideration of the Indians' peculiar ideas, the death penalty was not recommended when the case was turned over to the presidio comandante. As usual the sentence is not extant. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 82–5. In 1811 another neophyte of San Diego had flogged a gentile woman to death, for infidelity as mistress and extravagance; 50 lashes after 5 months' imprisonment had been the sentence asked for. *Id.*, xlix. 7–9. 1818, a neophyte of San Gabriel murdered another for refusing to pay '3 reales' worth of beads' lost at play. He took church asylum. *Id.*, xlix. 64–6.

1811, three neophytes and four gentiles tried for robbing the presidio warehouse. Alf. Martinez, fiscal, and Sergt. Mercado, defender; 80 lashes and 2 months' to 5 years' presidio work; 4 others charged with helping conceal the crime and with receiving stolen goods. *Id.*, xlix. 9–10. 1815, Lieut. Guerra required to come from San Diego to Monterey to defend a soldier charged with insulting his sergeant. It seems that the accused might choose a defender anywhere in the province. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 265–6, 269. 1817, three men for breaking open a box of playing-cards at Sta Bárbara sentenced to hard work in irons. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 81. 1817, a man at

Sola took quite a strong personal interest in the education of the rising generation of Californians. It will be remembered that Arrillaga had apparently done nothing in the matter, and that so far as the records show during his rule, not a single school had been continuously maintained in the province. In his

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Sta Bárbara sentenced to work in irons for breaking into his employer's house on holy Thursday and stealing a bottle of aguardiente. *Id.*, iii. 76–7. 1818 two soldiers given 50 lashes in public for stealing $2.50. *Amador, Mem.*, MS., 52.

1817, José Peralta of San José sent a prisoner to Monterey, and a girl made *enceinte* by him was committed to the padres of Sta Clara to be kept in the *cuarto de las solteras* until confined. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 24. Padre thinks the alcalde and 2 Indians of Soledad should be sent to the presidio for a month for forcible fornication: *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iii. pt. ii. 7–9. 1818, governor says the mission girls learn vice at 10–12 years, and soon practice abortion in order to keep young. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 194–5. An Indian at San Diego accused a vecino of having ravished his wife. Santiago Argüello, fiscal; José Antonio Pico, clerk; José Palomares, defender. No decision. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 62–3. Oct. 3, 1818, Sola to Guerra, the scandal caused by a widow of Los Angeles 'must be corrected for her reform and as a public example.' The comisionado must take her to San Gabriel, have her hair cut short and one eyebrow shaved, and cause her to be exhibited to the public at the hour of mass. Then she is to serve in some respectable family at Sta Bárbara for 6 months, being compelled to lead a religious life. The other guilty person, a carpenter of San Gabriel, must be kept in prison for a month, devote a part of his wages to the support of the child, and be induced to marry the widow if possible. *Id.*, xlix. 16–17. Trial of a case in which a settler of Branciforte was accused of ravishing his three step-daughters. Fiscal Martinez demanded for the man four years' hard labor in shackles, to be followed by banishment; for the oldest girl, 50 lashes from an Indian woman, and one month's arrest; for the second, 50 lashes from her mother in the girl's room at Sta Cruz; for the youngest, 25 lashes; and for the mother a reprimand from the governor. *Id.*, l. 32–44. 1819, man and wife punished for latter's adultery, with consent of former, at San Francisco. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 253. In 1820, two Sta Bárbara cases of illicit love. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 66.

Dec. 2, 1817, Sola forbids card games on feast days, which had been allowed by Borica. *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., i. 139. Amador, *Memorias*, MS., 90–113, narrates the adventures of P. Luis Gil at Sta Cruz, who used to go in disguise and take a hand in the game for the purpose of detecting the gamblers and confiscating the cards. Pio Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 8–10, tells some stories about gambling in these days, including his own adventures with Padre Menendez, who first stripped Pico of all he had at San Vicente, Lower California, and later was stripped at San Diego by Pico, who won 12 mules.

1812, no mescal to be sold, under severe penalties. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iv. 29. Governor has received order for free use and manufacture of mescal, but represents the probable bad effects. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 128. 1815, some information on the intoxicating drinks of the natives. *Indios, Contestacion*, MS. Acting Governor Argüello signalized his brief term by issuing on Feb. 3, 1815, a decree on the sale of liquors, which was at the same time an eloquent though brief essay on the moral and physical evils of intemperance. The decree provided that liquors might be freely sold by importers at the presidios only in 'unbroken packages;' that only one person at each presidio, a person of confidence, might be appointed to retail liquors under the following restrictions: None to be sold to an Indian on any pretext whatever; no flask or reports of 1817–18, Sola informed the viceroy that each of the four presidios and two pueblos had now a primary school where children were taught religion, reading, writing, and reckoning, by settlers or retired soldiers of good character; implying clearly that on his coming to the province he had found no schools in operation at most of the places.[31] Of these schools outside of the capital—excepting the names of one or two teachers at San José, and the fact that there was a girls' school as well as one for boys at Santa Bárbara—we know but very little more than that they had an existence, and that little has been noticed in connection with local annals. The governor also urged upon the viceroy in 1818 the importance of establishing a kind of college in which the more intelligent of the neophyte boys might be educated as future instructors of their race; together with the still more imperative necessity of providing for the bringing-up of neophyte girls beyond the influence of their parents and relatives;[32] but naturally no encouragement was obtained from Mexico, and there is no evidence that the friars, the only persons who could have taken effective action, felt any interest in the matter.[33]

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bottle to be sold to two or more persons together without an order from the comandante; 'public drinkers' to have only 25 cents' worth morning and evening; no credit to be given and no debt for liquor to be collectible; no article to be taken in payment or pawn, subject to forfeit, or to fine if the article belong to a soldier's uniform or equipment; no liquor to be sold to mission escoltas; prices not to exceed $1 per quart for aguardiente and 50 cents for wine at Monterey and north, or 75 and 25 cents per quart respectively in the south. *Argüello, Decreto de 1815 sobre bebidas*, in *S. José, Arch.*, vi. 32. Feb. 13, 1820, Lieut. Estudillo to Sola, a long report, or plan, for reforms in the sale of liquors. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 275–6. Feb. 16th, Sola permits the opening of a tavern and sale of liquors under restrictions. *Id., Ben. Mil.*, li. 7, 8. July 27, 1819, the president complains of disorders arising fron drunkenness and the illegal sale of liquor. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 104–7; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 437–40.

[31] *Sola, Informe General, 1817*, MS., 198; *Id., Observaciones*, 1818, MS., 179–80. June 4, 1817, Sola states that education has made considerable progress during his rule of two years. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 150.

[32] *Sola, Observaciones, 1818*, MS., 193–5.

[33] According to *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 131–2; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 75; *Vallejo (J. J.), Reminiscencias*, MS., 10. Sola brought with him two men, Aspiroz and Santa María, to establish a high school, or college; but they became disgusted with the country and went back to Mexico the same year.

At Monterey Sola found a school in operation under the care of Corporal Miguel Archuleta, whom Padre Ibañez had taught to read and write. Within a few years' a girls' school was opened, and possibly another for boys.[34] Of schools at the capital we know no more through the archives than of others in the province; but Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and Juan Bautista Alvarado, pupils of Archuleta during this decade, have written at some length their recollections of school-boys days. These sketches, though full of interest, I have no space to follow in detail, especially as school-boy experiences are in a general way the same the world over. Still less can I reproduce their eloquent eulogy of later educational methods in comparison with those of old. It would seem that, with here and there a point of resemblance, the Monterey school, in comparison with even the most primitive backwoods establishment of the Atlantic states at the same epoch, was a very rude institution, worthy of no praise but for the fact that human beings did there learn to read and write. Rude benches extended along the sides of a long, low, adobe room, with dirty unpainted walls. On a raised platform at one end sat the soldier-master, of fierce and warlike mien, clad in fantastic greasy garments, with ferule in hand. On the wall over his head or just at one side was a great green cross and the picture of a saint, to which each boy came on entering the room to say a *bendito* aloud. Then he approached the platform to salute the master by kissing his hand, and receive a 'bellowed' permission to take his seat, which he did after throwing his hat on a pile in the corner; and, as soon as a large boy had shown him the place, began to read his lesson as loud as his throat and lungs would permit; or, if learning to write, he ruled a sheet of paper with a piece of lead, and went to the master for quill and copy. At a certain hour the copies were examined, and the ferule was in constant motion at that hour. "Here is a blot, you young rascal." "Pardon, master, I will do better to-morrow." "Hold out your hand"—thus ran the usual preliminary conversation. A more terrible implement of torture than the ferule, however, lay on the master's table—a hempen scourge of many iron-pointed lashes, held in reserve for serious offences, such as laughing aloud, running in the street, playing truant, spilling ink, or, worst of all, failing to know the Christian doctrine. The guilty child was stripped of his shirt, often his only garment, and stretched on a bench, with a handkerchief stuffed in his mouth, to receive the dread infliction. The course of study was six months or a year of primer, or *a*, *b*, *c;* six months of the Christian *caton,* or second book, a mass of stupid and worse than useless study; reading manuscript letters of officers, padres, old women, or the master himself; writing from eight grades of copies, from straight marks to words; and finally, the four rules of arithmetic, with more doctrina Cristiana. This last all-important branch was learned chiefly from Ripalda's catechism, the *bête noir* of every Spanish child, to be learned entire by heart, and recited in a monotonous sing-song—a perpetual torment, every page of which involved more than one scourging. Saturday was a day of examination and especial torture, when each pupil had to tell all he knew of Ripalda, unless good luck or a kind providence sent an ever-welcome broken head, fever, or cholera morbus as a temporary respite. Mothers sometimes showed sympathy for a child's sufferings; but fathers never.

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[34] Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 255, and Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 123–4, tell us that Sola established, and supported for the most part with his own money two schools for boys under Manuel Boronda and Matias Guerrero, and a girls' school under Antonio Buelna. José de Jesus Pico remembers Boronda as the first teacher, followed by Archuleta. *Acontecimientos*, MS., 2. Inocenta Pico de Ávila speaks of the girls' school; but says that many girls failed to complete the simple routine of study, being taken out by their mothers to be married. The padre used sometimes to distribute sweetmeats after mass to the girls through those who had made most progress in the doctrina, appointed *comisionadas*, a high honor often held by the writer and Rosalía Vallejo. *Ávila, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 19–20.

Sola is accredited, however, with having entertained some advanced views on education. He suggested to Archuleta that there were other useful branches of learning besides the doctrina; that besides Ripalda and the caton and the novena de nuestra señora, and the lives of saints, martyrs, or virgins, there were other books worth reading. Conciliating the good-will of the smaller children by a distribution of sweetmeats, he gave to the 'big boys'—Vallejo, Alvarado, Estrada, Pico, Castro, Torre, Martinez, Rodriguez, and Agredo, two of whom were yet alive in 1883—some copies of the *Gaceta de Mexico*, decrees of the córtes, Spanish constitution of 1812, and even a *Don Quijote.* He urged upon them the importance of attention to study; stimulated them to effort by sending samples of their writing to Mexico; and often visited their school or invited them to his office. On the arrival of a ship it was customary to let the children run to the shore. Once at such a time, despite the master's warning to be careful, the *gatera* was left open, and the room was found occupied by hens, which had overturned divers ink-bottles, and made sad work with some neatly copied habilitado's accounts which were to have been sent to Mexico. Of course a general application of the scourge was in order; the big boys were called on for the usual assistance in holding the feet of the first victims; but they flatly refused, and drove the master from the room. This unparalleled revolt created a commotion at the provincial capital; but Sola settled the trouble and restored order by pardoning the boys on promise of good behavior.[35]

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[35] *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 128-32, 272-7; iv. 180-91; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 72-5, 123-4.

CHAPTER XX.

THE LAST YEAR OF SPANISH RULE.

1821.

Beginning of a New Decade—Nothing Known of the Regency—Maromeros—Secularization Decree—Padres Offer to Give up the Missions—Governor and Bishop Decline—Payeras versus Sola—Policy of the Friars, Real and Pretended—Destitution—Supplies—Politic Generosity of Franciscans—Duties on Exports and Imports—A Controversy—Movements of Vessels—American Smugglers—Vaccination—Sola's Discontent—Rumor of a New Governor—Indian Affairs—Colorado Tribes—Southern Rancherías—A Cold Season—An Imperial Document—Foreigners—Argüello's Expedition to the North.

The opening year of the new decade belongs, in all its aspects save that of chronology, to the past; it is the end of an old rather than the beginning of a new epoch in this history. California was still a province of Spain, or so believed herself to be. Stirring events were taking place in Mexico. The fire of rebellion had for a time seemed extinguished, but with news from Spain of liberal success and Ferdinand's enforced adherence to the constitution of 1812, it burst out hotter than ever. Iturbide, in the earlier struggles a valiant royalist, proclaimed the independence of Mexico in February 1821. His success was rapid and complete; the whole country espoused his cause; the treaty of Córdoba in August sealed the submission of the viceroy and the capital; and in September a regency was established with Iturbide at its head. Nothing of all this was known in California; at least officially or popularly known, for it is not unlikely that certain individuals had a pretty clear idea before the end of 1821 of what was happening in Mexico.[1] The Californians had the year before sworn the constitution of 1812, and still regarded themselves as loyal subjects of Fernando VII.[2] The political horizon was clear enough, and the people had ample leisure to consider internal ways and means. Many would have welcomed news from abroad, whatever its purport, if it could have come accompanied by the memorias of olden times.

Nevertheless the shadow of coming troubles was creeping over the missionary establishments. I have already alluded to the secularization decree passed by the Spanish córtes in 1813.[3] After an unexplained delay of seven years, the royal confirmation of the decree was published by Viceroy Venadito, in a bando of January 20, 1821, and the news was at once forwarded by Guardian Lopez to Perfect Payeras, with instructions to comply at once with the requirements of the decree, by surrendering to the government the administration of temporalities, and to the bishop the nineteen missions of California as soon as demanded, while insisting on exact inventories and other requisite and customary formalities. On receipt of these instructions in July, Payeras notified Sola that the padres were not only ready to give up the missions, but rejoiced at the prospect of being free to engage in new spiritual conquests or to seek retirement. A similar notice was sent to the bishop of Sonora, and corresponding information was sent in circulars to the friars.

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[1] Yet we are told in *Sinaloa, Proposiciones*, 7, that the Californians prepared to oppose the plan of Iguala.

[2] Dec. 15, 1821, Sola says that Capt. José de Estévan, comandante of Guaymas, had arrived on the *Zertaje* (*S. Javier*), having fled after refusing to take the oath of independence. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 69–70. This is the only allusion to the subject of independence that I have found in the records of the year. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 255–7, and Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 119–23, mention the arrival, perhaps in this year, of a company of *maromeros*, strolling actors, or rope-walkers, who were in reality revolutionary agents. They gave exhibitions at Santa Clara and elsewhere, tried their revolutionary arts without much success, and were closely watched by Sola and the padres, who could obtain no definite evidence against them. One of the number was called Maldonado.

[3] See chap. xviii. of this volume. The only evidence that this decree was known in California before the correspondence I am about to give was a mention of its provisions by Payeras on Jan. 25, 1821. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 42–3.

In the communications of guardian and prefect there appears no word of protest, no complaint, but only joy as at relief from a burden. In this pretended readiness to comply with the decree of the córtes there was perhaps a degree of honesty, but not much. The complacency of the Franciscans was for the most part assumed, and the more easily because it was deemed unlikely that secularization could be effected. It was known that the bishop had no priests to put in charge, and it was not believed that the provincial authorities would at present assume the management of the temporalities. Doubtless there was at the college and in the minds of president and perfect a feeling of weariness and disgust arising from the complications of temporal management during the past ten years, and a corresponding sense of relief from the measure proposed; but that these feelings were sufficiently deep-rooted to have withstood a real danger of secularization may well, in the light of earlier and later developments, be doubted. Private as well as official communications were circulated by Lopez and Payeras, and in them the friars were given clearly to understand that there was but little real danger; that the friars might safely be enthusiastic in favor of the new decree and the founding of new missions in gentile ground; and that if the worst should come, they would doubtless be permitted to retire, or such at least as were not desirous of new homes in the Tulares.[4]

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[4] The letters referred to are carefully and in some cases vaguely worded; but I have not exaggerated their spirit. Lopez speaks of the occasion as a fitting one for the padres to exhibit their disinterestedness; tells them, if, as he suspects, the bishop wishes them to remain in charge, to consent only after much urging; says that the current visionary schemes will only serve to throw lustre on the missionaries; trusts that so shrewd a man as Payeras will see through the schemes and act discreetly; and is not sparing of ridicule for all that is being attempted in Spain and Mexico. Prefect Payeras simply communicates the guardian's belief that the padres will not be called to leave their missions; alludes to one Tamariz, who was fulminating accusations

The confidence of the friars was well founded. Sola replied to the prefect that he had received no official news of the matter in question, but that on receipt of such news he "would act with the circumspection and prudence which so delicate a subject demands." In a private note he expressed his surprise, but congratulated Payeras on the possibility of escaping from official cares, and wished he might himself escape so easily from his troubles.[5] The bishop in December replied that the secularization had not been enforced anywhere in America; that the California padres might remain in charge of their missions; and that it would be time enough to think of new conversions when the imperial independence should be firmly established.[6]

Notwithstanding the apparent readiness of the prefect to give up the temporalities in July, only a month before he had addressed to his college a long and earnest protest against Sola's ever-increasing interference in the temporal management. The immediate occasion of this protest was Sola's demand for the original invoices and accounts of all mission trade, with the avowed purpose of adjusting duties,[7] but

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against them in Mexico; tells them that means for support will not fail even if the temporalities are taken away, 'y qué hasta aquí con sebos y sus adjuntos? Ah!' and exhorts them to have all in readiness, both temporal and spiritual, so as 'to reply with sonorous voice to the first lawful call, whether ecclesiastical or political, *Domine ecce adsum.*' One of his letters the padres are directed either not to read, or having read to keep secret.

[5] July 12th, Sola writes to Guerra about the news of the edict received through Payeras. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 66. Aug. 5th, Estudillo from San Diego doubts that the edict will apply to California. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 291.

[6] The correspondence on the subject, some of the originals being in my possession, is as follows: guardian to viceroy Feb. 3d; guardian to Payeras Feb. 7th; Payeras to Sola July 6th, 7th; Payeras to padres July 8th; Sola to Payeras July 10th; Payeras to bishop July 16th; bishop's reply Dec. 20th, in *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 487-8, 491-2, 541-2; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 65-75, 83; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 225-6; viii. 4-11; xi. 45, 338-41. Taylor, *Cal. Farmer, March 21, 1862*, tells us that Payeras was ordered to deliver the missions to the governor, but was advised by the bishop not to do so! Perhaps the last royal order circulated in California was one requiring a quarterly report of each mission and prescribing the form. It was received at San Rafael Oct. 5th. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 40.

[7] The demand was made in a communication of April 26th, in which the padres were required to send the original papers to the habilitados, to be

really, as the friar averred, since no such accounts were required from the settlers, to pry into mission affairs, show his authority, and learn what the padres possessed. From the first it was urged Sola had held radical views of missionary subordination to provincial authorities, had regarded the padres as mere administrators of estates, and had even proposed to take some of the best neophytes and form new pueblos, or increase the old ones. Hitherto the governor's inquisitive schemes had been baffled, chiefly through the old-time decision that the friar stood *in loco parentis* to the Indians, and had exclusive control of them and their property; but now, in view of the changes in Spain, Sola proposed to revive his plans, and this demand for papers was doubtless a first step in that direction. The prefect points to the progress of the missions from struggling poverty to their present position as proof of the padres' successful management. He brings up the fact that the missions had supported the province for ten years, during which the friars had received no salaries; declares that this year, as before, the response to the governor's frequent calls for aid had been liberal and cheerful; denies the charge that the missions had wealth other than what was visible, most having from $100 to $1,000 in money, and a few $3,000 or $4,000, all needed for current expenses; suggests that the mission property, though large in the aggregate, would afford but little to each of its thousands of owners; is willing to correct any faults that may be pointed out; but protests that the friars must not be regarded as

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returned after the collection of duties. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 43-4. Payeras would seem to have written a rather sharp reply on May 8th, to which Sola in turn replied on the 19th, regretting to enter into discussions indecorous for the government, but insisting in very plain terms that the padres must pay their duties until the viceroy should decide otherwise, and charging that they were defrauding the revenue in their speculations. The troops were suffering. For 50 years the missions have cost the government millions, and they ought, in these times of necessity, to make some return. The padres, like others, were citizens, and they could have no honorable and legitimate reason for withholding their accounts, especially when the governor, for their convenience, had permitted mission cargoes to be loaded and unloaded at obscure landings, where the officers could not take account of them. *Id.*, xviii. 44-6.

citizens, or managers of estates, or priests merely; nor must they be required to render to secular authorities accounts which were not demanded even by their own superiors, and which were "diametrically opposed to the blessed simplicity of our holy order."[8]

Thus argued the missionary chief with an eloquence impossible to render in a résumé, and with an earnestness seemingly out of all proportion to the importance of the question raised by Sola's simple and not oppressive demand. But such was the feeling and policy of the missionaries, who could manifest a cheerful acquiescence in a project involving the total secularization of their establishments; partly because they had always been familiar with the ultimate prospect of giving up their ministry, though chiefly because they trusted that entire secularization would be for many years impracticable. Nevertheless they met with unlimited argument and protest the slightest proposal of innovation; partly because they were attached to the methods of old in all their details, and partly because they regarded the first innovation as the entering point of a secular wedge which must inevitably break up their power.

Destitution still pressed upon the troops,[9] and the only source of relief, as in years past, was the missions. From them were obtained food and other articles for actual consumption, contributions of produce for trade with foreign vessels, laborers for presidio work, cattle for the company ranchos, and even advances of money. Only in one instance did a padre protest, and then under a fictitious name, to his prelate;[10] while the prefect seemed to vie with the governor in his zeal for collecting supplies. He was ever ready to levy contributions, to plead the cause of the soldiers, and to chide the padres for any manifestation of unwillingness to give. In one of his *cordilleras* he argued that the supplying of food and clothing to the soldiers was a more sacred duty even than the support of the neophytes, since the latter could, if hard pressed, support themselves in the *monte*. He did not fail to remind the friars that they had been exempt from tithes and other taxation; that they had never been called upon for gratuitous offerings, supplies being still paid for in habilitados' drafts, and this being no time to consider whether these would ever be cashed; and, above all, that in extreme cases the soldiers could easily take the mission keys and help themselves.

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[8] *Payeras, Representacion del Comisario Prefecto al Padre Guardian, sobre innovaciones del Sr Gobernador, 1821*, MS. Dated San Antonio, June 18, 1721. The author closes by announcing his great respect and esteem both personally and officially for Sola. Jan. 23, 1821, Payeras had issued a circular to the padres in which he embodied the views of the guardian expressed in 1820; see chap. xviii. this volume, upon the use of carriages, and added his own exhortation and warning against other luxuries and comforts incompatible with a Franciscan's vows. He doubted the propriety of even riding on horseback; but surely no padre should ride in any other vehicle than the ordinary cart of the country drawn by oxen or mules, and that only in extraordinary cases, as of sickness. *Payeras, Circular á los Padres en que prohibe el uso de carruages, 1821*, MS. Dated at Soledad Jan. 23d. During this year and the next the prefect issued two other letters on the same subject, in one of which, however, he seems to have modified his views somewhat, declaring that the president need have no scruples in using a cart, and advising the aged to take care of themselves since there was no hope of being relieved from duty. *Id.*, xii. 354–5; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 35.

[9] Desertions at Monterey and Sta Bárbara. Some of the militia declare they would rather live as convicts than as soldiers. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xi. 64. Jan. 25th, Argüello from Guadalajara says there is no hope of supplies. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 224. Same date, Sola says the $36,000 sent for the four presidios is but slight relief; has been forced to establish duties;

The guardian shared the enthusiasm, real or affected,

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understands there is much suffering also in Lower California. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 30. Feb. 26th, Sola to Gervasio Argüello, asking for cloth and ready-made clothing, 'of the latest style' if possible. *Id.*, vi. 33. Mar. 27th, Sola to Gov. of Lower California. Understands that he has sent an agent with complaints, and he, Sola, may be obliged to do the same. *Id.*, vi. 36-7. June 7th, San Diego in a bad way. Nothing but frijoles, water, and salt in small quantities. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 173. For the padres some promises of payment of annual instalments from the pious fund, with $3,000 a month on account of back stipends; but nothing could be collected. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 399.

[10] Dec. 10, 1821, one of the padres of Sta Clara, who for some inexplicable reason signs himself 'Fr. Baldiri de las Gallinas,' complained bitterly of the governor's demands and announced to Payeras his resolve to endure no more. He declared that the soldiers were not content with the necessaries of life; often coupled their demands with threats, and, no matter how much the padres exerted themselves, were always grumbling. Evidently the friars were being 'squeezed' for their desire to hold on to the temporalities. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 81-2. P. Ibarra of San Fernando also mounted his high horse in defence of the rights of his Indians in some matter the nature of which is not clear; but not apparently in connection with the furnishing of supplies, as is implied in his letters to Guerra. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 62-4.

of Payeras, and declared that never more than now were the friars under sacred obligation to aid the troops, being especially pleased at Sola's acknowledgment of such aid, in one instance published in the Mexican official journal.[11] That the individual friars generally shared the enthusiasm of the prelates, or that the latter acted from any other motive than policy, may well be doubted; but the line of policy was clear—to keep the Franciscan institution *in statu quo* until the dawn of a better epoch with the final triumph of Spanish power yet hoped for; to exhibit no opposition to a secularization which was deemed to be for a long time impracticable; to resist to the utmost every innovation on the system, which might obscure the brightness of future prospects; but to avoid, by compliance with all demands for aid, the danger of forcible confiscation of mission property.

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[11] Dec. 1820, call for $3,000 in coin for the arsenal at Monterey and other military purposes. A sergeant commissioned in Jan. 1821 to collect the money. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 35–6; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 69. Jan. 8, 1821, Payeras deems the call just and orders each mission to contribute, as they do, each giving from $25 to $200. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 34. Jan. 25th, in connection with an order to furnish blankets, etc., Payeras urges the secularization decree and the duties of Spanish citizens under the constitution as reasons why the padres should contribute freely. *Id.*, iv. i. 42–3. Feb. 26th, Sola to P. Martinez, has received 80 horses, 80 saddles, and 50 blankets from his neophytes as a *donativo* for the troops. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xviii. 40. This was noticed in the *Gaceta de Mex.*, xliv. 591–2, and by the guardian in his letter of May 23d. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS. xi. 343. May 18th, call for boat, timber, and 14 workmen for repairs at San Francisco; with order of Payeras of same date. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 59–60. San Francisco gave $1,200 worth of soap this year, having no wheat. *Id.*, iv. i. 77. June 18th, Payeras, in the *Representacion* already mentioned, alludes to the $3,000 for military purposes, to the furnishing of 800 cattle in May, and to an advance of $6,000 on future dues in June; p. 204–5. July 16th, *Payeras, Cordillera sobre suministracion de Víveres 1821*, MS., the document referred to in my text. July 30th, Sola calls on the padres to indicate what produce they can sell to the Russians in exchange for a list of goods enclosed, it being understood that half the amount is to be contributed to the troops for treasury drafts! Several padres reply favorably; San Francisco had nothing to sell; and others signed the circular without saying what they would do. *Id.*, iv. i. 76–7. In a circular Payeras says: 'Espero de la docilidad de V^{s} R^{s} cerraran los ojos, y sin abrir la boca remitieran lo que se manda con la puntualidad que se pueda. Lo contrario seria dar lugar á disgustos y reclamos.' *Id.*, iv. i. 60–1. In another communication Payeras thinks the neophytes may be made useful as troops if too much is not expected of them, and gives his ideas about their organization. *Id.*, iv. i. 83–9. The missions offered to furnish supplies for the troops in Lower California also. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 212–13.

Should the old régime be fully reëstablished the treasury drafts would be redeemed; otherwise all would be lost. The padres lost the battle eventually as we shall see; but later events leave much room for doubt that any wiser plan of campaign could have been adopted.

Besides the missions the only source whence the provincial exchequer could be replenished was the duties on imports and exports, and the leading commercial topic of the year was the controversy already indirectly noticed respecting the payment of duties by the missions. The padres claimed exemption, but the governor would pay no attention to their arguments and protests; and the only comfort they obtained was the privilege of paying by a pro-rata contribution a sum of money supposed to exceed the duties required,[12] reimbursable if superior authorities should pronounce the missions exempt. This was of course satisfactory to the governor, and though it somewhat increased the burden of the missions, it left the friars free to flatter themselves with the idea that they were not paying duties at all. Whether they were actually obliged to show any original invoices does not appear. It is not possible to estimate accurately the total income of the provincial government for the year. Besides contributions of food, clothing, timber, cattle, labor, etc.,[13] there were obtained from the missions one half the goods purchased with one or two cargoes of produce, and at last $12,000 as advanced duties; and from various vessels for import duties at Monterey and San Francisco at least $23,000.

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[12] Jan. 16th, Sola to Guerra. Has heard of the arbitrary acts of the padres and their excesses in buying goods for speculation which are pretended to be for the missions; shipping liquor and other merchandise under the title of gifts, etc.; and he is determined they must pay duties on everything; 'porque esto de estar á la crítica segun su moral de cada uno de estos padres en semejantes materias, como no son muy escrupulosos,' it is well to watch them and look out for the nation's interests. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 67–8; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 60. April 26th, Sola to Payeras, demanding original invoices, as already noted; and May 19th, a sharp letter on the duties of the friars as citizens and their disposition to defraud the treasury. The ship *Rita* was expected, and the friars were to be required to pay $6,000 or $8,000 on her inward and outward-bound cargo. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 43–6. May 16th, argument of Payeras against paying duties and furnishing invoices. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 54–9. May 24th, Payeras' proposal to pay in money or tallow the $6,000 or $8,000 on expected memorias of mission goods, as a *reintegro* if the missions should be declared exempt. *Id.*, iv. i. 62–3. May 30th, Sola says padres must pay 6.25 per cent like all other persons. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 296. A smaller vessel, the brig *San Francisco Javier*, came instead of the *Rita* in December, and the amount paid was reduced to $3,000, Sarría protesting to the last. Some of the poorer missions were allowed to pay their pro-rata in tallow. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 296; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 441–2. According to a letter of Torre, the governor's secretary, some very sharp letters passed between Sola and Padre Martinez, on account of the latter's smuggling operations. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 562–3.

In April there was published in California a royal order of the preceding year declaring free from all duties national products exported in Spanish bottoms to San Blas and the Californias, in which document there are indications that some such expedition was thought of in Spain, together with some points of information about previous schemes of similar nature; but as it appears that San Blas rather than California was the real objective point, and especially as none of the commercial plans were ever carried out, this order merits no further attention here.[14] The rates of duties exacted continued as in the last decade so far as the often unintelligible habilitados' accounts can be made out.

Nine vessels are named as visiting the California ports this year, all for purposes of trade or in need of fresh voyage-supplies.[15] Two American schooners

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[13] Some partial statistics of these contributions will be given in connection with the local annals of the four presidios.

[14] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 48-54. This order was dated March 8, 1820, transmitted by the viceroy Aug. 21, 1820, and published by Sola April 10, 1821. Feb. 19th, Sola to Guerra, only articles of great necessity to be exempt from duties(?) and not presents sent or received. The inhabitants are in the habit of denying under oath on the pretext that it would be mean to tell the truth. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 61. May 30th, all goods imported to pay 6.25 per cent on value, full invoices to be furnished to comandantes. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 297. Oct. 1st, Bandini may pay his duties in merchandise. *Id.*, xx. 297. Oct. 16th, Sola complains of the difficulty of finding honest men, at the same time intelligent, who would properly attend to the collection. Even Bandini with his honeyed manner and apparent honesty has been known to smuggle. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 68.

[15] The Russian brig *Golovnin*, with cargo of goods from Sitka, at San Francisco in Feb.-March; duties, $529.

Señoriano, Spanish brig, Capt. Juan Malarin, from San Blas with dry goods, hardware, etc. Arrived at Monterey March 16th, and sailed for San are named as suspected of smuggling, and the operations of one of them, or rather of certain Californians in connection with its visits, created no little excitement at Santa Bárbara and Los Angeles. Antonio Briones with a few companions, by the use of certain signals, induced the master to land some goods for trade on the Máligo coast. The goods were at once seized, and the two or three men in charge were arrested and held for a ransom of a thousand dollars. Briones nearly succeeded in getting the money; but a drunken guard allowed the prisoners to escape just at the critical moment. The goods were taken by the party and nothing was said to the authorities;

Blas April 17th. Came back to Monterey Sept. 25th, and in October was at San Francisco, where she paid $1,194 duties.

Nueva Reina de Los Angeles, Capt. José Bandini. At Monterey in May, July, and August; at San Francisco in August, paying $2,273 duties; left San Diego for San Blas in November. In the *Gaceta de Guadalajara, 1821*, 229–30, is a correspondence of Bandini about raising the new flag of independence on his ship at San Blas in December.

Kutúsof, Russian ship, from Callao, arrived at Monterey in July; paid $4,121 in duties at San Francisco in Sept.; and made a second visit to Monterey Sept. 10th.

Sigloe (?), Amer. schr. Capt. Grems, at Sta Bárbara in Sept. Warned as a smuggler to leave California waters.

Eagle, Amer. schr.; refused supplies at San Diego in Sept. on suspicion of being a smuggler.

Europa, Spanish brig. Paid $1,754 in duties at San Francisco in Sept.; was at Monterey Sept. 1st; and also off San Juan Capistrano.

San Francisco Javier or *Alcion*, Zertaje master or supercargo (?); from San Blas with goods for the missions; at Monterey in Dec.

Buldákof, Russian brig at San Francisco in Dec.; paid $3,464 in duties. Scattered records in *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 41–2; xi. 63; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 63, 66–7; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 292, 296: *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust. H.*, MS., i. 17–18, 139; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 9; *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 1: *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 213; xvii. 9, 35–6, 52; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 45; v. 187–8, 254; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 76.

A foreign vessel was seen approaching San Luis Obispo in Sept., but seeing the *Reina* in port hurried away. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 295. May 1st, P. Tomás Esténega at San Francisco says there are 2 American vessels at Ross which will come for tallow. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 169. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 228–9, says that 3 Russian corvettes, the *Minerva*, *Ceres*, and *Apollo*, wintered at San Francisco, rescuing three English prisoners who had deserted from the Columbia River. It would appear to have been the winter of 1820–1; for Jan. 21, 1821, Lieut. Martinez writes of the Russian officers, 20 in number, of the two corvettes, the *Apollo* probably being an error of Alvarado, as very fine gentlemen, including famous men of science, who could speak no Spanish but spent their money very freely. They sailed Feb. 23d. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 251–3, In May the commandants were warned to extend no aid to two English vessels, the *Osprey* and *Hiperion*, which had been ordered away from San Blas. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 296.

but the affair soon leaked out, and Captain de la Guerra not only confiscated the goods, but made the conspirators pay a heavy fine in favor of the Los Angeles chapel, and condemned the two leaders, Briones and Alanis, to six months' work in chains.[16] Of the Russian visits it is not necessary to say more here than to note the fact that the surgeon of the *Kutúsof* brought vaccine matter to Monterey, and the 28th of August vaccinated fifty-four persons, doubtless the first time this operation was performed in California.[17]

Sola was still discontented and eager to get a better place elsewhere. The motives of his discontent varied somewhat from time to time; over-work, business enough for six men constantly employed, all to be done by himself alone, a cold and disagreeable climate unsuited to his advancing years, no officers to be intrusted with the cares of state while he might enjoy the fruits of the sunny south, troubles with the padres, neglect by the royal authorities, and disgust at the character of the Californians, whose condition he declares would long ago have become insufferable had it not been for his unappreciated efforts. His petitions to be relieved were frequent, and he was much pleased when he heard in May and July that Lieutenant Gonzalo Gomez de Ulloa, of the navy, was seeking and had even obtained the appointment of governor, a rumor that probably was not well founded.[18]

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[16] This affair took place apparently in October, whether with the *Eagle* or so-called *Sigloé* or some other schooner, it is impossible to say. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 156–8; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lii. 9–10; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 69. Lieut. Fabregat was also accused of surreptitious trade with an American schooner, perhaps the same. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 294. *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 25. The reported quarrel between Padre Martinez and Sola arose also from dealings of the former with an American schooner. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 562–3.

[17] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 188–9.

[18] *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 33–40; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 63; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 519; *St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 47–8; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 90. In May Sola sent to Mexico a draft of $10,000 for over-due salary. In July the report was current that Ulloa was to have come as governor on the *Reina*, but had been delayed at Tepic and might be expected later.

The gentile tribes made no trouble in 1821, and the only topic of Indian affairs that merits attention was a correspondence that took place respecting the tribes of the Colorado. Since 1819 rumors of danger from that quarter had been current. This spring the rumor of impending Amajava hostilities came from a captive woman, and caused Sola to think of sending out a new expedition under Moraga, posting a strong force at the entrance of the Tulares, and even fortifying the frontier missions of San Gabriel and San Fernando with walls; but nothing was done. A Cocomaricopa chieftain with a few companions who came to trade at San Gabriel and San Diego, although he bore a recommendation from the commandant of Tucson, was sent back as quickly as possible after being closely questioned about the Colorado tribes, and being made to understand that such visits were not desired in California.[19] In the autumn Payeras and Sanchez, with a guard of six soldiers, made a trip of inspection between San Gabriel and San Diego. The only value of the diary for my purpose is in its local names and statistics, which I condense in a note.[20]

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[19] Rumored danger, proposed expedition, and fortification of the missions. Sola to Ruiz, Guerra, and Payeras, March 8th. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 61–2; *Prov. St Pap.*, MS., xx. 290–1; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 21; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xvii. 42–3. Treatment of the Cocomaricopa chief. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 72; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xviii. 42; *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 22. Reports of Santiago Argüello and Estudillo on the statements of the chief that the Cocomaricopas, Pápagos, Jalchedumes, and Fagües on both banks of the Colorado were united against their constant foes, the Yumas, Apaches, and Amajavas, the last living farthest up the river; and that it was 7 days' journey from San Gabriel to the Colorado: 1st to San Antonio, 9 l.; 2d to San José, 15 l.; 3d to San Sebastian, 15 l.; 4th to Jesus María, 26 l.; 5th to Pozo de la Alegría, 12 l.; 6th to the Méganos, 8 l.; and 7th to the river near by. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 287–9.

[20] *Sanchez, Diario de la Caminata que hizo el P. Prefecto Payeras en Union del P. Sanchez por la Sierra desde San Diego hasta S. Gabriel, 1821*, MS. Begun Sept. 10th, ended Oct. 1st. The route was as follows: From San Diego Mission, E. to the mission ranchería of Sta Mónica or El Cajon, 5 l.; N. 1 l. to Cañada del Arrastradero; ranch. Michegua; up the windings of the cañada E. and N.; branch cañada with ranch. Queptahua; into plain of Pamó with ranch. Canapui; by the valley, N. E., and then E. to ranch. Ballena, or Egepam; to Cañada of Sta Isabel, or Elcuanain, about 11 l. from Sta Mónica. Climbed the Sierra Madre E., past the mission's cattle range; could not see the Colorado with a good glass as was hoped; much description; back by the same road, into cañada of San Dieguito, where the mission had

The winter of 1820–1 was noted as cold throughout the province. There was hardly a mission where there were not complaints of frost or snow in excess of anything that could be remembered. Argüello walked on the ice in a ditch at San Francisco; deep snow lay on the plains about Soledad; the holy water was frozen at Monterey, as was the stream at San Luis Obispo; at Santa Inés many sheep perished, and as far south as San Luis Rey the cold was excessive. All this from January to March. A comet, 'muy feo,' was visible at Santa Inés in March; there was a violent earthquake at San Luis Rey the 1st of January, and a succession of shocks at Santa Bárbara early in the same month; while at San Diego in September or October the valley was flooded on a clear day by a cloud-burst in the mountains, if we may credit the memory of Blas Aguilar, an old resident. As a rule rain was light according to reports from all quarters; yet 1821 was by far the most productive year the missions ever knew, the total yield reaching 180,000 bushels.[21]

The annals of the year should not be closed without brief mention of a report which Tadeo Ortiz de Ayala placed "at the imperial feet of his Majesty Iturbide"

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corn growing; ranch. Guichopa, Geonat, Tatayojai, and Elcuanam, or Sta Isabel; 450 Christians; cañada called Tamatia, or Jamatai. Other rancherías in region of Sta Isabel, Mucucuiz, Gelonopai, Egenal, Tegilque, Gecuar; about 200 gentiles; a cross was blessed with great ceremony at the chapel on Sept. 15th. Payeras went 4 l. N. to visit the hot spring of Jacopin, past Ajata or Las Llagas, and Buenavista Spring, all in or near San José Valley; N., partly by same route to Taqui, in a fine valley fitted for a mission, also called Guadalupe, 2.5 leagues from Sta Isabel; 6 or 7 l. E. of Sta Isabel are 10 rancherías with 450 souls. West down the Cañada to Potrero, or Caqui; to Pala, or San Antonio; about 3 l. N. and E. to Temécula; W. and N. to spring of San Isidro; Sta Gertrudis; San Jacinto, or Jaguara, a ranch. of San Luis Rey, some 11 l. from Temécula. About 9 l. to San Bernandino, or Guachinga; 200 Indians; Ranch. Jubuval; Arroyo de San Miguel in region of San Bernandino; some *casas viejas* mentioned; a good mission site at a marsh of Jesus María; Jubabal on Rio Sta Ana; Guapia; Ajuenga (?); San Gabriel. There is of course much descriptive matter; but my only object has been to preserve the names.

[21] For weather reports, see *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 191; iv. 71, 495–501; v. 85, 185, 253; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 89, 91–2; *Hayes' Em. Notes*, 501–2; *Id., Memorabilia*, 133; *S. Diego Union, Jan. 28, 1876*. See, also, the chapters on local annals for this decade.

in October 1821.[22] In this document several pages are devoted to the Californian regions, their value, and the imminent danger of their invasion or too close hemming-in by the Anglo-Americans from Missouri by way of the Columbia, or from Texas by way of the Colorado, or by the Russians already within the province, "perhaps under some secret agreement with the government of Spain." The remedy, or prevention, for threatened ills, as outlined by this author, consisted in the convict colonization of California, free trade, "giving another method to those missions," and the opening of communication with Sonora and New Mexico. This was doubtless the first proposition of independent Mexico in favor of California.

Of the foreign residents, John Gilroy was married about easter to María Clara de la Asuncion Ortega, and went with Captain Argüello on a trip to the far north in the autumn. John Rose was zealously perfecting his religious education at Purísima and San Buenaventura, while José Chapman, at work on a mill near Santa Inés, received from the governor in December a document certifying that he was included in the king's amnesty to all Anglo-American prisoners.[23] John Michael Johnson, a Scotchman, was baptized at San Buenaventura on May 26th, but nothing more is known of him.[24] According to statements in later lists and petitions there were at least three additions in 1821 to the foreign colony, Jeremiah Jones, a Protestant calker of Surrey, England, John Bones, an Irish carpenter twenty-three years of age, and Phillip Fellom, or Felon, a Danish hatter of twenty years.[25] These were probably deserters from different vessels, about the date of whose arrival there may be an error of a year or two, but who lived long in the country.

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[22] *Ayala, Resúmen de la Estadística del Imperio Mexicano.* Mexico, 1822. MS. 16mo. p. 104. Dated Oct. 10, 1821, while Iturbide was yet president of the regency: pp. 96–100 on California.

[23] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 42; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 508; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 67; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. (96–7).

[24] *S. Buenaventura, Lib. Mision*, MS., 22–3.

[25] Naturalization records in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 10–28; xx. 15; *Estrada, Noticia de Estrangeros, 1829*, MS. There are several others who are said

Late in the summer rumors were current that a party of English or Americans had established themselves somewhere within forty or fifty leagues of San Francisco, and Sola determined to send out an exploring expedition to ascertain the truth, and if necessary drive out the intruders.[26] Thirty-five *soldados de Cuera* and twenty *infantes*, part of the force coming up from Monterey, were assembled at San Francisco. Horses and much of the supplies were sent from Santa Clara and San José up to the strait of the Carquines. The officers selected were Captain Luis Argüello, Alférez Francisco de Haro, Alférez José Antonio Sanchez, and Cadet Joaquin Estudillo, with Padre Blas Ordaz as chaplain and chronicler, and John Gilroy, called the "English interpreter Juan Antonio." Some neophytes were also attached to the force, and all was ready for the start the 18th of October. The company sailed from San Francisco at 11 A. M. in the two *lanchas* of presidio and mission, landing at Ruyuta, near what is now Point San Pedro, to pass the night. Next day they continued the voyage to the Carquines, being joined by two other boats. Saturday and Sunday were spent in ferrying the horses across the strait, together with a band of Ululatos and Canucaymos Indians en route to visit their gentile homes, and in religious exercises. Monday morning they started for the north.

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to have come in 1821, but are at the same time accredited to vessels known to have arrived in 1822; and still others, as Buckle and McIntosh, whose arrival is referred in different documents to 1821, 1822, and 1823 respectively, and whom I have included in 1823.

[26] Sept. 24th, an expedition of 50 men contemplated to go after 'the strange people said to be in the direction of San José towards the north.' Commander not yet chosen. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 254. Oct. 4th, Sola to padres of Sta Clara, San José, and San Francisco. Has resolved to send Argüello with 45 or 50 men, and asks the padres to furnish supplies. Document signed by the padres and sent back to be *archivado. Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 79.

The journey which followed was popularly known to the Spaniards at the time and since as "Argüello's expedition to the Columbia." The Columbia was the only northern region of which the Spaniards had any definite idea, or was rather to them a term nearly synonymous with "the northern interior." It was from the Columbia that the strange people sought were supposed to have come; and it is not singular, in the absence of any correct ideas of distance, that the only expedition to the far north was greatly exaggerated in respect of the distance traversed. The narratives in my possession, written by old Californians, some of whom accompanied Argüello, are unusually inaccurate in their versions of this affair, on which they would throw but very little light in the absence of the original diary of Father Ordaz—a document that is fortunately extant.[27]

Starting from the strait on the morning of October 22d, Argüello and his company marched for nine days, averaging little less than eight hours a day, northward up the valley of the Sacramento, which they called the Jesus María. The names of rancherías passed I give in a note.[28] There is little else to be said of the march, the obstacles to be overcome having been few and slight. The natives were either friendly, timid, or slightly hostile, having to be scattered once or twice by the noise of a cannon.[29] The neophyte Rafael from San Francisco had but little difficulty in making himself understood. The most serious calamity was the loss of a mule that fell into the river with two thousand cartridges on its back. There were no indications of foreigners.

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[27] *Ordaz, Diario de la Expedicion de Don Luis Argüello al Norte, 1821*, MS. Besides the usual faults of the padres' diaries, largely consisting in the undue prominence given to minor happenings supposed to bear on the prospective salvation of gentile souls, this one has the less common defect of omitting distances in each day's march. The statements made by men who claim to have accompanied the expedition are in *Boronda, Notas*, MS., 18–21; *Amador, Memorias*, MS., 19–24; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 20–2; and *Pico, Acontecimientos*, MS., 18–19. Of these that of Boronda is by far the most accurate, and that of Fernandez, largely followed by Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 144–6, 251–3, and Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 191–3, is the least correct. It seems useless to note errors respecting dates, officers, forces, regions traversed, and battles with Indians in these manuscript authorities. Some of the writers admit that Argüello did not go farther probably than the Willamette. Narrative also in *Bojorges, Recuerdos*, MS., 1–4. No account of the expedition so far as I know has ever appeared in print, beyond a brief newspaper mention in a notice of the death of Capt. Fernandez. Dr. Marsh, however, *Letter to Com. Jones*, 1842, MS., p. 2, mentions the affair and says: 'I have ascertained that this famous expedition, which was out about 4 months, did not go beyond the valley of the Sacramento, a distance of not more than 200 miles from San Francisco.'

[28] Pozo de San Blas, near Suisun. Ranch. of the Ululatos, near that of the Gualactos; ranch. of the Libaytos, 400 inhab., on a river 'bastante considerable' called Rio de San Pedro. Ehita on a river, near an oak grove, 900 in-

On the 30th, to use the words of the diary, "the place where we are is situated at the foot of the Sierra Madre, whence there have been seen by the English interpreter Juan Antonio two mountains called Los Cuates—the Twins—on the opposite side of which are the presidio and river of the Columbia. The rancherías before named are situated on the banks of the Rio de Jesus María, from which to-morrow a different direction will be taken." Accordingly the 31st they "marched west[30] until they came to the foot of a mountain range about fifteen leagues from the Sierra Nevada, which runs from north to south, terminating in the region of Bodega." Exactly at what point the travellers left the river and entered the mountain range, now bounding Trinity County on the east, I do not attempt to determine, though it was evidently not below Red Bluff. The distance made up the valley, allowing an average rate of three miles an hour for sixty-eight hours, the length of the return march of ninety-six hours through the mountains, at a rate of two miles an hour, and the possible identity of Capá, reached in forty-four hours from Carquines, with the Capay of modern maps opposite Chico, would

hab.; Goroy, 1,000 inhab., on Rio Jesus María, near a hill and alameda, or grove; the ranchería was protected by a stockade; Guiritoy, or Guitistoy, 1,600 inhab., on same river, near an alameda of large oaks stretching 10 leagues; Capá (Capay, opposite Chico?); Coriú; Cha, 1,500 inhab.; Teroti; Hutulrabe; Ducdac; Pachi; Sunus; Chenó; Llali.

[29] It is rather vaguely implied by Ordaz that a few Indians were wounded at Guiritoy on Oct. 26th; and Amador claims to have aimed low notwithstanding Argüello's orders, killing seven.

[30] The diary has it 'east,' but this must of course be an error, perhaps of my copyist.

seem to point to the latitude of Shasta or Weaverville as the northern limit of this exploration.[31]

For nine days, the explorers marched southward over the mountains. No distances are given, and I shall not pretend to trace the exact route followed, though I give in a note the names recorded in the diary.[32] Like those in the valley, the savages were not as a rule hostile, though a few had to be killed in the extreme north; but their language could no longer be understood, and it was often difficult to obtain guides from ranchería to ranchería. The natural difficulties of the mountain route were very great. Many horses died, and four pack-mules once fell down a precipice together. The 3d of November, at Benenuc, some blue cloth was found, said to have been obtained from the coast, probably from the Russians. On the 6th the ocean was first seen, and several soldiers recognized the "coast of the Russian establishment at Bodega." Next day from the Espinazo del Diablo was seen what was believed to be Cape Mendocino, twenty leagues away on the right. Finally on the 10th the party from the top of a mountain, higher than any before climbed, but in sight of many worse ones, abandoned by their guides at dusk, with only three days' rations, managed to struggle down and out through the dense undergrowth into a valley.

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[31] Another clue to the locality may be found in the fact that on starting south, they followed a river along the foot of the range for a whole day, and at the end of the second day, after passing between two steep ranges still southward, encamped on a river supposed to be the same. They named the stream Todos Santos. Amador says it was the Trinity, which indeed seems to be the only stream in this region on which they could have travelled so long to the south. Yet the diary does not indicate that they crossed the main Shasta range to reach the river, nor do subsequent events seem to point to the Trinity.

[32] Rio Todos Santos; Tuyaja, on river said by the Indians to be the same; Lonita; Gapetely; Poquetoe; Benenuc. Fertile valleys of Sta Catalina and Cármen; Mt Maltrato; Arroyo de Salsipuedes; and ranch—Chugelempa; Arroyo de los Peligros; Caguitlomé; Satumtutillami; Gualactole; Guiaguillomi; Oleyomi; Catalillomi; Chiyasayacume; Espinazo del Diablo; Magma; Valley of Buena Esperanza; Arroyo de S. Ignacio (this according to *Payeras, Noticias sobre Ross*, MS., 417—see also chap. xx. this volume—was the Russian River about 13 leagues above its mouth, or perhaps not far above Cloverdale); Valley of Libantiliyami.

And down this valley of Libantiliyami, which could hardly have been any other than that of the Russian River, though at what point in the present Sonoma County or from what direction they entered it I am at loss to say,[33] the returning wanderers hastened; over a route that seems to have presented no obstacles—doubtless near the sites of the modern Healdsburg and Santa Rosa—and on November 12th at noon, after twenty hours' march in three days, arrived at San Rafael.[34] Next day, after a thanksgiving mass, the boats arrived and the work of ferrying the horses across to Point San Pablo was begun. The infantry soldiers, who were mounted during the expedition, also took this route home, both to Monterey and San Francisco. The rest arrived at the Presidio in the boats at 10 A. M. on the 15th. Thus ended the most extensive northern expedition ever made by the Spaniards in California.[35]

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[33] From this diary alone it would be most natural to suppose it was in the region of Ukiah from the direction of Cow Mountain on the east or north-east; but from the mountains the ocean was plainly visible, and there is no mention of any body of water corresponding to Clear Lake. In a diary of the next year, however, *Payeras, Noticias sobre Ross*, MS., 417, it is clearly stated that the Arroyo de San Ignacio, where they encamped on Nov. 9th, subsequently climbing a high mountain on the 10th, and thence descending into the valley, was the Russian River 13 l. above its mouth, that is in the region of Cloverdale. And again in the expedition to explore Sonoma in 1823, the ranchería of Libantiliyami, passed in 1821 on the first day's march down the valley of the same name, is said to have been three and a half leagues N. W. from the site of the modern Petaluma, that is not far from Santa Rosa. *Altimira, Diario*, MS.; *Sanchez, Diario*, MS.; see also chap. xxii. of this volume.

[34] Names on this last part of the journey were: Sierra de Buen Retiro, the range which they had left running parallel with their route down the valley; ranchería of Libantiliyami; spring of San Jorge, and Alompali (Olompali).

[35] Nov. 15th, Sola to Martinez, supposes Argüello and his men have returned and are resting. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 48. Dec. 24th, Martinez to Guerra, the expedition did not find the strange people, though they went very near Cape Mendocino, the Columbia River, and, according to the Indians, 'very near New Mexico.' *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 255.

CHAPTER XXI.

A PROVINCE OF THE MEXICAN EMPIRE.

1822.

News of Independence and the Regency—Junta of April 9th at Monterey—Oath of Allegiance—First Provincial Election—Sola as Diputado to the Córtes—Events and Fears in Mexico—Iturbide Sends a Comisionado—The Emperor Agustin I.—Arrival of the Canónigo Fernandez in September—Change of Flag—Junta of October—Ayuntamientos—Diputacion—The Canónigo at Ross—Priestly Mishaps—Election of Governor—Wire-pulling—Argüello Defeats Guerra—Loyalty of the Friars—Departure of Fernandez and Sola—Biographical Notices—Character of Sola—Commerce and Finance—Vessels—Gale and the Boston Trade—McCulloch and Hartnell—Capture of the 'Eagle'—Foreigners—Mission Supplies—Indian Affairs—The Season.

Iturbide's imperial regency, established in September, was not, as we have seen, announced in California before the end of 1821. In January 1822 Governor Sola wrote to Argüello, of Lower California, that he had received from Mexico "such documents as are printed in a country of dreamers, since independence is a dream. Day by day their presses will turn out absurdities by the thousand; but you and I, aware that the immortal, incomparable Spanish nation has many and great resources with which to make herself respected, must look with contempt on such absurd views."[1]

Sola, with all his loyalty, was no prophet; for there were already on the way from Mexico despatches announcing Iturbide's success, with *manifiestos* of the

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[1] Jan. 10, 1822, Sola to Argüello. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 44. The papers referred to were doubtless dated between Iturbide's rising in Feb. and his success in Aug. and Sept. In the letter to which this was an answer Argüello had announced the refusal of his son Gervasio to swear the independence.

Soberana Junta de la Regencia del Imperio Mejicano. These despatches, giving it to be understood that Iturbide's rule was to continue only until Fernando or one of his brothers could come to take the throne, and also announcing the future meeting of the Mexican córtes,[2] were received in March 1822, and on March 16th Sola communicated the news to the commandants, whom he summoned to a junta at Monterey. Payeras was requested to be present, representing the interests of the missions and neophytes.[3] The junta met the 9th of April. It was composed of ten persons: The governor, prefect, and Sarría representing the president, captains Guerra of Santa Bárbara and Argüello of San Francisco, lieutenants Estrada of Monterey and Estudillo in place of Captain Ruiz of San Diego, captains Portilla and Navarrete of the Mazatlan and San Blas companies, and Lieutenant Gomez of the artillery, being also commander of the post of Monterey. Estudillo acted as secretary. Of the discussions, if there were any, we have no record; but the result was a resolution to acquiesce in the regency, to obey the new government, to recognize the dependence of California on the Mexican empire only, and to take the prescribed oath. On April 11th the oath was taken with all due solemnity; first by the members of the junta at Sola's house, and then by the troops in the plaza; then followed religious services in which Padre Payeras preached an appropriate sermon; and the day was closed with vivas and firing of guns and music and illuminations in honor of independence.[4]

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[2] These despatches, dated Oct. 6th and Nov. 18, 1821, from Herrera, the secretary of relations, and from Dominguez, minister of justice, are only known as alluded to in Sola's letters of Mar. 16th. In the secretary's report of Mar. 8, 1822, is a complaint that nothing had yet been heard from California. *Mexico, Mem. Relaciones, 1822,* 7.

[3] Sola to comandantes. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 5–6. Same date Id. to Payeras. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 2–3. Ruiz of San Diego was excused on account of his infirmities. Señan doubtless received a similar notice. In *Junta de Fomento de Cal., Dictámen*, 3, it is said the orders arrived from Mexico in April.

[4] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 1–4. April 14th, Sarría to Señan in *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 508. Estudillo was secretary of the junta. The resolution of the

The oath was taken at Santa Bárbara April 13th, probably at San Francisco about the same day, and at San Diego the 20th.[5] There is no evidence of any hesitation on the part of officers, soldiers, or civilians; neither was there any protest from the friars. The communication in which Payeras made known to the padres the proceedings of the junta, and their consequent duties, is not extant; but I have Sarría's original report to President Señan, in which he announces having taken the oath after much reflection, and "may God grant that all may be for the best."[6] The 13th of April Sola formally addressed to both prefect and president the *acta* of the junta for circulation among the padres, who on the day after its receipt must be required to take the oath, together with their neophytes, and forward a certificate of such action.[7] It is to be presumed that there was a general compliance with this order in April and May, such compliance being definitely recorded at some of the missions, and the evidence of hesitation on the friars' part being confined to one or two instances.[8]

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assembly is translated in *Randolph's Oration*, and mentioned in *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 121-2, with the statement of Boscana that the Indians of San Diego celebrated the independence by burning their chief. The record of the junta and of the proceedings of April 9th and 11th, as in *Leg. Rec.*, i. 1-4, were sent to Mexico by Sola with a letter of April 13th, and were published on Aug. 3d, in the *Gaceta del Gobierno Imp. de Mex.*, iii. 585-7. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 277-81, and Vallejo (J. J.), *Reminiscencias*, MS., 78, imply that Sola wished to keep the news of independence a secret to himself, Guerra, and a few other Spaniards; but that the other officers 'interviewed' the messenger, learned the news, and insisted that it must be made public.

[5] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 72; *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, liii. 89; lvi. 7-8; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 43; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xi. 6.

[6] *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 508. An incident had much effect in easing the padre's conscience, the receipt by mistake of a communication of the bishop to the president of the Lower California missions ordering the taking of the oath.

[7] *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 7; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 7.

[8] April 21, 1822, the oath taken by padres and neophytes with religious ceremonies at San Juan Bautista, Sta Cruz, and Sta Bárbara. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., x. 10; xi. 38; *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., ix. 128; *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 89. May 5th, at Soledad, whence Payeras writes, 'Por fortuna acabamos de reconocer á un Emperador tan justo como Cristiano y pio.' *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 95. May 12th, the oath joyfully taken at San Rafael. *Id.*; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 41. May 16th, at San Buenaventura, as reported by Señan. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 13. Down to July Padre Escudé seems to have refused the oath, and on that ground to have applied

About the same time, I suppose, there must have arrived through the bishop certain orders of the regency calling for public prayers, not only for the success of the new régime, but in honor of the heroes who had died in the struggle for liberty.[9] I find, however, no records of such religious services. There also came a letter of the guardian on the deplorable condition of the college, where cavalry had been quartered for a month.[10] Truly the prospects of the friars were not cheering, though they wrote but little about their troubles.

Sola had announced in his call for a junta, that California was entitled to send a diputado, or deputy, to the new córtes in Mexico. This matter came up in the junta, after the oath had been taken the 12th of April. The unanimous decision as reported by Sarría[11] was

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for license to retire; indeed that seems to have been his main object, since on being promised preference in the matter of retirement he swore to independence in the month mentioned. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 19–20. There was also a slight quarrel with Sarría in May. He announced in church that the soldiers, having sworn to independence, no longer enjoyed the privilege of eating meat on certain days, a privilege conceded by the pope through the king, and Sola excused them from religious service until the regency could decide the question. Next year, however, the bishop proclaimed that the soldiers were to have the same privileges as under the old government. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 11–12; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 11. Feb. 13th, Señan had written to Guerra, 'May God have mercy on this province which seems at present to lie between Scylla and Charybdis.' *Guerra. Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 93. March 15th, Padre Peyri wrote to the same officer, that of course the missions would be required to acknowledge under oath Mexican independence, but he for one would not do it if he had any hope of being free from persecution in Spain; for the offer of permission to retire seemed to him like the rejoicing at the wedding feasts; and later 'ó por fas ó por nefas, ó por sí ó por no, ó por...(ya me entiende) siempre la pagará el caido; y pobres de los pobres si llegara á empezar la fandanga. Dios no lo permita y nos asista.' *Id.*, vii. 6–7.

[9] *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 157–9; *Arch. Sta B.*, vi. MS., 310–12. Dated Oct. 7, 1821. A series of circulars from the president seems to have been received at San Rafael in May, containing not only the decrees referred to but others regulating arms in private hands; forbidding abusive words against the new government, and empowering old authorities to continue in power. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 42.

[10] Oct. 23, 1821, Gasol to padres. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 249–52. The padres were said to be retiring to Spain, and only 29 were left. It was impossible to do anything for California. The new government seemed bent on upsetting all that was old and stable.

[11] April 14th, Sarría to Señan. *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 508–11. He favored, and understood the other padres to favor, the choice of Guerra. Sola was mentioned, as he would require no salary in addition to that of governor; but Sola himself objected to that view of the matter.

that an election should be held; that five provincial electors should be chosen, one for each presidial jurisdiction with another for Los Angeles, and that the diputado should receive a salary of $4,000 to be raised by voluntary subscriptions if possible, and otherwise by a pro rata tax.[12] On April 17th Sola addressed to the prefect instructions for the election, to be circulated among the padres—for at each mission the native alcaldes and regidores, "with the padres' advice," were to choose an *elector de partido*. Thus in California's first general election the Indians had nominally a voice. Instructions for the presidios and pueblos I have not found; neither are any records extant of the local elections. The partido electors, however, met at their respective capitals and chose for each a provincial elector;—Francisco Castro for San Francisco, including San José and Branciforte with four missions; José Aruz for Monterey and six missions; Francisco Ortega for Santa Bárbara and five missions; José Palomares for Los Angeles; and Ignacio Lopez for San Diego and four missions. The five met at Monterey May 21st, with Sola and lieutenants Estrada, Estudillo, and Gomez, these officers holding seats by what authority I know not, and elected Sola as diputado to the córtes. Guerra had been the choice of the friars. Whether they were out-voted or changed their mind, preferring to take the chance of seeing Guerra governor, there are no means of knowing.[13]

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[12] Sarría says that the salary was to be raised for one year only, and that there was to be a petition that California should be exempt from sending a diputado in future. The salary of $4,000 was to be diminished by the old salary if a military man should be elected. It was regarded as of great importance that the diputado should carry clear instructions on mission matters, sent in duplicate to the college. On the very next day, Apr. 13th, Sola issued an appeal on the all-essential topic of the $4,000, urging a *donativo gracioso* to obviate a *contribucion forzoza;* and Apr. 17th Payeras issued a circular to the padres, all of whom promised to give *mas ó menos*. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xviii. 8; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 94–5.

[13] *Sola, Prevenciones sobre Eleccion de Diputado, 1822*, MS. Dated Apr. 17th, and addressed to the prefect for the padres. The *electores de provincia* could neither be military men nor friars. San Gabriel and San Juan were added to Los Angeles as a partido; but in the returns the missions seem to have been classed with San Diego. Form of credentials to *electores de partido*, in *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 139–42. Record of the meeting of May 21st with names of

Captain Argüello was elected as *diputado suplente,* or substitute, for the contingency of accident to the principal. On June 2d Sola wrote to his cousin in Mexico, announcing his coming and rejoicing in the triumph of independence.[14] Five months it seems had modified his political ideas.

While all went thus smoothly in the north, California making haste to follow Mexico in each successive phase of independence as fast as the news arrived, without the faintest shadow of hesitation or protest; while officers, soldiers, friars, neophytes, and civilians had formally renounced their allegiance to Spain, and became faithful subjects of the new Mexican empire; while all that was 'royal' had become 'imperial;'[15] while not only was the regency fully recognized, but the term emperor somewhat prematurely used; and while the people and provincial authorities were patiently awaiting further instructions as to their duties under the new régime—California was the object of much suspicion and fear in Mexico. Rather strangely no news had been received about the reception of independence there. The loyalty of the Franciscans to Spain was well known. The wealth of the missions was exaggerated, and it was feared that California might be made by Spaniards a centre, or starting-point, for a reactionary movement.

Under these circumstances it was deemed best to send an agent, or comisionado, of the regency to learn the feeling of the Californians, to 'foment' a spirit of independence, to obtain an oath of allegiance, to raise the new national flag, and in general to superin-

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the five electors. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 4–8. Estudillo was secretary. On account of the difficulties and delays of travel between California and Mexico, Sola's powers were extended over two years, probably 1823–4, if the córtes could be induced to sanction such an act. According to Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 221–2, and Vallejo (J. J.), *Reminiscencias*, MS., 78–9, Argüello and Estudillo had each their friends in the electoral college. Apr. 15, 1822, the 'sovereign congress' decreed that provinces should be represented therein and fixed the pay of deputies. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 123–4.

[14] *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 47. See beginning of this chapter.

[15] 'Presidio imperial' in May and June instead of the old form 'presidio real.' *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liii. 2, 75.

tend the putting in working order the new machinery of constitutional government. The mission was regarded as a delicate one requiring high and peculiar abilities, such as were believed by Iturbide with much reason to be possessed by Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente, canónigo, or canon, of the Durango cathedral, who was selected for the position probably in April, on the 13th of which month the *San Cárlos* was ordered to be made ready to carry him to the north. While preparations were being made, Iturbide was proclaimed emperor on May 19th, under the title of Agustin I.; but there are indications that the commission of Fernandez already made out by the regency—that is Iturbide as president of that somewhat mythical body—was not replaced by another from Iturbide as emperor,[16] an omission that might have had serious results had the mission been as delicate as it was supposed to be.

The commissioner was to proceed first to Loreto, where no opposition to the new régime was anticipated; and thence by sea to Monterey, respecting the political attitude of whose inhabitants the greatest apprehensions were felt, where the utmost precautions were to be taken to keep the *San Cárlos* from falling into the hands of foes, and where the canónigo was to find a field for his diplomatic talents. The instructions of Ulloa, comandante at San Blas, to Narvaez, commander of the *San Cárlos,* were dated June 9th and the vessel sailed probably on the 13th.[17] Let us return to Monterey and await her coming.

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[16] This, in the paucity of documents, is largely conjectural; but it is to be noted that in the one or two instances in which Fernandez formally named his position, it was as 'Comisionado de S. A. la Regencia del Imperio Mejicano,' and never as comisionado of the emperor. I suppose the change in commission and instructions was either neglected in the rush of public affairs, or that by some accident the papers failed to reach Fernandez before the day of sailing, and that he preferred to sail without them, deeming the technical informality of less moment than the question of time, especially as the difference between the regency and the empire was microscopic. If this was the case, it may account for the failure of the Canónigo to exhibit his instructions in California, and their absence from the archives.

[17] *Ulloa, Instrucciones relativas á la comision de Estado á ambas Californias en el bergantin imperial nombrado San Cárlos, al mando del teniente de*

While Sola was preparing for a trip to Mexico as deputy, on July 14th the American ship *Panther* arrived at Monterey. She had left San Blas in company with the *San Cárlos* and brought the news both of Iturbide's accession to the throne and of the Canónigo's mission. Sola accordingly suspended his departure, and at once communicated the news to commandants and friars, with the information that he had received a pattern of the new flag, and a promise from the emperor that all dues to troops and missions should be quickly paid,[18] a promise that would have removed all difficulties, had there been any, in the way of Iturbide's recognition. But the Californians were far from suspecting that their allegiance was not known in Mexico, or that Fernandez was coming with any diplomatic views.[19]

Fernandez, having accomplished his task in Lower California during July and August, arrived at Mon-

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navío D. José María Narvaez (1882), in *Ilustracion Mexicana*, ii. 164–7. This is the most important document extant on the subject in the absence of the instructions to Fernandez himself, which are substantially embodied in it. The date of sailing is said to have been 32 or 23 days before July 15th. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 73; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 229.

[18] July 15th, Sola to Payeras. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 229–31. Id. to Guerra. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 73. July 20th, Id. to Tapis. August 8th, to Payeras. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 19, 21; vi. 51. August 9th, the new imperial flag made its first appearance in California, save in the pattern received by Sola, at Sta Barbara on the brig *San Francisco de Paula*, whose master, Manuel García was anxious to know how it was regarded in the province. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 143. Yet as early as July 13th, if there is no error in the date, Capt. Ruiz wrote from San Diego that a new Mexican flag was being made, though both cloth and colors were scarce. *Id.*, vi. 61. August 16th, Santiago Argüello sends to Guerra a model of the new coat-of-arms. *Id.*, vii. 75. August 23d, the same officer understands that Fernandez is coming with much authority both military and ecclesiastic. *Id.*, vi. 62. August 10th, Capt. Ruiz rejoices at the empire and hopes it may be free from storms. *Id.*, vi. 63. August 12th, Torre, the governor's secretary, writes to Guerra that people are insane about the coming of the canónigo as of a messiah, some persons having just come from the south who had talked with him. It is said his powers are very great, that the missions are to be turned into towns, etc. 'Some feel themselves already rich, others avenged, others with offices, and still more with ranchos.' The writer doubts the comisionado's authority over either the military or missionaries. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 587–8. Sept. 5th, Sola says that on St Augustine's day he set at liberty a soldier under arrest in honor of the Generalísimo Don Agustin Iturbide. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 41.

[19] Yet July 1st a hurried express from Mexico by way of Loreto arrived at Monterey to inquire if the independence had been adopted in California. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 18.

terey in the *San Cárlos*[20] the 26th of September. In the peninsula he had doubtless learned that there were no reasons to fear a hostile reception, and that no especial precautions would be required to keep the vessel from falling into the hands of recalcitrant loyalists.[21] That same day before landing he sent his credentials from the regency to Sola, and others from the guardian of San Fernando to Payeras, the receipt of which was acknowledged on the 27th and 30th respectively.[22] From this point records respecting the comisionado's acts and the acts of the authorities in consequence of his coming are meagre. It is a remarkable fact that neither public nor private archives furnish a single contemporary document on the change of flag; nor is the exact date of that event known, though it doubtless took place with all due ceremony at the four presidios at the end of September or early in October.

All the old Californians of course remember the coming of the canónigo and the change of flag, but in details their statements are confused, since they are inclined to group in this connection all that occurred in the way of politics from the swearing of the liberal constitution in 1820 to that of 1824 as part of the change from the old to the new, from Spanish monarchy to Mexican republicanism with the empire as a connecting link. No wonder they fail to keep clearly defined the details of the successive phases. At Monterey the canónigo took part personally in the ceremonies, making a speech in which, with all the arts of the wily *populachero* that he was, he showed that the change in government was specially devised to promote the interests of each particular class. Then the old flag was lowered, not, let us hope, without tears from the old soldiers of Spain, and the imperial banner of Mexico was unfolded to the breeze amidst thunders of artillery, noise of drum and fife, and shouts of "Viva la Independencia Mejicana! Viva el Emperador Agustin I.!" The friars thought much and said nothing; young men were inclined to be pleased at the novelty; the Indians are said to have been delighted at the substitution of the eagle for the lion; and if any felt sad at heart when they thought of the old-time glories of the flag of Castile, the races and feastings that followed the church ceremonies, and the grand ball that lasted through the night, went far to efface unpleasant thoughts.[23]

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[20] The *San Cárlos* was commanded by José María Narvaez, his son Miguel being alférez de navío, Prieto, contador, and the priest Afanadon, or Afanador, chaplain. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 121. Old Californians say that Fernandez had a somewhat numerons suite of attendants, which may be true, though there is nothing in the records on the subject. He was, however, accompanied by a priest known to the Californians as the 'padre chiquito,' or Padre Borrego, possibly identical with Afanadon.

[21] Of the prevalent fears in Mexico on this subject, the existence of which I learned chiefly from the instructions to Narvaez, Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i., formed the same idea from a conversation he overheard between Borrego and one of the *maromeros*.

[22] Sept. 26th, Fernandez to Payeras, from on board the imperial brig *San Cárlos*. Sept. 30th, Payeras to 'Señor Canónigo Comisionado Dr Don Agustin de San Vicente,' announcing that he has circulated a copy of the credentials among the padres 'that they may receive with reverent submission such precepts as Vuestra Señoría may have imposed on them.' *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 112-14. Sept. 26th, Sola to Fernandez, receipt of documents. Sept. 27th, receipt of credentials (from the regency and not the emperor). Same date, letter of thanks for praise. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 52. In the document alluded to as sent by Fernandez to Payeras or possibly another, dated Mexico, April 18th, the guardian wrote that there were rumors in Mexico that the padres were averse to taking the oath; that he, when summoned before a junta, had denied this; and that the comisionado must be received with respect and obedience. *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 512-13; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 348-51. Fernandez also brought a letter of recommendation to the padres from Síndico Martiarena of Tepic. *Id.*, xii. 405. Oct. 2d, Narvaez to Guerra, says that Fernandez will not leave California until he has installed the new government, diputacion, and ayuntamientos. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 121.

It may be supposed that a new oath of allegiance to Agustin I. was required from every one in the province; but there is no record to prove that such was the case. A decree of the Mexican congress dated April 18th, requiring all to recognize the sovereignty of the nation as represented by that body, and to promise obedience to its acts, came through the bishop's hands and was circulated by the president in November; but the only recorded instance of compliance was at San Rafael on December 8th, and in the oath there was no allusion to the emperor.[24] Three other orders were forwarded through the same channels. One was the bishop's order to substitute the name of Agustin for Fernando in the litany of prayers; the second was a call for a solemn mass and te deum in thanksgiving for the installation of congress, and three days of prayer for divine aid to that body; the third, an imperial cédula requiring similar prayers for Iturbide's wise and happy rule; while a fourth, arriving too late for obedience in this year, called upon the friars to pray for the successful issue of important business which called the emperor to Vera Cruz, and also for the happy delivery of the empress.[25]

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[23] Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 281–95, and Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 193–206, narrate these affairs more fully than others. Pico, *Acontecimientos*, MS., 5–6; Ávila, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 20–2; Végar, *Recuerdos*, MS., 4; and Larios, *Convulsiones*, MS., 6, speak more or less fully of the event at Monterey. Amador, *Memorias*, MS., 79–80, 129–31, remembers the change at San Francisco. Mrs Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 15, says that Guerra was absent from Sta Bárbara when the ceremony took place. Gonzalez, *Experiencias*, MS., 13–14, was away, but heard that Manuel Cota and another man refused allegiance. Šra Machado, *Tiempos Pasados*, MS., 9–10, remembers that the flag was raised at San Diego as well as possible without a flagstaff; that the soldiers complained that there was no distribution of money, and that next day all the soldiers had to cut off their queues, to the great disgust of themselves and of the women.

The canónigo called upon the padres the 1st of October for a full report on each mission, with particular reference to geography, lands, and natural resources. The report was promptly made out and contained a large amount of information, being perhaps the most complete descriptive document extant on the subject; but from the nature of the material it can best be utilized in connection with the local annals of this decade.[26]

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[24] April 18th, decree of congress, which seems to have been *constitucional* when the decree left Mexico, and *constituyente* on its arrival at San Rafael. *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 165–6. June 7th, bishop to president. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 122–3. Nov. 2d, president to padres. *Id.*, xi. 184. Dec. 8th, oath taken at San Rafael. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii.

[25] *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 166–70; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 123–30; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxxiii. 45.

[26] Oct. 1st, Fernandez to the padres. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 124–7. The information was sought under 7 different heads or topics, including population, live-stock, crops, mines, fisheries, geography, and needs for defence, etc. The answer was the document which I call *Misiones, Cuaderno de Estados, 1822*, MS. The heading in the original is *Estado de la Mision de San Diego* (other names substituted and rest of title omitted later) *en satisfaccion de los puntos que el Sr Prebendado etc., etc. Comisionado por el Supremo Consejo de Regencia á las dos Californias, pide á la Prefectura de esta Provincia.*

Fernandez clearly understood the importance of the mission question.

A meeting was held at the governor's house on the 8th, at which were present Sola, Fernandez, Payeras, Sarría, and Tapis, captains Argüello and Navarrete, lieutenants Estudillo, Estrada, and Gomez, and Alférez Haro. The meeting was an informal one, of which probably no records were kept, but from letters written the next day[27] we learn that four topics received attention from the assembled Californians and were decided—by the canónigo. The first was the governorship, of which I shall speak a little later. Next came up the establishment of a provincial diputacion, or legislative assembly, under the constitution of 1812. This body ought properly to have been organized long before, but Sola for various reasons set forth at the meeting, chiefly the unfitness of the Californians for self-government, had neglected to comply with the law. His reasons and arguments were overthrown by the comisionado, who declared there must be a diputacion if it had to be composed of Indians, and that the art of self-government could best be learned by practice. Thus it was settled. Thirdly, the matter of *ayuntamientos*, or town councils, at Los Angeles and San José was considered, the perfect organization of these councils having been hitherto neglected, without any sufficient reason as the canónigo decided. Finally, the future status of the missions was discussed, and the conclusion was that the neophytes might remain in their present condition, with certain not very radical modifications; that is, secularization was not to be immediately enforced.[28]

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[27] Oct. 9th, Sola to Guerra. Two letters. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 78–80. Oct. 9th, Payeras to the padres. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 106–11. Oct. 10th, José María Narvaez to Guerra. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 119–20. Sola writes chiefly of the diputacion and ayuntamientos; Payeras of mission matters; and Narvaez of the new governor to be chosen, though all three mention the different topics.

[28] Those of the Indians best fitted to care for themselves might with the consent of the governor and padres be allowed to go with their share of the property to the pueblo, or to live, under inspection, separately or in any decent family. The lash being absolutely abolished, reliance must be placed on

The pueblos had always had an ayuntamiento composed of an alcalde and one or two regidores. The change now proposed was simply the addition of a síndico, or counsellor, and a secretary at San José and Los Angeles, and the removal of the governor's comisionado who at each pueblo had hitherto been really the highest authority. Though the local records are incomplete, I think there is no doubt that the change was carried into effect this year, in accordance with the governor's orders.[29]

The same electors who on May 21st had elected Sola as diputado to the Mexican córtes, were at once summoned to Monterey. The canónigo had ordered that these five men had the right not only to choose a diputacion for the province, but to elect themselves as members of that august body. Accordingly they did so elect themselves on November 9th in the following order of seniority: José Aruz, Francisco Ortega, Francisco Castro, and José Palomares. Cárlos Castro was substituted as fifth *vocal*, or member, for Ignacio Lopez; perhaps because the latter could not read or write, and José Antonio Carrillo was added to make up the requisite number of six. Antonio and José Castro were named as substitutes; the governor was ex officio president, and Francisco de Haro was made secretary. Thus constituted, this first legislature of California, the members having sworn obedience to the constitution and allegiance to the emperor, was installed on the same day with appropriate ceremonies not mi-

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a stick applied to the clothed back, or to stocks, shackles, etc., all 'gently' applied. The diputacion would watch over the missions. The padres must make extra efforts to instruct the Indians. The neophytes must be in readiness to help resist invasion.

[29] In his letter of Oct. 9th, already referred to, Sola ordered that Maitorena be sent at once to Los Angeles to assemble the officers and people, inform them of the addition to be made, leave them to choose new officers, or retain the old ones, and cause the comisionado to retire and join his company. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 78–9. Payeras in his letters stated that Branciforte was in this respect to be added to S. José. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 106–10. Nov. 7th, Sola has been informed of the installation of the newly appointed ayuntamiento of Los Angeles. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 80. The ayuntamiento as a body was to be addressed as 'Ilustre,' or 'Muy Ilustre,' or 'Usía'; the members as 'Señor Regidor,' etc., or plain 'Vd.' *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 262.

nutely described, but including a discourse by Payeras, a solemn te deum, and salutes of artillery and musketry. The diputacion held a session now and then for the rest of the year, dealing for the most part with minor matters, and doing less harm than is attributed to some of the legislative assemblies of later years.[30]

Between the meeting of October 8th and the organization of the diputacion on November 9th the canónigo made a visit to the Russian settlement above Bodega. Payeras went with him and wrote a diary of the trip.[31] They left Monterey on October 11th accompanied by eight 'citizens,' half of whom were Indians. The breaking-down of a cart to which the two padres had intrusted themselves deposited them in positions more or less inconsistent with ecclesiastical dignity, inflicted a few bruises, and supplied the only excitement of the journey to San Francisco. Being reënforced by Captain Argüello and Lieutenant Valle, with a few soldiers and servants, the party were rowed on the 19th in the lancha to San Rafael. Three days took them over the hills to Bodega and up the coast to Ross. The distinguishing incident on this part of the trip was the attempt of a refractory mustang to throw the imperial comisionado into a stream. It was not quite successful, but the struggle made the rider sick even to vomiting and the color of the result gave to the stream, now Salmon Creek, the name of Arroyo Verde.

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[30] Record of the organization of the diputacion. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 8–11. Capt. Navarrete, Cadet Torre, and Alf. Haro were the witnesses of the formal installation. Other statements of the fact and lists of members. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 119; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 183; *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., i. 82; *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., iv. 29. Nov. 27th, the governor issues a proclamation in the name of the emperor, forbidding, under severe penalties, all undue criticisms of the acts of the diputacion, and all marks of disrespect to the body, or any of its members, and all efforts to divide public opinion, or create ill-feeling or disturbance. Published at San Francisco Dec. 1st. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 50. It seems that some of the military officers had talked rather freely about the ignorance, etc., of the new legislators. *Dep. Rec.*, MS., i. 123. Guerra, in a private letter to Argüello, disapproved of the bando as too sweeping, and on an insignificant matter. It was no crime to say that one of the diputados was a *tomista*, and others ignorant fellows. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 623–4. Nov. 30th, Payeras instructs the padres as to the titles due to the new assembly. As a body, the diputacion was to be addressed as 'Vuestra Excelencia,' a communication to be addressed 'á la Excma. Diputacion Provincial de esta Nueva California,' or 'al Sr Presidente de la Excma Diputacion.' Each member in the board was to be 'Usía,' or 'Vuestra Señoría;' but out of it 'Sr Vocal,' or 'Vd.' The title of 'governor' had been abolished in favor of 'Gefe or Comandante Superior Político y Militar.' *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 262. The only recorded sessions of the diputacion in 1822 were: Nov. 9th, when the body was organized; Nov. 12th, when taxes were levied; Nov. 13th, when a special tax to pay Sola's expenses was imposed; and Nov. 27th, when the matter of habilitado's compensation was settled.

[31] *Payeras, Noticias sobre Ross. Diario de la Caminata que emprendió... en union del Sr Comisionado del Imperio...1822*, MS. The route with names was as follows: Oct. 11th, Monterey to Rancho Nacional, formerly Del Rey, or San Pedro. Oct. 12th, through the Cañada de Natividad N. E. to San Juan Bautista, where Sunday was spent. Oct. 14th, 3 l. N. E. to rancho of M. C. (Castro?); Laguna Seca; San José; Sta Clara. Oct. 15th, to San Francisquito 5 l. N. W.; 3 l. to Rancho de las Pulgas; 2 l. to San Mateo; 5 l. to El Portezuelo; 1 l. to Mission San Francisco. Oct. 16th–18th, rested while horses were crossed over the bay. Oct. 19th, crossed from San Francisco to San Rafael in the lancha by rowing. Oct. 20th, 5 l. N. to Sta Lucía de Olompali (written *Onompali*, on a former trip *Alompali*); 2 l. N. W. to Arroyo de San Antonio; 6 l. N. W. into the hills and Cañada de San Vicente, with two springs. Oct. 21st, N. W. around two points of the Estero del Americano, over very steep hills, and south 1 l. to shore of Bodega Bay, 11 l. from San Vicente, where were two springs near the beach and two redwood houses built

The time spent at Ross was from 11 A. M. on the 22d to the morning of the 24th. The visitors were received with a salute of four guns, and were treated with the most cordial hospitality by the young manager Karl Schmidt and his subordinates, who entertained them with fireworks and music, besides showing and explaining everything in and about the settlement. The resulting description as written by Payeras will be utilized elsewhere. Of official diplomatic intercourse between Fernandez and Schmidt there is no record. The comisionado's object was of course to obtain as much information as possible for the government in Mexico. A Russian writer says that he warned the Russians to abandon the settlement within six months or they would be ejected by force.[32] Some of the

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by the Russians; N. along beach and over several hard hills to Arroyo Verde. Oct. 22d, 2 l. N. to Rio de San Ignacio, so named by Argüello in his expedition of 1821 at a point about 13 l. further up (Russian River of course. See chap. xx. this volume. There is some confusion not easily cleared up; but the 13 l. may be an underestimate); 1½ l. to Santa María Arroyo; to Ross, 6½ l. from Arroyo Verde; arriving at 11 A. M. Oct. 24th at 8.30 A. M. sailed for Bodega, where the soldiers and horses wese joined. No new names on the return march. Oct. 31st, they were at San José, and Nov. 2d reached San Juan Bautista.

[32] *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 16.

Californians give credit to a report, which I deem utterly without foundation, that Fernandez devised a scheme to bribe the Indians and treacherously fall upon the Russian garrison at night, thus freeing the imperial domain from its invaders at one blow! The Spanish officers, we are told, refused to take part in any such plot.[33]

For the return Manager Schmidt offered a bidarka with fifteen oarsmen, to which apparently frail vessel of skins the two priests with a few attendants intrusted themselves, not without misgivings, for a sea voyage down to Bodega. The sea was not quite tranquil from a landsman's point of view, and now it was the turn of the venerable comisario prefecto with contorted features to unburden his stomach, while the canónigo, pale as death, looked with as much complacency as circumstances would permit on his companion's discomfiture. Nothing of interest occurred on the return from Bodega to San Rafael, except another equestrian performance in which the canónigo was thrown and somewhat bruised, while Payeras looked on, in sorrow—perhaps. The party was at San José the 31st and at San Juan Bautista, where the diary terminates, the 2d of November. At each mission on the route Fernandez was welcomed with the ceremony due to his exalted rank.

Chosen as deputy and engaged in preparations for departure Sola had notified José de la Guerra to be at Monterey by the middle of July to assume the command. As the senior officer in California Guerra was entitled in the natural order of things under the old system to become acting governor until the regular appointment of a successor to Sola; and no other officer was thought of for the position. The change was delayed by the coming of Fernandez; but again on October 1st, Sola announced his intention of sailing in the *San Cárlos,* and summoned Guerra to the capital. The captain was congratulated by his friends, who expressed the hope that the appointment would be made permanent.[34]

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[33] *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 212–16; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 317–23; *Vallejo (J. J.), Reminiscencias*, MS., 80–1; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 32–5. None of these seem to know that Argüello was one of the party, or how small the Spanish force really was.

When the canónigo heard who was to be intrusted with the temporary rule, he suddenly discovered that his instructions required the acting governor to be chosen by a vote of officers. He knew the growing feeling of bitterness against the Gachupines, or Spaniards, in Mexico, and he did not deem it conducive to his own personal influence and popularity to return to Mexico with a report that he had left a Spaniard in command of California. He had no objections personally to Guerra, does not seem to have expressed openly any opposition to his appointment, and subsequently gave as a reason for his real opposition the advice of the padres that Don José was too strict a disciplinarian for the times.[35] The wily priest had noted some signs that the younger Californians were imbibing the Mexican prejudice against the Spaniards, had dropped here and there a word calculated to foment the infection, and supposed he could safely trust the officers for the rest.

It is not at all unlikely that this matter was talked over by Fernandez and Luis Argüello during their trip to Bodega. At any rate, soon after his return the canónigo learned that the officers were not likely to vote in accordance with his wishes, perhaps had already voted against them,[36] and was forced to consult anew his instructions, which told him this time that the diputacion must also have a voice in the election. So of course it was decided. The diputados voted solid against Guerra, and Captain Luis Argüello was elected by a majority of one or two, probably on the 9th or 10th of November. Don José was bitterly disappointed, and his friends were indignant. Argüello was not blamed, at least not by Guerra, who had always been and continued to be his warm personal friend; but charges of corruption were freely made, and the vote of the diputacion was said to have been bought. Some dwellers in the south were inclined to take a sectional view of the matter and regard the election of Argüello as a dangerous triumph of the north. The correspondence on this subject being altogether one-sided,[37] it does not behoove me to enter deeply into the merits of the controversy, neither is it necessary. The canónigo deemed it best that a Mexican and not a Spaniard should rule California, and many in the province, though Guerra was very popular, shared this feeling, or were induced to share it. Just what wires were pulled, and how, in this election of governor as in all that have followed down to date, is not known. Acting-governor Argüello came down to the capital on a whaler and took formal possession of his office on the day that Sola departed, probably November 22d, but possibly a day later. His proper title, however, like that of Sola himself during this last year of his rule, was no longer governor but *gefe político*, or political chief, as appears from the usage in contemporary documents, though I find no definite order in the archives for such a change at this time. This being explained, I shall continue to use the more convenient title of governor as before.[38]

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[34] June 20th, Sola to Guerra. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 97–8. On July 7th, P. Zalvidea congratulated him on his accession. Oct. 1st, Sola to same. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 78. Oct. 6th, 20th, Lieut. Gomez and Sergt. Vallejo to Guerra. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 150, 155. As early as January P. Martinez had conjectured a change of governor and the choice of Guerra. *Id.*, iii. 11.

[35] From a letter written soon after his arrival it would seem that Fernandez knew Guerra in Mexico. He addresses him as 'my old and esteemed friend,' and hopes to see him come to take possession of the government. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 169. Feb. 10, 1823, Manuel Varela writes from Tepic that the canónigo expressed regret at not having left Guerra in charge, but that he had acted on the advice of the padres who thought in the present condition of the troops it was not best to 'keep the hawser to taut.' *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 135.

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[36] The fact that Estudillo writes from San Diego on Nov. 11th, saying that he presumes the election is over, and that he voted for Guerra, shows that some of the votes were forwarded by letter. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS. vi. 111. Estudillo admits that he would prefer the governor under present circumstances not to be a European.

[37] Nov. 21st, Estudillo to Guerra, says that he understands the number of votes, those of the diputados included, was equally divided, and Argüello was elected by Sola's declining to vote. He congratulates Guerra on escaping the burden. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. vi. Juan Malarin writes to same effect; says that Estrada did vote, and Santiago was not allowed to; declares that there was trickery in the southern votes; and that the diputacion voted solid for Argüello. *Id.*, vi. 113. These two letters are all the definite information we have about the voting. It would appear that only one or two officers could have voted for Argüello. Guerra himself says such was the case in a later communication to a Mexican newspaper in which he defended himself against charges by Petit Thouars. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1,376–7. Nov. 18th, Anastasio Carrillo writes from Los Angeles that 'those of the north have had their own way in electing Don Luis.' *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 91. Nov. 21st, Estudillo writes: 'It is best to obey; time will tell.' *Id.*, vi. 111. Nov. 22d, Capt. Ruiz writes that the bomb has burst against them. 'Those provinciales (diputados) will work to render themselves hateful to all.' *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 613. Nov. 24th, Malarin writes that Narvaez had told him 'the votes of the diputados had been bought. Indeed may God help them, but the facts are before our eyes.' *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 126. Jan. 2, 1823, Narvaez advises Guerra to abide by his fate, but yet lay a complaint before the supreme government of the gross slight inflicted on him. Thinks, however, he was lucky to escape the burden. *Id.*, vi. 122. Nov. 22d, Torre says there are many discontented ones and he believes even the diputados repent of their action. *Id.*, vi. 105. The Californians in their recollections add nothing on this subject to what is

The comisionado was not quite satisfied with the padres, or at least he wished to carry back to Mexico more definite proofs of their loyalty to the cause of independence than he yet possessed; and he therefore, with the aid of Payeras, attempted to obtain from each friar a certificate of his views. Many had not

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learned from the few original papers preserved, and they fall into very many errors. *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 217–21; *Castro, Relacion*, MS., 11–12; *Osio, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 56–7; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 295–9; *Larios, Convulsiones*, MS., 6–7; *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 16; *Pico, Acontecimientos*, MS., 6–7; *Ávila, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 22; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 22-3.

[38] There is no definite record either of Argüello's taking possession or of Sola's departure; but on Nov. 22d Torre writes that Argüello has arrived from San Francisco and has not yet received the badge of office. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 105; and on the same date Fernandez dates a letter from 'on board the *San Cárlos*,' indicating that he had embarked, and that the vessel sailed that afternoon or next morning. *S. José Arch.*, MS., i. 49. Nov. 13th, Payeras writes that the *San Cárlos* must sail on the 22d. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 180–1. This is perhaps rather a weak foundation on which to base the date when Argüello's rule began; but it is all that is extant. The title given to Sola this year and to Argüello was generally 'gefe político y comandante militar;' but the word 'superior' was often added, and there were other verbal variations indicating that the change rested, so far as California was concerned, on no direct order from Mexico, but rather on a general understanding that a change had been ordered. In *Mexico, Mem. Guerra, 1823*, p. 25, it is stated that the office of governor had been suppressed in various places; but that in California the matter was left to the discretion of the executive. Mofras, *Exploration*, i. 292–3, erroneously states that Sola, faithful to his oaths, refused to serve the new government, and left Monterey with some of his royalist soldiers.

responded as late as November 13th, when the prefect issued a circular to hasten their response, and to show the importance of the Franciscans being square on the record before the sailing of the ship. Of the effect produced by this document I know nothing, but I suppose that all the certificates were forthcoming, since after the oath previously taken there was no object in withholding them. The 14th Payeras wrote in the name of the padres and neophytes a polite, humble, and flattering address to the emperor, praying for blessings on the imperial family, regretting that the Californians were deprived of the privilege of seeing one whese august name had reached their ears, and hoping that Agustin I. would not lose sight of the pagans yet to be converted in the north.[39]

The canónigo thus accomplished his task in California and was ready to depart. Besides being imperial comisionado he was the highest ecclesiastical dignitary who had ever visited the province; yet his qualities did not altogether accord with his holy office as viewed by the friars and by many others. He was a rosy-checked, jovial, gayly dressed priest, a *bon-vivant*, spending money freely and always ready to borrow from any one. His peculiarities as a politician and demagogue are sufficiently illustrated in the preceding narrative of his operations. That he left unpaid debts and that he was a gambler, is shown by the correspondence of the time, even if we hesitate to credit the unclerical fondness for wine and women, by which, according to old Californians, the friars were scandalized, and by reason of which they rejoiced at the canon's departure. Sola, at first his friend, afterward denounced him as a scoundrel. After the downfall of Iturbide, Fernandez was reported to be in prison, but in 1825 he appears again as vicar of Santa Fé, New Mexico.[40]

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[39] Nov. 13th, Payeras to padres. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 180–1. Nov. 14th, Payeras to emperor. *Id.*, vi. 236–40.

[40] On the canónigo's character, and especially his gambling propensities, see correspondence of various padres and officers in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*,

Sailing from Monterey November 22d the *San Cárlos* touched at San Diego for a week or perhaps more at the end of December and beginning of January. If Fernandez had any official business here beyond an attempt to retrieve his fortunes at the gaming-table its nature does not appear. He was not lucky at cards in the south if we may credit the statement of Santiago Argüello, one of whose letters and one from Captain Narvaez are the only records extant of the stay at San Diego. On the *San Cárlos* besides the canon sailed Sola and Lieutenant Manuel Gomez, who left the artillery force of California to the command of Ramirez.[41]

In connection with Sola's departure, though I shall have occasion to mention his name incidentally a little later, I present here a connected biographical notice.[42]

MS., v.-vii. passim. He quarrelled with Santiago Argüello and others about gambling debts at San Diego. P. Uría when he heard that the *Canonicazo* was coming thought it would be a good plan to present him with $2,000 and a dozen packs of cards. Sola accused him of intriguing to keep him out of congress, of committing scandalous acts both in California and Mexico, of leaving unpaid debts at the capital, and of abandoning in Mexico one of the Russians he had brought with him and from whom he had borrowed $497. Malarin had something to say about his debts and fondness for display. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 323-7, says Magin was so horrified that he requested Fernandez to quit Sta Clara. He also alludes to the races and bull fights given in Monterey in honor of the comisionado. J. J. Vallejo, *Reminiscencias*, MS., 79-81, speaks of his immoralities; as does also Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 216-17. August 2, 1823, Ruiz to Guerra, mentions report that Fernandez is a prisoner. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 221. Appointed vicario of New Mexico. *Mexico, Mem. Justicia, 1826*, 18-19.

[41] Manuel Gomez first appears in the California records in 1817 when he was sergeant, and brevet alférez in command of the artillery detachment of San Francisco. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xliv. 20. When he came to the country is not known, his name not appearing among the 18 artillerymen who came in 1797. In 1818 he commanded the artillery at Monterey, and was accused by some of the Californians of treachery in connection with the Bouchard affair. The charge was I think wholly without foundation—see chap. xi. of this volume—and for his gallantry at this time he was promoted to be lieutenant in 1819. March 22, 1819, viceroy to Sola. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 72. July 6th, Sola to viceroy. *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 11; xlix. 32. He remained in chief command of the artillery force until his departure. He married a daughter of José María Estudillo. July 30, 1822, announces his approaching departure. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 59-60; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 155. I know nothing of his subsequent career.

[42] Pablo Vicente de Sola was a native probably of Mondragon, Vizcaya, Spain, and of gentle birth. He had two brothers, Casimiro and Vicente, in Spain, with whom he corresponded, as also with a niece, Doña Brígida Sola. There was a sister who was a nun, and apparently another brother who was a priest, besides his brother Faustino, who served in California as a missionary

The reader of the preceding seven years' annals of California is well acquainted with the man, his peculiarities, defects, and excellences of character. He was of an essentially different type from his predecessors. They had earned their military rank step by step in frontier presidial service, and were thorough soldiers. Sola sprung from a family of considerable wealth and position and had been carefully educated

before 1790, and died at San Fernando college in 1820, after being insane for 30 years. He had also a nephew, José Gabriel Sola, who was a lieutenant-colonel in Mexico in 1820. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 23, 26, 35; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 200–2; *Arch. Sta B.*., MS., xi. 159–60. Don Pablo evidently received a good education, but of his early life and of his military service nothing is known, until he was appointed to act temporarily as habilitado general of the Californias in Mexico in 1805–7, being a captain at the time, and over 40 years of age.

Being lieut.-colonel of provincial militia, he was appointed governor of California by the viceroy on Dec. 31, 1814, took the oath at Guadalajara March 31, 1815, and landed at Monterey Aug. 30th. To recount his difficulties in combating the insurgents and hard times would be to repeat a large portion of the nine preceding chapters. He was often discontented and asked to be relieved, but always joined to his complaints a petition for a better position. One of his last communications written in California was a complaint of overwork. Nov. 15, 1822, letter to Guerra in *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 81. This was only one of fifty complaints, many of which have been noticed in other chapters. March 22, 1819, the viceroy sent Sola a commission as colonel of provincial militia, with thanks in the king's name for his services against Bouchard. *Prov. St. Pap.*, xx. 70; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., x. 55. In October of the same year he was again thanked for his conduct when the Colorado Indians attacked San Buenaventura. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 77.

Elected May 21st as diputado to the Mexican córtes, or congress, he sailed from Monterey Nov. 22d, and was at San Diego Dec. 18th and Jan. 2d. He arrived at Tepic Jan. 25th, was at Guadalajara in April, and at Mexico in June. Nothing is really known of him later, except that early in 1826 an order of the Mexican government separating him from the military service was published in California. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., iv. 45. He was not admitted at first to the congress of 1823, a fact which he attributed to the influence of the canónigo Fernandez; and though the Californians accredit him with some subsequent service as a diputado, I find no record on the subject. Taylor says he died in Mexico about 1824, *Discov. and Founders*, ii. 181, but I suppose without any authority.

Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 2–5, 51, tells us that Sola had less prudence and knowledge than Arrillaga, was proud, and unpopular with his subordinates; sometimes showing traits of generosity, and again cruel and harsh even to the extent of striking those who displeased him; regarded by Payeras as not hard to manage. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 75–7, describes him as amiable, peaceful, and humane, with a better education and more polished manners than any of his predecessors; being also one of the most influential of Spanish liberals in Mexico. José de Jesus Vallejo, *Reminiscencias*, MS., 69–70, has nothing but praise for Sola's character, describing him as Christian, liberal, loyal, an 'Español rancio' yet loving the Californians as his countrymen(!). Amador, *Memorias*, MS., 128–34, tells a number of anecdotes illustrating his peculiarities from a favorable point of view; but relates that he on one occasion struck a soldier who applied to him for retirement from the service, because the application should have been made to a lower officer. Romero, in the schools of Spain. He had probably seen no military service, but had been advanced by the influence of friends to various staff positions in Mexican military bureaux. His associations and tendencies were aristocratic, but liberal and refined, and he had good natural abilities. He had had better advantages than any of his predecessors except Neve and Borica, but in strength and depth of character not one in the list was his inferior. He was a ruler for fair weather. His inclinations were to be a gentleman, wise, public-spirited, liberal, brave, dignified but affable. There are traces of these inclinations throughout his experience in California. Under such favorable circumstances as could rarely or never occur in this world he might have made those qualities the prominent characteristics of his rule, but such was the inherent weakness of his nature that the first wave of adversity swept them away, leaving a peevishly despotic, egotistic, and ill-tempered old man, prone to attribute every trouble to the stupidity of the despised Californians, the culpable neglect of Spain, or a league of all the powers of heaven and earth against himself. Not only are his constant complaints and self-praise in the worst taste, but his acts and especially his correspondence at the time of the Bouchard affair savor strongly of cowardly braggadocio; while the manner of his sudden change from a royalist Spaniard to an enthusiastic Mexican independent reflects no glory on his name. He was fond of children, paid much attention to the school-boys in Monterey, and was occasionally very affable to a common soldier. It is to these characteristics chiefly that he owes the

Memorias, MS., 6–8, speaks of Sola as quick-tempered and despotic. Boronda, *Notas*, MS., 6–8, remembers him as a strict disciplinarian, but impartial and just. He also speaks of his fondness for children and of his great personal strength. All agree that he was of medium stature, thick-set, strongly built, and of rather florid complexion. Torre, *Reminiscencias*, MS., 2–4, adds that his head was large, that his teeth were mostly gone, hair and beard abundant, but not worn long, and nearly white. His voice was measured and somewhat rough; but his manners were affable. Galindo, *Apuntes*, MS. 3, speaks of him as despotic in his treatment of soldiers. M. G. Vallejo, like Alvarado, speaks highly of Sola's character and abilities.

kind words spoken of him by some of the old Californians. Yet Sola's defects of character were like his excellences, shallow, and there must be placed to his credit a considerable degree of executive business ability shown in the management of provincial affairs for seven years. He was, moreover, kind-hearted and honorable.

Having thus presented the political annals of the province for 1822, I have now to glance at other current topics of the year. The most important are those connected with commerce. At the beginning of this year, or end of 1821, there was some legislation in Mexico removing restrictions on foreign trade; and although this action does not seem to have been officially known in California, no restrictions were thought of, and every vessel, foreign or Spanish, was welcomed for the duties paid.[43] In June the missions and other producers were called upon to advance in addition to all duties six or twelve per cent on all sales of produce, as a kind of forced loan to be repaid when the 'usual' supplies or pay should come from Mexico.[44]

There were twenty vessels on the coast this year, one being the government transport *San Cárlos*, six being whalers touching at San Francisco for supplies, and the rest engaged more or less exclusively in trading goods for Californian produce.[45] We have not even tolerably complete statistics of either cargoes or duties; and respecting many of the vessels we know only the fact of their presence; yet there are a few items of interest to be noted in connection with some of these visits. The *San Francisco Javier*, which, as will be remembered, came with a cargo of mission goods in December 1821, seems to have been captured by one of Cochrane's fleet at Cape San Lúcas on her return voyage in February.[46] The *Colonel Young* brought in January some news of the insurrection, the nature of which is not specified. The *Panther* in July brought news of the empire, and of the canónigo's coming. In her also came José Amesti, a Spaniard who spent the rest of his life in California and was a somewhat prominent citizen.

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[43] Monterey and San Diego opened to foreign trade by decree of the córtes and tariff of Dec. 15, 1821. *Prieto, Rentas*, 204. Jan. 14, 1822, the soberana junta gubernativa of Mexico decreed the opening of San Diego to foreign commerce. *Mexico, Mem. Hacienda*, 1838, pt. i. p. 6–7. June 11, 1822, governor to prefect, in reply to inquiry if laws prohibiting foreign trade are annulled, says the papers announce the entry of several foreign vessels trading in Mexican ports. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 13–14. June 12, Payeras says to the padres that according to advices from the governor they are to have free trade—a new thing for them. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxviii. 165; *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 516. The duties exacted were 25% on imports; 6% by seller and 6% by buyer on exports; 3.5%on coin exported; $10.50 each on whalers; and 25 cents per ton—in one instance at least—for tonnage. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 35, 37; xvii. 83, 99; xxviii. 166; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 81–2. Amount of duties paid at Monterey this year, $9,089. Habilitado got 5% for collection. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 11.

[44] June 20th, governor to prefect and to Argüello. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 15; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 34, 36; *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 516. The records do not agree whether this tax was 6% or 12%. July 6th, governor to comisionado. Excuses the people of San José for one year, on account of failure of crops from drought, from paying one third of the fat from wild cattle and deer, which it would therefore appear they had paid before. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 49.

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[45] The *Colonel Young*, English brig, from Lima, loaded by Juan Ignacio Mancisidor, who came as supercargo. At Monterey and S. F. in Jan. and Feb. At S. F. she paid $4,807 in duties.

Buldákof, Russian brig from Sitka. At San Francisco and Monterey in Feb., having probably remained since December 1821. Again in December she returned with a cargo to San Francisco.

Snipe, English brig; A. Haig, master; at Monterey from end of May until late in June, when she sailed down the coast after tallow.

Lady Blackwood, English ship; John Hall, master; at all the ports in June and July, for provisions and with goods for sale. See *Hall's Remarks* for a description of all the ports.

John Begg, English brig; John Lincoln, master; arrived at Monterey in June from Callao; at San Francisco July and August; consignment to McCulloch, Hartnell & Co.; duties at San Francisco, $476.

Claudine, English ship; from Lima; at Monterey July 14th.

Panther, American ship; Austin, master; arrived Monterey from San Blas July 15th. Had a contract dated May 28th with Cubillas and Medina of Tepic to be loaded with 10,000 arrobas of tallow in California, for which Austin had deposited a bill of exchange for $18,750. (*Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 43.) Aug. 9th, loaded 3,000 fanegas of San Gabriel wheat at San Pedro.

Sachem, American ship from Boston; Gyzelaar, master; Gale, supercargo. Left Boston in Jan.; probably at Mont. in July.

Orion, English whaler; Barnes, master; at S. F. Aug. 3d.

San Francisco de Paula, or *Dos Hermanos*, formerly the *Cossack;* Rafael Larragoyti, master; Manuel García, owner; arrived at Santa Bárbara Aug. 10th from San Blas; still there in Sept.

Eagle, Amer. schooner; at Monterey; seized at Sta Bárbara Sept. 13th.

San Cárlos, Imperial Mexican man-of-war; Capt. José María Narvaez; at Mont. Sept. 26th to Nov. 22d; at S. Diego Dec.–Jan.

Ontario, Alex. Bunker; *Almira*, T. Daggett; *Gideon*, Obed Clark; *Plowboy*, W. Chadwick; *Alert*, C. Roy—Nantucket whalers, at S. F. Oct. 15th.

Hawaii, English brig; at S. F. in Nov.

Volga, Russian Brig; Capt. Prokop Tamanin; at S. F. Dec. 3d, from Ross; also at Mont.

Sir Francis Baring, English brig; at Monterey sometime during the year. On movements of vessels in 1822 see *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 35–8, 45; xvii. 83; xxviii. 166; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xii. 3, 5–6; xviii. 12, 18; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., 1, 8; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, liv. 22; lv. 11; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 43; iv. 94; v. 209; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 70, 74; *Prov. St. Pap., Presid.*, MS., ii. 44; *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., xi. 94; *Hartnell, Narrativa*, MS.; *Spence's List of Vessels*, MS.

It was by the voyage of the *Sachem* that a direct trade between Boston and California was opened. William Alden Gale, whom we have seen on the coast in earlier years engaged in the fur-trade, by his favorable reports of commercial prospects induced some Boston merchants—Bryant and Sturgis, Trot, Bumstead and Sons, W. B. Swett, and perhaps others were interested—to despatch the ships with an assorted cargo in January of this year. Captain Henry Gyzelaar, whom the reader has met in California twice before, was in command, while Gale came as supercargo and part owner. Circumstances were not at first favorable, for reasons to be noted in the following paragraph; yet a load of tallow, hides, and other produce was obtained, and the trade was successfully continued in later years, mainly by Bryant and Sturgis through the agency of Gale, who became virtually in later years a resident of California.[47]

On the *John Begg* in June there arrived Hugh McCulloch and William Edward Petty Hartnell, representing the firm of John Begg and Co., of Lima, who brought a small cargo of goods, and came with the purpose of making a long contract for products of the province and of establishing in California a branch house under the title of McCulloch and Hartnell, or "Macala and Arnel" as the Spaniards wrote it, and as the partners themselves not unfrequently signed. Both the governor and prefect entered with some enthusiasm into the plans of the Englishmen, as being advantageous for the province, and in July a contract was concluded for three years from January 1, 1823. A scale of prices was arranged with the prefect after consultation with the friars. Payeras attended closely to the interests of the missions, and was not to be caught napping, being fully aware, as he said, that "the times had changed, and the day long passed when hides and tallow could be had for nothing." Had he known of Gale's early coming he could doubtless have secured yet better prices. By the terms of the contract Begg and Co. were bound to send at least one vessel each year, to touch at each harbor or roadstead, to take all the hides offered, and at least 25,000 arrobas or 312 tons of tallow, and to pay either in money or in such goods as might be desired. Each mission was free to ratify the contract or not, but the ratification must be for the full period of three years, and exclusive of other traders so far as Hartnell and Co. could take the mission produce.[48] The governor in addition to the mission contract stipulated that articles of produce from the pueblos and ranchos should be taken at the tariff prices if delivered at the shore. McCulloch went back to Lima, though he made later voyages to the coast, while Hartnell remained to manage the business, and become a permanent resident of the province. The business thrived for some years, and I shall have occasion to speak often of this commercial house, the first established in California.

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[46] *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 45. The news of this capture caused precautionary orders to be circulated by governor and prefect in April and May, calling for the neophytes to be in readiness for action and for other measures of vigiance like those of 1818. *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., iii. 233–6; xi. 173–7.

[47] *Phelps' Fore and Aft*, 241–2; *Robinson's Statement*, MS., 1–2.

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[48] The tariff of prices was as follows: Hides, $1 each, large and small; wheat, $3 per fanega; tallow, $2 per arroba; suet, $3; lard, $4; soap, $16 per cental. Beef in pickle, including bone, $4 per cental, for which casks were to be furnished or the Indians taught how to make them. Other articles mentioned, without prices being affixed, were: horns, hair of horses and cattle, hemp, wine, brandy, saffron for dyeing, skins of bears, foxes, etc. The only article to be taken in unlimited quantities was hides. Wheat in large quantities could only be taken when the crop was short in Chile.

June 11th, governor to prefect announcing the proposition of Hartnell. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 13–14. June 12th, Payeras to the padres on the advantages of the plan, and his own efforts to get high prices. June 17th, announcing his conclusion of the arrangement which is explained at length; with autograph approval of the governor on June 20th. *Payeras, Dos Circulares sobre Contrata con McCulloch, Hartnell y Cia, 1822*, MS. June 19th, governor to commandants in south announcing contract and prices. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 7. Same date, Id. to commandants in north, announcing also that the pueblos and rancheros could sell all the tallow, suet, lard, soap, and beef they could deliver on the shore, at the prices of the mission contract. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 34. June 20th, Sola to Guerra, if the people do not avail themselves of this opportunity they will deserve to be treated as vagrants. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 98. June 22d, Sola to Payeras, approval of the contract. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 16. June 28th, Sola to Guerra, mentioning the matter. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 73. July 6th, Sola to comisionado of San José. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 49. July 31st, Hugh McCulloch to John Begg, sends a copy of the contract. Thinks he can get 25,000 or 30,000 hides per year, also many skins of otter, bear, deer, fox, etc., and 30,000 arrobas of tallow if wanted. Is obliged to take only hides and 25,000

The *Eagle*, or *Águila* as the Californians called her, an American schooner that had been engaged in smuggling on the coast for some years, came to grief at Santa Bárbara this year. Her crew attempted to seize the *San Francisco de Paula* lying at anchor there the 13th of September. The reason assigned for this extraordinary act was some irregularity in the sale of the brig, formerly the *Cossack*, to the new owners. The attempt was successful at first; but in trying to take the prize out of the harbor, the *Eagle* ran aground and was herself captured with the aid of the garrison and a cannon. After some legal formalities both vessels and cargo were confiscated and sold at auction for about $3,000, which, pending a decision in Mexico, was devoted to provincial uses. The schooner could not at first be floated, but seems to have sailed as the *Santa Apolonia* next year. She seems to have been bought by the padres of Santa Bárbara. The records afford no information respecting officers or crew.[49]

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arr. of tallow. Salting beef will be a good business, since cattle can be had at $4 per head, or a little more. Prices may be deemed high, but an American ship (Gale's) is offering $1.50 for hides, and $4 per 100 horns, while $1.50 or $1.75 is freely offered for tallow. The American ship could not get a load because the contract had been signed. Many vessels this year, and the people have high expectations; goods selling slowly; but fewer vessels will come for 3 years, while the contract lasts. Tallow generally commands a good price at San Blas. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 177. Accounts of the establishment of McCulloch and Hartnell, in *Larkin's Descrip. of Cal.*, MS., in *Spence's Hist. Notes*, MS., 11-12; *Robinson's Statements*, MS., 1-2; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 68-72; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 50-3.

[49] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 99-101; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 75-7, 81-2; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 133; vi. 199; vii. 160; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 52; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liv. 21-2. Exactly what became of the proceeds of this sale was what some later officials tried to find out, and the matter in some of its phases was still pending as late as 1829.

The subject of foreign residents in California assumes increasing importance as the years pass by, and ere long the annual record will exceed the limits of a paragraph. The vessels of 1822 left a number who settled in the province. The *John Begg* brought W. E. P. Hartnell, a native of Lancashire, England, and the Italian, Juan B. Bonifacio, to be the stevedore of McCulloch, Hartnell, and Co's cargoes. The British whaler *Orion* left at San Francisco under circumstances not explained, her mate, William Anthony Richardson, a native of Kent, afterward somewhat prominent, who asked in October and received in November from Sola permission to remain on condition of teaching carpentry and navigation to the young men of California; and the same vessel left a deserter, John Martin, also an Englishman but willing to become a Christian. Still another young Englishman named Robert Livermore deserted from the *Conoliango*, as the *Colonel Young* was called, and was baptized at Santa Clara. Joseph Vincent Lawrence, a native of New York aged twenty-six, and William Welsh came on the *Lady Blackwood*, were discharged at Bodega at the end of 1821, and came down to San Francisco in a boat. Lawrence was carpenter and calker on the *Blackwood*, which came from Bengal. Jean Baptiste Mutrel, of Paris, came to the coast this year on the French ship *Nereid*, but appears to have lived exclusively in Lower California for five years. William A. Gale and Captain Henry Gyzelaar, of the *Sachem*, may almost be considered as residents of California from this date; and the *Panther* had on board F. W. Macondray, who returned in 1850 and was the founder of a great mercantile house. There were no less than six additional arrivals accredited more or less definitely to this year. These were George Allen, baptized as Josef Jorge Tomás, an Irish Quaker who perhaps came in 1821; William Wilson, an American of twenty years; Manuel de Dios Pasos, a Portuguese or Brazilian, who perhaps did not come until 1824; Michael Lodge, an

Irishman, twenty-three years of age; another Irishman of whose name the records make Michael Mequelixt; and an Englishman, William Thompson, alluded to in a newspaper sketch. Of the older pioneers José Chapman, convinced "how mistaken he had been when he lived within the sect of the Anabaptists, resolved to forsake it and embrace that most holy one," and accordingly "had the glory of receiving baptism from that holy man Padre Señan" on the 24th of June; and the same year he married Guadalupe Ortega by whom he had four children before 1829. José Bolcof, the Russian, was married this year to Cándida Castro, and possibly he was the Russian who accompanied the canónigo to Mexico.[50] Foreigners were now generally well received, though the padres were inclined to be strict about religious matters. The deserting sailors had, however, no objections to becoming Catholics; and McCulloch wrote that he and Hartnell had compromised the matter satisfactorily by consenting to remove their hats and go on their knees on certain occasions.

As a matter of course the missions were still called upon to furnish supplies for the troops, both by Sola and Argüello. That the missions must pay duties on sales of produce was regarded as settled, so that there was no refunding of the last year's advances, as indeed there would have been none had the decision been in favor of the friars. Now that they paid their duties without protest, they were called upon for six per cent in addition as a *reintegro*, or loan, which was paid, not without some murmurs. None of the communications of the friars are extant, but Sola in the last months of his rule used some very plain language to Payeras.[51] In a circular issued in December to sat-

[50] Naturalization records in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix.–xx.; *Estrada, Noticia de los Estrangeros, 1829*, MS.; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 42; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., x. 12; *S. Buenaventura, Lib. Mision*, MS., 23; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 213–14; xii. 432; *S. José Pioneer, June 14, 1879; S. F. Alta Cal., Mar. 9, 1866; Cronise's Nat. Wealth*, 39.

[51] Padre Martinez wrote that as he had nothing he could give nothing, 'but

isfy demands of Governor Argüello, Prefect Payeras very clearly expressed the missionary policy on the current topic as follows: "I believe we should sacrifice the less in order to save the greater. If on account of the small harvest we refuse to give, they will impose on us tithes of all, and the troops will get in abundance what they now ask in moderation."[52]

The Indians caused no trouble this year, though the Colorado tribes were still greatly feared; and when at the end of October or beginning of November one hundred and fifty men, women, and children came from that direction with an Ópata bearer of despatches, the most exaggerated rumors were current both in respect to their numbers and intentions. The visitors reached San Gabriel, doubtless with no hostile intentions, whither Captain Portilla was sent to arrest and send them back. They departed without resistance but in great displeasure at their inhospitable reception.[53]

these neophytes have full liberty to cede their chattels as their charity may prompt.' *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 12. June 12th, Payeras implies that 12% is demanded as a loan—instead of 6%—says it will smother many speculations, and he will remonstrate. *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 516. February 20th, Sola declares the padres are arbitrary and despotic in the matter of furnishing supplies, and he will report it to the viceroy. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 71. Feb. 22d, Sola begs Payeras to write less and do more. Regrets his lack of firmness in these trying times. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xviii. 2. June 13th, Sola to Payeras. The contribution of 12% must be paid, and there is no need of listening to the padre's opinion. Haste is also necessary to prevent troubles like those in Lower California, where the troops refused to obey their chief. *Id.*, xviii. 15. June 22d, in answer to Payeras' complaints that the Indians have to support the whole province. The padre's expressions, says Sola, are insolent and only to be borne because he is accustomed to deal exclusively with Indians. The mission aid has not been so important as the padre imagines. He had better use more delicate language or resign. *Id.*, xviii. 16–17. December, a levy of $3,000 imposed on the missions. *Arch. Sta B.*, xi. 124. Dec. 1st, Gov. Argüello to prefect. Calls attention to wants of the garrisons. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 27. Further correspondence between Argüello and Payeras. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 97–100.

[52] Dec. 4th, Payeras to padres. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 99.

[53] Oct. 23d, 30th, Nov. 11th, 22d, communications of Capt. Ruiz of San Diego to Capt. Guerra. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 609–10, 613–15; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 65; Nov. 3d, Estudillo to governor. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 8–9. The number of Indians was at first given as 600, and they were reported to have declared their intention to set the neophytes free. Hostilities between this party, or another similar one, and the Yumas are referred to. Portilla had known the Ópata chief in Sonora and did not arrest him.

The 'intelligent Californian,' who furnished the report of an unprecedented flood this year—a report extensively circulated in the newspapers and utilized in support of the theory of decennially recurring inundations—was in error, probably, since so great was the scarcity of water in 1822 that in February the governor ordered a *novena* of prayers to San Antonio de Pádua for relief.[54] True the result may have been a flood in April, but there are no records to that effect, and moreover the harvest was small. Hall tells us that the Santa Clara church was considerably injured by an earthquake this year. I have found no original evidence of the occurrence.[55]

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[54] Feb. 20th, governor to comandantes. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 70. Feb. 6th, no rain yet at San Diego.

[55] *Hall's Hist. S. José*, 114, 423.

CHAPTER XXII.

ARGÜELLO'S RULE—LAST OF THE EMPIRE—A NEW MISSION AT SONOMA.

1823.

POLITICAL RUMORS—THE EMPIRE PROCLAIMED IN APRIL—GOVERNOR TOSTA'S EXPLOITS—DOWNFALL OF ITURBIDE ANNOUNCED IN NOVEMBER—CALIFORNIA APPROVES—FEDERATION PROPOSED—JUNTA SUMMONED—SESSIONS OF THE DIPUTACION—A RING AND LOBBY—SIGNS OF SECULARIZATION—VIOLENCE TO A PADRE—DEATH OF PREFECT PAYERAS AND PRESIDENT SEÑAN—THEIR LIFE AND CHARACTER—SARRÍA AS PRELATE—VESSELS ON THE COAST—COMMERCE—PURCHASE OF THE 'ROVER'—OTTER-HUNTING CONTRACT—FOREIGN RESIDENTS—A MISSION AT SONOMA—EXPLORATION BY ALTIMIRA—NEW SAN FRANCISCO—TROUBLE AMONG THE FRIARS—A COMPROMISE—NAME CHANGED TO SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO—ANNALS 1824-30—SANTIAGO ARGÜELLO IN THE NORTH—ROMERO'S EXPEDITION FROM SONORA, 1823-6.

POLITICALLY 1823 was an uneventful year in the province, where stiring national events were but little known. The records contain few official communications between the authorities of Mexico and California. Doubtless the correspondence extant is also incomplete; yet the successive imperial, revolutionary, constituent, and executive powers had but little time to think of so distant a province, and communication by mail was far from regular or rapid. In addition to the official news received, startling rumors were current. From Lima came a report of a compact between Spain and France, by which California was to be ceded to the latter power in return for troops to be furnished against the Spanish liberals; a compact, however, opposed by England.[1]

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[1] July 22, 1823, José Estrada to Guerra, in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 189.

Again it was feared that the Russians, now that there was no danger of complications with Spain, might attempt to seize California. Iturbide in a speech before the council of the regency a few days before his elevation to the throne had said: "In the Californias the Russians are threatening us." In a letter to one of the friars from Mexico was the declaration: "At the moment when Spain shall acknowledge the independence of the Mexican empire you will all be Russians." The canónigo wrote that the emperor was apprehensive of trouble from the direction of Ross and Sitka. Padre Duran in a communication of January 6th recapitulated the preceding points, and added that Russian officers had recently made inquiries about the strength of the garrisons. He noted a suspicious paper in Russian found in the province and sent to Mexico for interpretation, and assured the governor that the danger was at least sufficiently real to warrant precautionary measures.[2] Yet Argüello felt no more than a proper 'official' alarm; most other Californians felt none at all, and as we shall see relations with the Russian company became more friendly than ever. Indeed, the changes of the past year with long-continued neglect by Spain and Mexico had left the Californians indifferent to exterior politics. Some of them would not have been greatly surprised to find their province annexed to the Sandwich Islands, nor perhaps very reluctant in their allegiance to an Hawaiian sovereign, able and willing to pay his debts.

It will be remembered that throughout the transactions of Fernandez in California, though Iturbide was often spoken of as emperor, all official acts were in the name of the regency, from which body the canon held his powers; and that, so far as the records show, no formal allegiance was sworn to Agustin I. In fact Iturbide, though proclaimed emperor in May, before the comisionado's departure, had not been crowned until later. The coronation took place on July 21, 1882, and the official despatch from the minister of war communicating the intelligence reached California at the end of March 1823. On April 2d the empire was proclaimed at Monterey and the oath taken "with all the solemnity permitted by the exhausted condition of the province." At San Francisco the ceremony took place the 27th, and doubtless about the same time at the other presidios and pueblos.[3]

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[2] Jan. 6, 1823, Duran to Argüello. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 1-4. May 30th, Argüello to the canónigo, is filled with alarm at his letter. Has noticed nothing suspicious, but is closely watching the Russian frigate *Apollo*. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 55. March 8th, P. Amorós to prefect. Has entertained the Russian officers at San Rafael, but has prevented them from going overland to 'Ros-Koskoff' as they desired, without, however, telling them of the governor's orders, by pretending that the roads were bad, streams high, etc. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS.. iv. pt. ii. 7. In August the Russian taken to Mexico by the canónigo passed the frontier of Lower California on his way back. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 222.

Iturbide had dissolved in October 1822 the unmanageable congress, to establish in its place the *junta instituyente*, and the motives which impelled him to such an act were explained in a communication, the receipt of which was acknowledged by Governor Argüello on May 30, 1823.[4] In March, during the last days of his power, the emperor is said to have appointed a governor and comandante general to succeed Sola, choosing for the position Captain Bonifacio de Tosta of the navy. Thus Don Bonifacio may be entitled to a place in the list of governors; for though his term of office was only a few days, it is said that he succeeded in collecting some money at

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[3] April 3, 1823, Argüello to minister of war, with ratification by the diputacion. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 8, 9. May 1st, Martinez to Argüello, on the ceremony of April 27th, at which some coin was distributed. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xiii. 2. In May and June there arrived and were published by the prefect the decrees already alluded to, and received through the bishop, calling for prayers in behalf of Iturbide and his family. The prayers were too late, for in May the emperor was banished. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 276; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 51. May 30th, Argüello to minister of state. Has received the warning to be on his guard against the runaway malcontents of Guerrero. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 14.

[4] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 16. On forming the junta to replace the congress Iturbide appointed Ambrosio Martinez de Vea to serve as a representative of California. *Gaceta del Gob. Imp.*, iii. 925-7. Let us hope that this gentleman faithfully represented the views of his far away constituents during his short term of office.

Guadalajara on salary account, a fact that should perhaps entitle him to a very high place in the list in respect of ability.[5]

Iturbide surrendered his crown in March and was banished from America in May. Under different dates in April various proclamations and decrees of the *congreso constituyente* and *poder ejecutivo* were despatched to California. The 17th of November, in thirteen separate communications to Lúcas Alaman, secretary of state, Argüello acknowledged the receipt of as many decrees. At the same time he declared that the Californians had 'adhered' to the new and *tan justa* form of government; that all decrees had been or should immediately be obeyed; that the term *nacional* should be substituted for *imperial;* that all political prisoners should be set free, and that any man daring to support Iturbide as emperor by word or deed should be treated as a traitor.[6]

The adhesion, announced by Argüello, had been rendered I presume by the diputacion acting in the name of the people; for I find no record of any popular swearing of a new allegiance. Meanwhile there was formed at Durango a plan of federation to embrace Nueva Vizcaya, New Mexico, and the Californias; and a document setting forth the advantages of such a union, with a formal invitation to join it, dated Aug. 7th, was sent by the diputacion of Arizpe to that of Monterey, and was received by Argüello in December.[7] In consequence of this invitation, and probably of some further news from Mexico, Argüello determined to call a junta of prominent men of the three orders, military, civil, and ecclesiastic, to deliberate on the future condition and policy of the province. The call was for December 31st; but as we shall see the junta did not meet, or at least did not act, until January 1824.[8]

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[5] April 10th and June 18th. Sola to Guerra from Guadalajara and Mexico. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 104-6. Letter from José Manuel Ruiz. *Id.*, v. 220-1. At what date these letters reached California does not appear; probably not before November.

[6] Nov. 17th, Argüello to Alaman. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 18-23. On Dec. 11th, another batch of despatches were received, whose purport is not given. April 19th, Alaman to Argüello. *Sup. Govt. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 3. Sept. 27th, Alaman to Argüello. No royal or imperial insignia to be used. *St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 12. As late as June 18th, Sola, as diputado from California, had not been admitted to a seat in the congress. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 104-6. Nor does it appear that he was admitted at all this year, if ever. Yet in August and September some orders were sent to California for diputados to proceed to Mexico; and that money for mileage, etc., be paid into the national treasury. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xvi. 10-13. Meanwhile the missions had drawn on Tepic for $1,500 to pay Sola's expenses, and were assessed 19 cents per neophyte to raise $3,000 for a year's salary, which they had also advanced. May 6th, the prefect protests that this tax was a temporary and not a permanent expedient. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 96-7, 101; iv. pt. ii. 8-9.

The only change in the personnel of the provincial diputacion was the appointment of Cadet José Joaquin de la Torre as secretary in place of Francisco de Haro. The only recorded sessions, the records being for the most part but indirect references, were in April. On the 8th the members were at the capital but had not met; the 9th action was taken on a proposition to move the mission of San Francisco; the 12th a revenue law was enacted; and the 18th a secretary was appointed. There are also some indications that the body may have met in November to 'ratify' the downfall of Iturbide.[9] From the letters of José Antonio Carrillo and Torre it would appear that even at this early date Californian legislators did not live in perfect harmony, nor were they free from the taint of both ring and lobby.[10]

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[7] The original document in *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 63. It is signed by Antonio Narbona, president, and by José Manuel de Estrella, secretary. The precise nature of the confederation and its relations to the rest of New Spain are not explained. The receipt of a similar document through P. Félix Caballero is acknowledged by Argüello on March 22, 1824. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 239.

[8] Records of San Rafael mission in *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 266, showing that the call was received there on Dec. 24th, and that prayers were to be offered for success.

[9] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 20–1; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 168; vii. 123–8; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 49, 85; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 133–8; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 50–1; v. pt. ii. 117–19; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 621–2. On the two special topics alluded to, revenue law and transfer of San Francisco, I shall have more to say later.

[10] Torre writes to Guerra that the secretary, Haro, is said to have been dismissed because he refused to sign a representation to the canónigo against President Argüello and the officials of Monterey, and in favor of ousting Ortega in favor of a *suplente*. Ortega was the only diputado who did not regret the choice of Argüello, the others admitting they did it to please the canónigo. He also says Argüello is much displeased at the unfavorable reception of his

The comparatively meagre correspondence extant on the old topic of mission aid to the presidios throws little new light on the subject and develops no special controversies, indicating rather that on both sides the duty of the padres to make up deficiencies in provincial revenue had come to be regarded largely as a matter of course.[11] While the subject of secularization was not directly brought up in California this year, yet there are frequent indications of a general impression in official circles that the step was only in abeyance, and that a crisis was approaching. A refusal to favor the missions in taxation, a bold step of the diputacion in decreeing the suppression and transfer of missions, the tone of the governor on the disposition of public lands, and other manifest signs of the times showed that the day had well nigh passed when the padres could maintain their old-time power and monopoly.[12] Meanwhile the missions, and the pious

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bando, laying the blame on Guerra. This man Torre was very much inclined to be a tale-bearer and mischief-maker. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 621–2. 'All is going to the devil,' writes Carrillo; 'we have three superior chiefs, and all *impolíticos*. Malarin, Estrada, and Don Luis form this imperfect trinity, voting by seniority. The first is the one who decrees, ever assenting to what is determined by the second, in order not to lose what he has gained by marrying his daughter, while the last (Argüello) plays the role of the constitutional kings, except that the kings act in accordance with the law, and our chief *por tonto é infeliz.* Twenty-four hours here, and yet no session, because the step-father and step-son have so decided on account of I know not what vast projects of their own. I have been tempted to protest, but three of my companions have not consented, doubtless because on the day of the swearing money was distributed to all but me.' *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 168.

[11] Jan. 25th, in reply to an urgent demand for aid S. Rafael replies that the mission has already given all the grain it can spare. *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 263. March 1st, Argüello to prefect. Calls his attention to the extreme want of soap; felt even in his own family; $1,200 worth needed at San Francisco every year. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 29. In May Señan protested against the missions being included in the tax-law of April 12th as contrary to all precedent and law. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 11–12; v. pt. ii. 117–19. June 11th, P. Ibarra offers $200 in money instead of $1,000 in goods on a forced loan. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 60. Señan during the short time he was prefect seems to have been more timid than Payeras had been in calling for supplies. Fernandez says, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 27–8, that but for the padres' liberality and Argüello's firmness the soldiers would have deserted and gone to Sonora as they several times threatened to do.

[12] August 31st, Argüello to padres of S. Gabriel, reprimanding P. Sanchez for speaking satirically of the 'imaginary' ayuntamiento of Monterey. As to the claim of the missions for lands which he had granted to private individuals the governor says it is his duty to look out for the welfare of all the inhabitants, including the useful ones who had borne arms for the country;

fund by which they had been supported, received some attention at the hands of the new Mexican government which favored radical changes;[13] the guardian wrote that affairs at the college were going on from bad to worse, that utter ruin was imminent, and that friars were greatly in error if they hoped to better their condition by retiring to San Fernando;[14] while at home in one instance at least the soldiers of a mission escolta went so far as to lay violent hands upon a padre and threaten him with their weapons, "the most scandalous case ever seen in California," as Father Boscana described it, and probably the first instance of actual violence to a friar.[15]

But the greatest loss of the missionaries in 1823 was in the death of two of their oldest, best beloved, and ablest companions, the prefect and president,

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and that because the missions have heretofore been allowed to be sole owners of the lands it is no reason why such a state of things should continue. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 36–8. April 23d, Sarría opposes the suppression of Sta Cruz. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 361–2.

[13] Alaman in his report of Nov. 8th to the congress, *Mexico, Mem. Relaciones, 1823*, 31–3, states that the events of the war have ruined the funds devoted to the support of the California missions, and that the estates of the pious fund are entirely unproductive, so that no stipends can be paid, to say nothing of the large amounts advanced by the padres for the support of the troops. It is recommended that the estates be sold outright if possible, or otherwise that the rents be farmed out to private persons at moderate rates as the only means of securing an income. But this income once secured, it should not be devoted exclusively to the payment of stipends. 'It is necessary to consider other interests than those of the missionaries in the vast and fertile peninsula of Californias. The rich commerce of which it is one day to be the centre, the multitude and excellence of its agricultural products, the aid it can lend to the formation of a national navy, and the ambitious views respecting it shown by certain foreign powers, should claim the attention of congress and the government. If the mission system is that best suited to draw savages from barbarism, it can do no more than establish the first principles of society and cannot lead men to its highest perfection. Nothing is better to accomplish this than to bind individuals to society by the powerful bond of property. The government believes, therefore, that the distribution of lands to the converted Indians, lending them from the mission fund the means for cultivation, and the establishment of foreign colonies, which perhaps might be Asiatic, would give a great impulse to that important province.' The use of California as a penal colony is also recommended, not only to benefit the province, but to make of the criminals 'farmers useful to the nation, good fathers, good neighbors, and finally good citizens.'

[14] Jan. 1st, guardian to prefect. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 351–7.

[15] Letters of Boscana, in *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 6–7. The event occurred at San Juan Capistrano in January. Three soldiers swore that P. Barona should not depart for San Diego, tried to prevent his mounting, and finally caused his horse to throw him.

Mariano Payeras and José Señan. The former died on April 28th at his own mission of Purísima and was buried next day under the pulpit of the mission church.[16] There was no missionary with whose public life and character for the past eight years the reader is better acquainted than with that of Payeras, through his writings, many of which, both originals and copies, form part of my collection and have been presented in substance in the mission annals of preceding chapters. There was no friar of better and more evenly balanced ability in the province. He was personally a popular man on account of his affable manners, kindness of heart, and unselfish devotion to the welfare of all. It was impossible to quarrel with him, and even Governor Sola's peevish and annoying complaints never ruffled his temper. Yet he had extraordinary business ability, was a clear and forcible as well as a voluminous writer, and withal a man of great strength of mind and firmness of character. He was called to rule the friars during a trying period, when it would have required but a trifle to involve the padres and soldiers in a quarrel fatal to the missions. Payeras saw but one line of policy by which to escape existing difficulties, and from that policy he never wavered, though it sometimes placed him in seeming opposition to his companion friars. His firmness must often have seemed harshness to his subordinates, and they would hardly have borne it with so good a grace from any other prelate. With much of Lasuen's suavity and none of Serra's bigotry, he had all the zeal of the latter and more than the shrewdness of the former. His death just at this time, in the prime of life, must be considered as a great misfortune, though not even his skill could have saved the missions in the times that were coming.

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[16] Mariano Payeras was born on Oct. 10, 1769, at Inca, island of Mallorca, taking the habit of St Francis Sept. 5, 1784, at the principal convent of the order at Palma. He left Spain in January 1793, and in February 1796 was detailed by the college of San Fernando for duty in California. He served as a missionary at San Cárlos from 1796 to 1798; at Soledad from November 1798 to 1803; at San Diego from September 1803 to 1804; and at Purísima from 1804 to his death on April 28, 1823, though after 1815 a large part of his time was spent in travelling from mission to mission. From July 1815 to April 1, 1820, he held the place of president of the missions, having been reëlected in 1818, and holding the office of vicar from May 1816. From April 1, 1820, though his election in Mexico was in October 1819, till his death, he was comisario prefecto, and also comisario del santo oficio. In all the mission reports he is credited with especial and distinguished merit. On his life, see *Purísima, Lib. Mision;* MS., 12; mission books of the other establishments where he served, though there is not a single mission in the province on the books of which his name does not occasionally appear. *Autobiog. Autog. de los Padres,* MS.; *Sarría, Informe del Com. Prefecto, 1817,* MS., 53-4; *Arch. Sta B.,* MS., iii. 129-30, 158; xi. 94, 334, 337; *Arch. Arzob.,* MS., iv. pt. i. passim; iv. pt. ii. 8. See, also, the documents under his name in my list of authorities, and the mission annals of the country since 1815 in the preceding chapters of this volume. The sentiments of Payeras at the time of the Bouchard attack were, 'viva Dios, viva la religion, viva el rey, viva la patria, y ó vencer ó morir en tan preciosa defensa.' In October 1819 he was thanked in the king's name for his services in those trying times. *Prov. St. Pap.,* MS., xx. 61. He was the only one of the padres who visited and described Ross; and Mofras, *Exploration,* ii. 5, says that on May 2, 1817, he addressed a letter to the king on the subject of the Russian colony. Notwithstanding his prominence it was never the lot of Payeras to be the *ministro fundador* of any mission.

Early in April Payeras had named to succeed him as prefect his associate the president and vice-prefect José Señan. But Señan's term of office was very brief, since he himself died at his mission of San Buenaventura on August 24th of the same year. He died kissing the crucifix at 7 A. M., after long and severe suffering, at the age of sixty-three, and was buried the 25th by Vitoria, Ordaz, and Suñer, his remains being deposited in a wooden coffin within a stone vault on the epistle side of the main altar opposite the grave of Padre Santa María.[17]

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[17] José Francisco de Paula Señan was born March 3, 1760, at Barcelona, in a convent of which city he became a Franciscan on Jan. 8, 1774, at the early age of 14, being noted for extraordinary memory and inclination to study. Leaving his convent in April 1784, he arrived at the Mexican college in September, and in October 1787 was sent to California, where he served at San Cárlos until 1795, and then retired. While in Mexico he made a full report to the viceroy on the condition of the California missions. Later he returned northward, arriving at Sta Bárbara May 7, 1798, and serving at San Buenaventura from July of that year until his death on Aug. 24, 1823. Señan was elected president in July 1812, and held the office from the end of that year until the end of 1815. Again he was elected in October 1819, and held the office from April 1820 till his death, being also vicario foraneo and vice-prefect, and prefect from April 28, 1823. On his life see *Autobiog. Autog. de los Padres*, MS., 403; *Sarría, Informe del Com. Prefecto 1817*, MS., 47-8; *S. Buenaventura, Lib. Mision*, MS., 21-3, ii. 58-60. Arrival at Sta Bárbara May 7, 1798, with seven companions. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 47. Jan. 18, 1821, governor has received bishop's appointment of vicar for Señan.

Father Señan was older in the service than any other in California, being the only survivor of those who had come before 1790. He also was a model missionary, resembling Payeras in many of his excellences, but unlike the latter shrinking from the cares and responsibilities of official life. He was the superior of Payeras in scholarship, his equal in the qualities that make a successful missionary, but inferior as a politician and leader. He was particularly averse to all controversy, except on theological points, being somewhat more of a *religioso* than was Payeras. He disliked to issue orders or assume authority, but was always ready to respond to the frequent calls of his confrères for advice. He was sometimes nicknamed Padre Calma. He was familiar with the language of the Indians about San Buenaventura. Comparatively few of his writings are extant. During his first term as president he managed the interests of the missions with much skill, but during his second term he was released as far as possible from such duties by orders from Spain, in order that he might write a history of California. In 1819 he promised to undertake the task, but what progress he made, if any, before his death is unknown.

Vicente Sarría was named by Señan on August 4th to succeed him as prelate. He learned of Señan's death September 5th, and held the office of prefect, ad interim until November 1824, to the end of the decade. He was also president till April 1825, having tried unsuccessfully to give the office to Father Jaime, to whom it by right belonged.[18]

St. Pap., Sac., MS., 38–40. Notices of his death. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 8, 16, 20, 68; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 39–40. April 19, 1820, in a letter to the governor he says he is 61 years old, and had hoped for rest; but there is no hope of rest in this world. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 15–16. Valdés, *Memorias*, MS., 7, describes Señan as short and fat with rather fair complexion, appearing younger than he was. Autograph in *S. Antonio, Doc. Sueltos*, MS., 60–1, 68–9.

[18] *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 265–6; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 20, 68. Dec. 18, 1823, Sarría announced that the powers hitherto enjoyed by the prefect had been extended for five years more. I may here allude to the statistical report on the state of the missions at the end of 1823, *Misiones, Estado*

The number of vessels clearly recorded as having been on the coast this year was seventeen, ten of them being identical with those of the past year, three being Russian men-of-war, five being whalers, and the rest traders in quest of tallow, hides, and grain. I append their names.[19] The traders did a lively business,' the duties paid on imports and exports according to the accounts kept at Monterey amounting

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de las...sacado de los informes de los Misioneros, etc., MS., not because it was more important than similar reports for other years, but because it was translated by Taylor and published in the *S. F. Bulletin*, Oct. 27, 1860. It is said to have been written by Arroyo, but if so that padre must have acted merely as secretary for Sarría.

[19] *Buldákof*, Vichilman, master; at S. F. in Jan., July, Aug., and Sept., perhaps making a trip to the north in the mean time. Duties $806, including tonnage at $2.50 per ton.

Apollo, Russian frigate; at S. F. from March to May, buying $3,647 of provisions. She came back in November.

Sachem, Gyzelaar, master; Gale, supercargo; at S. F. in April, $131 duties; again in July, $499; at Mont. in Aug., $662. She got 2,500 hides.

John Begg, McCullough, supercargo; to McC., H. and Co. At S. F. April, $1,860 duties; at S. Diego, May–June, $1,500; at Mont. in Aug. Total of duties, $11,608; cargo, $44,528.

Thomas Nowlan, or *Newlands*, English ship; Wm. Clark, master; at Sta B. and S. Diego in May, bound for Callao.

Sta Apolonia, which appears to be the *Eagle* of 1822, got off the bar, rechristened, and despatched to Mazatlan and S. Blas in May or June from Sta B., Antonio Arana, master; Cárlos Carrillo, owner.

Neptune, English brig; at Monterey in July. Total of duties, $3,064; cargo, $10,404.

Rover, Amer. schooner; Cooper, master. At S. F., in June, from Manila and China. Paid $412 duties, including $30 on coin taken away at 3.5 per cent.

Hebe, English brig; Nixon, master; to McC., H. and Co. At Mont. in Oct.; at S. F. in Oct. and November, paying $384.

Almira, Timothy Daggett, or Doggett; *Gideon*, Obed Clark; *Plowboy* (and perhaps the *Alert*, Charles Ray, or Rey, or Roy); and the *Massachusetts*, Catharte(?), whalers at S. F. in Oct. to refit.

Mentor, American; at S. F. in Nov.; paid $624.

Coronel, perhaps *Colonel Young;* at S. F. in Nov.; paid $286.

Golovnin, Russian brig from Sitka; at S. F. in December.

Creiser and *Ladoga*, Russian frigates. The former 42 guns, 240 men, Capt. Michael Lazaref; the second 20 guns, 100 men, Capt. Andrew Lazaref. Arrived at S. F. Dec. 11–14, from St Petersburg to repair and refit.

Besides the preceding the Peruvian brig *Huascar* was permitted in September—that is by a document of that date—to load tallow and hide at S. Pedro; the *Nocturno* and *Baya Paquet*(?) are vaguely reported at Monterey and about to sail south in April; while Spence includes in his list for 1823, erroneously I suppose, the *Jóven Tartar*, *Pizarro*, and *Mercury*.

On the movements of vessels, see *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 54, 213; xvii. 128, 155–65, 187–9, 201–6, 229–35; xxviii. 322, 329; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 56, 66, 68, 72, 76, 111–12, 181–3, 188–9; 215; vi. 96; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., x. 14, 16, 18, 19, 81–2, 93. 98–9; xi. 15, 16, 48, 71; xii. 1, 2; xviii. 23; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust. H.*, MS., iii. 83; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 47; *Spence's List of Vessels*, MS.

to $17,538, which may or may not include the $6,500 known to have been paid at San Francisco and San Diego. The grain crop was 50,000 fanegas against 58,000 for the preceding year, the drought still continuing.[20]

The *John Begg* and one or two other vessels came in accordance with the terms of the Hartnell contract. We have few details, but it appears that some of the missions either had not signed the contract or did not keep it, and that McCulloch, Hartnell, and Company had by no means monopolized the entire mission trade.[21] Gyzelaar and Gale were on the coast in their Boston ship, the *Sachem*, though where she had spent the winter does not appear; and at least one other American ship obtained a cargo. Also in April there arrived from China the American schooner *Rover*, Captain John R. Cooper, who after disposing of his cargo sold the vessel to Argüello for $9,000.[22]

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[20] The only document relating to the season is an order of Vicar Señan allowing the faithful to eat meat, eggs, etc., on account of the difficulty of getting corn and beans, 'having before my eyes the barrenness of the fields owing to a most notable lack of rain in the south, and seeing that the threatening of the locust plague and the visitation of the worm have begun.' *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 22.

[21] San Diego was bound, for the padres refused to let Cot have 1,000 arrobas of tallow. Cot on March 20th asks Hartnell to let him have that tallow to be repaid in May with other tallow which he could obtain from San Luis Rey, which mission was therefore free to trade. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 58. April 18th, P. Martinez purchases one fourth of the *Thos. Nowlan* for $3,000 in coin, binding himself to obtain for her on the next trip all the hides of San Luis Obispo, and as many more as possible. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 46. Nov. 28th, P. Duran to Hartnell, complaining that tallow weighing 1,205 at the mission (San José) weighed only 1,070 on board the ship; also says that the hides used for *botas* to pack the tallow must be paid for if H. wishes to continue the contract. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 325. April, habilitados warned to look out for smuggling from the *John Begg*. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 111.

[22] It seems that the president was called upon to furnish the $9,000; but Aug. 5th Señan writes that while he approves the purchase and would be glad to furnish the money, he fears the padres would not understand the utility of the measure; would regard the vessel as a useless source of expense, and would blame him; therefore he refuses. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 12. When Argüello secured the money, or whether he obtained credit for all or part of the price, is not clear; but I have before me the bill of sale from Cooper to Argüello, dated Dec. 29th. The schooner was of 83 tons burden. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 143. Alvarado mentions the purchase. *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 15–19. Fernandez, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 23–7, tells us that according to the conditions of the sale Cooper was to re-

Still another venture of Don Luis was to form a contract by which the Russian American Company could hunt otter on shares in California waters. Long ago the Russians had desired this privilege, as will be remembered, and now that their old friend was governor they renewed their demands with success. The contract was signed at Monterey the 1st of December for four months. The Russians were to furnish Aleuts and bidarkas; the Californians to feed the hunters and furnish ten Indians to watch the Aleuts, and the product of the hunt was to be equally divided, the skins being kept under inventory at the presidios until the division was made. Should the contract be renewed the Californians must pay the Aleuts' wages. It was apparently renewed next year, and down to October 1824 the share was 677 skins for the government and 838 for the company according to the Russian accounts. There is no Spanish record of the revenue thus produced.[23]

In the matter of general commercial regulations I have only to note the revenue act of the diputacion on April 12th, designed to raise money for expenses connected with its own organization, with that of the ayuntamientos, the sending of a diputado to congress, the repair of roads, the support of schools, and the good of the province generally. To these ends a tax of six per cent was imposed on all exports; a tax of eight or ten dollars per barrel on brandy, and four dollars on wine; and a slaughter tax of one real

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main in command, and sail whenever ordered at $100 in cash and $50 in goods per month, with free house-rent and expenses when on shore; also to receive four youths for instruction. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 338–41, thinks that Argüello borrowed the money from the president to pay for the vessel, and then borrowed part of it back from Cooper.

[23] A full statement of the contract and result is given in *Khlébnikof*, *Zapiski*, 143–4. The hunting was done chiefly in San Francisco Bay, but also at Monterey and down as far as San Pedro. Fernandez, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 25–6, says the Russians agreed to sell their skins to Argüello at $45 each and take pay in wheat. A copy of the contract was sent to the minister of state in Mexico on June 20, 1825. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 229. According to *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xiii. 1, the number of skins obtained by the Californians down to the end of 1823 was 324. They were sent to China the next year on the *Rover*.

on each head of cattle or sheep, and two reals on each hog.[24]

Captain John R. Cooper, of the *Rover*, may be regarded as a resident of California from his first coming in 1823, and he brought with him Daniel A. Hill of Billerica, Mass., and Thomas M. Robbins of Nantucket, two gentlemen who became prominent citizens of Santa Bárbara.[25] William Borris, or perhaps Burroughs, was an American from New York or New Jersey, with whom Captain de la Guerra on July 1st formed a contract for medical service in and about Santa Bárbara for four years.[26] It was perhaps in 1823 that David, afterward baptized and known as James or Santiago, Watson, the Englishman, came to the country;[27] the two Buckles, William and Manuel, English, and perhaps brothers, came this year or possibly a little earlier, while Manuel Edward McIntosh was the name of a new Scotch settler.[28] Of the older foreign residents William A. Richardson was baptized at San Francisco on June 16th,[29] being 27 years of age. Joseph V. Lawrence came to live at Los Angeles, where he soon married María Arriola. Jeremiah Jones was baptized *sub conditione* at San Juan Bautista on March 5th by Arroyo de la Cuesta, who added Teófilo Tomás to his name, while George Allen and John Mulligan, the latter a native of Tullybamman, County Down, Ireland, were living at Monterey.[30]

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[24] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 11–16; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 85; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 126–7; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt. ii. 117–19; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 133–8. The liquor tax is very unintelligible in some respects. It would seem that it must be paid by both manufacturer and buyer.

[25] *Dana and Moraga, Lista de Estrangeros en Sta Bárbara, 1836*, MS., according to which document both Hill and Robbins came on the *Rover* in 1823. It is possible, however, that Robbins came on a subsequent trip, according to *Huse's Sketch Sta B.*, 6–7, where it is stated that Hill settled in Sta Bárbara in 1824 and Robbins in 1827. In the introduction to *Robbins' Diary*, MS., he is said—probably by Hayes the copyist—to have come on the *Rover* in 1826.

[26] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 197–8. Daniel Jennison of Ireland and John Wümson of Holland served as interpreters and witnesses. How these men came to California does not appear.

[27] Larkin, *Notes on Pers. Char. of Californians*, MS., 104, says that Watson in 1845 had been 22 years in California. Other authorities make the date 1824 or 1826.

[28] *Estrada, Lista de Estrangeros en Monterey, 1829*, MS. Naturalization records in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 32, 37; xx. 31, 33; *Id.*, xvii. 39. Buckle's name is also written Boc, Bocle, Bockel, and Bugle. One is often called José Samuel. I suppose that one was originally William and the other Samuel. The former was 19 and the latter 22 years of age in 1823. Mackintosh was 28. He is said, *Sacramento Record*, Nov. 15, 1870, to have first visited California in 1813, and to have returned in 1823 as master of a hide droger.

[29] *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 10–11; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 322; *Dep. Rec.*, MS., i. 74.

A new mission was established in 1823, the twenty-first and last of the list, begun under peculiar circumstances. At first there was no idea of founding a new mission. In 1822 at a conference between Canon Fernandez, Prefect Payeras, and Governor Argüello it had been decided to transfer the mission of San Francisco from the peninsula to the "north-eastern *contra costa* on the gentile frontier," a decision based on the comparative sterility of the old site, the insalubrity of the peninsula climate, the broadness of the field for conversion in the north, the success of the experimental founding of the San Rafael branch, and not improbably a desire on the part of two of the three conferring dignitaries to throw the few fertile ranchos south of San Francisco into the hands of settlers.[31] The matter next came up just before the death of Payeras, who seems to have had nothing more to say about it. March 23, 1823, Padre José Altimira, very likely at Argüello's instigation, pre-

[30] *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 16; *S. Juan B., Lib. Mision*, MS., 19; *Vallejo. Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 322; xxx. 136. Oct. 1st, Alaman to gefe político. The supreme government has decided that all foreigners must present themselves and declare for what purpose they have come to the country, that they may be given a *carta de seguridad*. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 16. Oct. 7th, decree of congress authorizing foreigners to take an interest in mines. *Schmidt's Civil Law of Spain and Mexico*, 337–9.

[31] There is no formal record of this conference, probably none was written, and it is only recorded in subsequent correspondence, chiefly in Argüello's letter of Aug. 4, 1823, in *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 32; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 16. There were to the inhabitant of San Francisco three *contra costas:* The northern, or what is now Marin County; the eastern, or Alameda and Contra Costa counties, often called 'tierra firme de San José;' and the north-eastern, including the country from Petaluma Creek to the Sacramento, or the counties of Sonoma, Napa, and Solano.

sented to the diputacion a memorial in which he recommended the transfer, he being a party naturally interested as one of the ministers of San Francisco. On April 9th the diputacion voted in favor of the change. It was decreed that the *asistencia* of San Rafael should be joined again to San Francisco, and transferred with it, and the suggestion made that the country of the Petalumas or of the Canicaimos, should be the new site. The suppression of Santa Cruz was also recommended. The governor sent these resolutions to Mexico next day, and Altimira forwarded copies to the new prefect Señan on April 30th, but received no response.[32]

An exploration was next in order, for the country between the Suisunes and Petalumas was as yet very little known, some parts of it never having been visited by the Spaniards. With this object in view, Altimira and the diputado, Francisco Castro, with an escort of nineteen men under Alférez José Sanchez, embarked at San Francisco the 25th of June, and spent the night at San Rafael. Both Sanchez and Altimira kept a diary of the trip in very nearly the same words, the substance of which I reproduce in a note so far as names, courses, and distances are concerned, omitting necessarily much descriptive matter respecting a country since so well known.[33] The explorers went by way of

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[32] For these facts also we must depend on later correspondence, chiefly Altimira's letter to Argüello on Aug. 31st. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 50-1. The legislative records have no mention of this session, and Argüello's despatches to the minister of state dated Apr. 10th, *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 11-12, contain but few details. Altimira states that Payeras had at the first specially intrusted the transfer and choice of site to him.

[33] *Sanchez, Diario de la Expedicion verificada con objeto de reconocer terrenos para la nueva planta de la Mision de San Francisco, 1823*, MS. The departure of Sanchez and the number of his men are stated in *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xi. 16.

Altimira, Diario de la Expedicion, etc., MS. This diary was also translated by Alex. S. Taylor, and published in *Hutchings' Mag.*, v. 58-62, 115-18, as the *Journal of a mision-founding expedition north of San Francisco in 1823.* Though there are many verbal differences between the two diaries, it is evident that they were not written independently from day to day. Probably Sanchez used the friar's MS. in making out his narrative. Taylor's translation is often inaccurate.

The diary is in substance as follows: June 26th, in the morning from S. Rafael, 5 leagues north to Olompali; in afternoon, north and round the head of the creek at the point called Chocuay (where the city of Petaluma now

Olompali to the Petaluma, Sonoma, Napa, and Suisun valleys in succession, making a somewhat close examination of each. Sonoma was found to be best adapted for mission purposes by reason of its climate, location, abundance of wood and stone, including limestone as was thought, and above all for its innumerable and most excellent springs and streams. The plain of the Petalumas, broad and fertile, lacked water; that of the Suisunes was liable more or less to the same objection, and was also deemed too far from the old

stands, the main stream being apparently called Chocoiomi) to the little brook of Lema on the flat of the Petalumas, where a bear was killed, and where they passed the night with 8 or 10 Petalumas hiding there from their enemies of Libantiloyami, or Libantiloquemi (the Libantiliyami of chap. xx.), 3½ l. to the N. W. (I think this Arroyito de Lema may have been some distance down the creek.)

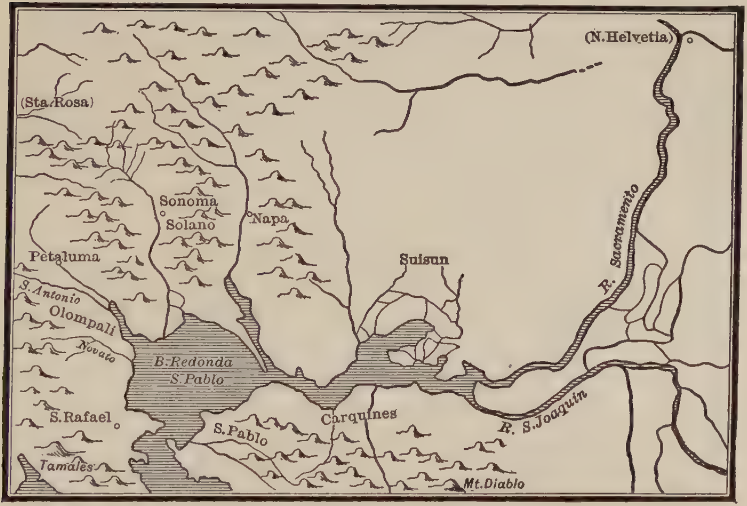
June 27th, over the plains and hills, eastward and north-eastward, past a small tule-lake 50x100 yards, and a little farther the large lake of Tolay, so named for the chief of the former inhabitants, one fourth of a league long by 150 or 200 yds. to ¼ league wide (perhaps they were as far south as the lake back of the modern Lakeville), and thence N. E. to the plain on which is the place called Sonoma, so called from the Indians formerly living there, camping on the stream near the main creek, where a boat arrived the same day from S. Francisco. (Sonoma had probably been visited before.) Payeras in 1817 used the name of Sonoma as well as Petaluma. chap. xv. The arrival of the boat and also the mention of the name coming from former inhabitants point in the same direction though there is no definite record of any previous visit. This afternoon and the next forenoon they spent in exploring the valley.

June 28th, in the afternoon they crossed over the hills north-eastward to the plain, or valley, of Napá (so accented in the original of Altimira), named for the former Indian inhabitants, and encamped on the stream (Napa Creek) which they named San Pedro for the day. A whitish earth on the borders of a warm spring thought to be valuable for cleansing purposes, and large herds of deer and antelope were noted on the way.

June 29th, crossed over another range of hills into the plain 'of the Suisun,' so called like the other places from the former Indian inhabitants (generally called in earlier documents 'of the Suisunes' as the name of the Indians), camping on the main stream 5 l. from Napa, 10 l. from Sonoma, and 5 l. s. w. of the ranchería of the Hulatos. June 30th, killed 10 bears, and had some friendly intercourse with the Lybaitos. (In a letter of July 10th, *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv., pt. ii. 23-6, Altimira gives more particulars of his conference with the Indians, by which it appears that the Lybaitos lived about 3 l. beyond [N. E.] the Hulatos, or *Ulatos.* The rancherías of the Chemocoytos, Sucuntos, and Ompines are mentioned in the same region.)

July 1st, back to Napa and Sonoma with additional explorations of the latter valley. July 2d, up the valley and over the hills by a more northern route than before, past a tule lake, into the plain of the Petalumas, and to the old camping-ground on the Arroyo de Lema. July 3d, back by a direct course of 2 leagues to Sonoma, where after new explorations a site was chosen. July 4th, ceremonies of taking possession, and return to Olompali, 6 long leagues. July 5th, back to San Rafael and waited for the boat from Sonoma. July 6th, embarked at Point Tiburon and went to San Francisco before the wind.

San Francisco; but Sonoma as a mission site, with eventually branch establishments, or at least cattle-ranchos at Petaluma and Napa, seemed to the three representatives of civil, military, and Franciscan power to offer every advantage. Accordingly on July 4th a cross was blessed and set up on the site of a former gentile ranchería, now formally named New San Francisco. A volley of musketry was fired, sacred songs were sung, and holy mass was said. July 4th might, therefore, with greater propriety than any other date be celebrated as the anniversary of the foundation, though the place was for a little time abandoned, and on the sixth all were back at Old San Francisco.



Contra Costa of the North-east.

Only the approbation of the prelate was now wanting, and nothing being heard from Señan, Altimira wrote to him again on the subject in very earnest terms, explaining what had been done and on what authority, justifying the proposed measures on the ground that San Francisco was on its last legs and San Rafael could not subsist alone, "notwithstanding the prejudices of certain persons." He hoped the prelate would not delay his approval of so beneficial a measure, nor listen to the unfounded objections of Padre Amorós. He threatened, moreover, if the affair should fail, to leave California and go to Europe on the first opportunity! In the same letter he charged, on the authority of the Indians lately visited in the Suisun region, that Duran of Mission San José was in the habit of making raids for converts in that region, forcibly seizing the gentiles, and even killing those who resisted. Altimira not only protested against this *modo de conquistar* practised by Duran and Amorós, and bitterly complained of by the late prefect, but he declared that by the terms of an arrangement made when San Rafael was separated the minister of San José was prohibited from making converts at all in that region, and demanded that all such neophytes should at once be given up for the new establishment.[34]

At the end of July Argüello asked why Altimira had not made the transfer, and was told that it was impossible to begin operations without the people of San Rafael, for those at San Francisco were not half enough. The padre went to Monterey, and was instructed by Argüello not to wait for the prelate's orders but to make a beginning at once; and corresponding communications were sent on August 4th to Señan, Amorós, and the comandante of San Francisco. Accordingly Altimira went over to San Rafael with Lieutenant Martinez, and on the 12th took possession by inventory of the mission property. Returning to San Francisco, he started on the 23d for Sonoma with an escort of twelve men, including an artilleryman to manage a cannon of two pound calibre, and a force of neophyte laborers. They arrived at New San Francisco the 25th and at once began work on granary, ditch, corral, and other needed structures. There is no record of any formal ceremony on August 25th, though that is generally given as the date of foundation; and it is not probable that any was performed, the usual ceremonial acts having taken place as we have seen the 4th of July. Good progress was made for a week.[35]

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[34] July 10, 1823, Altimira to Señan in *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. iii. 21–6. The last portion of this letter, relating to the complaints against Duran, was translated by W. H. T. and published in *Hutchings' Mag.*, v. 28–30, as *The First Exploration of the Bay of San Francisco, North; Extract of a Letter, etc.;* and this translation was in 1877 reprinted in *Territorial Pioneers of Cal., First Annual*, 109–12. I suppose that the translator never saw the whole letter, and that probably the publishing committee of the society were not aware that the fragment had been before published; else they would have been likely to select for reprinting the more important diary of Altimira also in *Hutchings' Magazine.*

Meanwhile Prefect Señan, just before his death, affixing his signature, very likely for the last time, to a document prepared by his secretary, had written on August 23d to Padre Sarría on the subject. Respecting Santa Cruz he expressed no opinion, having consulted his superiors. To the suppression of so flourishing an establishment as San Rafael he was strongly opposed; and while he did not altogether disapprove the transfer of San Francisco, he was astounded at the summary and illegal manner in which the diputacion had disposed of the subject without consulting the supreme government. On receipt of this communication Sarría wrote to Altimira refusing to authorize the change. By this letter the padre at New San Francisco was interrupted in his work the 31st of August, and was naturally furious. The same day he wrote to Argüello narrating en résumé all that had occurred, and complaining most bitterly of the way in which he had been treated, and of the "frivolous difficulties" put in his way by the "minister of an unprofitable *asistencia*" through "underhanded efforts," and the aid of "confederate padres." The prefect had obstinately kept silent, though not in worse health than usual and perfectly able to confirm the orders of his predecessor. The confederates were all blind to the circumstances and had exerted themselves in the *oficio de Satanás* of throwing obstacles in the way of a great enterprise, especially Padre Duran; and the new president seemed to be one of the plotters, complaining that his license should have been waited for, though all might have died before it came. The padre concludes by saying, in substance: "I wish to know whether the diputacion has any authority in this province, and if these men can overthrow your honor's wise provisions. I came here to convert gentiles and to establish new missions, and if I cannot do it here, where as we all agree is the best spot in California for the purpose, I will leave the country."[36]

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[35] August 4th, Argüello to Amorós, Altimira, Señan, and Martinez. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 32; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 16–20. Aug. 18th, Altimira to Argüello, will start on the 21st. *Id.*, iv. pt. ii. 78. Aug. 25th, Martinez to Argüello, saying that the padre started on the 23d. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 83–5. Aug. 31st, Altimira to Argüello, narrating all the events *en résumé*. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 50–6.

Thompson, *Hist. Sonoma*, 10–11, gives a brief account of the explorations and foundation. Mofras, *Exploration*, i. 445; ii. 6, says the mission was founded by Amorós on Aug. 25th. See also *Sonoma Democrat*, June 2, 1875, and other sketches in newspapers and books. Nearly all who mention the subject call the mission San Francisco Solano, or San Solano, a name given, as we shall see, at a later date.

A correspondence followed between Sarría and Argüello, in which the former with many expressions of respect for the governor and the secular government not unmixed with personal flattery of Argüello, justified in a long argument the position he had assumed.[37] The governor did not reply in detail to Sarría's arguments, since it did not in his view matter much what this or that prefect or padre had or had not approved, but took the ground that the diputacion was empowered to act for the public good in all such urgent matters as that under consideration, and that its decrees must be carried out. During fifty years the friars had made no progress in the conversion of northern gentiles or occupation of northern territory; and now the secular authorities proposed to take charge of the conquest in its temporal aspects at least. The new establishment would be sustained with its escolta under a majordomo, and the prelate's refusal to authorize Altimira to care for its spiritual needs would be reported to the authorities in Mexico.[38]

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[36] Aug. 23d, Señan to Sarría. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 12–15. Aug. 23d (must be an error), Sarría to Altimira. *Id.*, 16. Aug. 31st, Altimira to Argüello. *Id.*, 50–6.

[37] Sept. 5th, Sarría to Argüello. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 56–68, or *Sarría, Argumento contra el traslado de San Francisco, 1823*, MS. The points made are briefly as follows: Sarría regards himself as only prefect ad interim and dislikes to give positive orders; but claims, 1st: That the new constitution does not change the old laws and usages by which the whole matter of founding, suppressing, or moving missions, and of appointing padres was intrusted by both church and state to the prelate, the diputacion having no authority in the matter whatever. 2d. The original decree of the diputacion mentioned the country of the Petalumas, and now it was changed to Sonoma on the judgment of one padre. What would Captain Argüello think if the location of a fortification settled by the military authorities should be changed by a private soldier? 3d. He dwells on the great wrong to the Indians of San Rafael, now under the new régime free citizens and equal to white men, by forcing them to leave their birthplace, their lands, their houses, and the padre whom they love, they being unanimously opposed to the change. 4th. There is a great lack of padres to carry out the proposed scheme, 3 having died or departed since Payeras approved the transfer; and it was unsafe for one friar to live alone at so distant a place. 5th. If Payeras approved the transfer on general principles, it would be an insult to his mem-

Yet, positive as was the governor's tone in general, he declared that he would not insist on the suppression of San Rafael; and, though some of the correspondence has doubtless been lost, he seems to have consented readily enough to a compromise suggested by the prefect, and said by him to have been more or less fully approved by Altimira. By the terms of this compromise New San Francisco was to remain as a mission in regular standing, and Padre Altimira was appointed its regular minister, subject to the decision of the college; but neither Old San Francisco nor San Rafael was to be suppressed, and Altimira was to be still associate minister of the former. Neo-

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ory to suppose he would have approved such *medios violentos* of effecting it. 6th. Neither Payeras nor the canónigo ever approved the aggregation of San Rafael, but on the contrary both promised the neophytes a new church. 7th. Padre Señan entertained the same views as the writer, and was *asombrado* at the earlier developments. How much more astounded will he be at later ones! 'What a labyrinth! The political authorities performing the functions of a bishop!' 8th. It may be said that application was made to the prelate. So did Henry VIII. apply to the pope for approval of his unholy marriage, but he obtained no favorable reply; neither did P. Altimira. 9th. Still Altimira is not accused of acting in bad faith, because letters are known to have been delayed on the way. 10th. Too much weight should not be given to the representations of one padre unsupported by his prelate and associates. 11th. All are zealous for new conversions, but wish them to be accomplished with moderation, regularity, and wisdom. Some of these arguments were repeated in Sarría's letter of Sept. 12th, unless there is an error in the date. *Id.*, 69–72.

[38] Sept. 17th, Argüello to Sarría. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 42–6.

phytes might go voluntarily from Old San Francisco to the new establishment, and also from San José and San Rafael, provided they came originally from the Sonoma region, and provided also that in the case of San Rafael they might return if they wished at any time within a year. New converts might come in from any direction to the mission they preferred, but no force was to be used.[39]

All did not go quite smoothly under the compromise, and Altimira still had his troubles, though his temper cooled considerably. He complained that the ministers of the neighboring establishments were using their influence to keep their neophytes from going to New San Francisco, while Duran even circulated false statements of impending attacks by gentiles to accomplish his purpose, and he should be made to hold his tongue. The new mission had received less aid and coöperation from the old ones than had usually been afforded; the padre at Old San Francisco showed a disposition to retain all property of any value; a show of military power was needed to inspire respect on the part of the gentiles; and too great liberty was allowed the neophytes in the matter of choosing their place of residence, as they were inclined to change their mind every day or two. Yet the padre was encouraged on the whole by the progress made.[40]

Passion Sunday, April 4, 1824, the mission church, a somewhat rude structure 24 by 105 feet, built of boards and whitewashed, but well furnished and decorated in the interior, many articles having been presented by the Russians, was dedicated to San Francisco Solano, which from this date became the name of the mission. Hitherto it had been properly New San Francisco, though Altimira had always dated his letters San Francisco simply, and referred to the peninsular establishment as Old San Francisco; but this usage became inconvenient, and rather than honor St Francis of Asisi with two missions it was agreed to dedicate the new one to San Francisco Solano, "the great apostle of the Indies." It was largely from this early confusion of names, and also from the inconvenience of adding Asis and Solano to designate the respective saints Francis, that arose the popular usage of calling the two missions Dolores and San Solano, the latter name being replaced ten years later by the original one of Sonoma.[41]

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[39] Sept. 12th, 30th, Sarría to Argüello, inclosing copy of appointment and instructions for Altimira. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 69–75.

[40] Oct. 4th, 18th, Altimira to Argüello. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 75–8. Oct. 18th, Sarría to Argüello, has heard reports that the Indians are running away and do not like their missionary. *Id.*, 86.

Beyond the fact that Buenaventura Fortuni took Altimira's place as minister in September 1826, the only information extant respecting the annals of Solano for the rest of the decade, not of a statistical nature, is to the effect that a mission rancho of Santa Eulalia had been established at Suisun before the end of 1824, that a provisional house for the padre's visits, with a corral for horses, had been built, and that a neophyte alcalde was in charge of the rancho. In March 1824 the mission had a granary, a padres' house, and seven houses for the guard besides the chapel, all of wood. But by the end of the year one large adobe house 30 by 120 feet and seven feet high had been completed, with tiled roof and corridor, and two other structures had been made ready for roofing just in time to be destroyed by the unusually heavy rains. A loom had been set up and a beginning made of weaving. A garden fenced with willows contained from 150 to 300 fruit trees, and in the vineyard from 1,000 to 3,000 vines were growing. Between 1824 and 1830 cattle increased from 1,100 to 2,000; horses from 400 to 725; and sheep remained at 4,000, though as few as 1,500 in 1826. Crops amounted to 1,875 bushels per year on an average, the largest yield being 3,945 in 1826, and the smallest 510 in 1829, when wheat and barley failed completely. At the end of 1824 the mission had 693 neophytes, of whom 322 had come from San Francisco, 153 from San José, 92 from San Rafael, and 96 had been baptized on the spot. By 1830, 650 had been baptized and 375 buried; but the number of neophytes had increased only to 760, leaving a margin of over 100 for runaways even on the supposition that all from San Rafael retired the first year to their old home. Notwithstanding the advantages of the site and Altimira's enthusiasm the mission at Sonoma was not prosperous during its short existence.[42]

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[41] Mar. 29, 1824. Altimira to Argüello, announcing the intention to dedicate the church on Passion Sunday, and explaining the progress he had made in other respects. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 125-8.

In September the governor was making preparations for an expedition to explore the country lying between the new mission at Sonoma and the Bodega coast. The ranchería of Huilantuliyami[43] was an objective point, and it was thought best to find out what Karl Schmidt was doing in that direction, where it was said the Russians had been seen. It appears that the expedition, consisting of twenty-five men under Alférez Santiago Argüello, did start from San Francisco the 7th of October; but respecting the trip and what was accomplished nothing is known.[44]

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[42] On buildings, etc., see Altimira's letter of March 29th, in *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 125-8, by which it also appears that from San Francisco the mission received 20 yoke of oxen, 25 bulls, 50 cows, 60 horses, and 3,000 sheep, besides some implements, etc. See also the padre's annual report on this mission at the end of 1824, in *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 519-26. I have in my collection, *S. Francisco Solano, Lib. Mision*, MS., the original registers of baptisms and burials with the alphabetical index of neophytes, from the beginning down to 1839, three quaint old leather-bound tomes, types of similar records at all the missions. The first baptism was that of 26 children of both neophyte and gentile parents on April 4, 1824; the next was of 13 adult Petalumas on April 16th; and the 3d of 23 Ululatos. The first burial was that of a gentile woman on Dec. 26, 1823, the only death in the year. The last baptism, Oct. 1, 1839, was numbered 1,494; and the last burial, Oct. 7, 1839, was numbered 875.

The different nations or tribes of Indians which furnished converts as shown by the mission books were as follows: Aloquiomi, Atenomac, Canoma, Carquin, Canijolmano, Caymus, Chemoco, Chichoyomi, Chocuyem, Coyayomi or Joyayomi, Huiluc, Huymen, Lacatiut, Loaquiomi, Linayto (Libayto?), Locnoma, Mayacma, Muticolmo, Malaca, Napato, Oleomi, Putto or Putato (Pulto or Pultato or Pultoy—Putah Creek ?), Polnomanoc, Paque, Petaluma, Suisun, Satayomi, Soneto, Tolen, Tlayacma, Tamal, Topayto, Ululato, Zaclom, Utinomanoc.

I have also the original statistical reports for each year from 1825 to 1830 inclusive, together with financial accounts of mission supplies to the escolta, amounting to about $200 per year, in *Arch. Misiones*, MS., and *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xviii.-xx., xxix.-xxx. passim.

[43] Identical very likely with the Libantilayomi of former records, and apparently somewhere in the region of the modern Santa Rosa.

Still another expedition may be noticed here as well as elsewhere, though it extended through several years; and briefly, though I have before me no less than seventy-five official communications on the subject. I allude to the expedition of Captain José Romero to California and back by way of the Colorado from Tucson, Sonora. Unfortunately with all the correspondence no diaries are extant. The object was to explore a permanent route of communication between the two provinces, and Romero with a small force of eleven men was accompanied by Padre Félix Caballero, a Dominican friar of Lower California.[45] At the crossing of the Colorado and later the Indians were hostile and stole all the horses, but after great suffering the party arrived by a southern route at the frontier peninsular missions in July 1823, the report having reached Tucson that all had been killed. The explorers were fed and clothed, and Romero was summoned to Monterey for consultation with the governor as to the best way to get back to Sonora.

Romero left Monterey the 10th of October for San Gabriel to prepare for his return, Argüello having issued orders to officers and padres that every assistance was to be afforded. After two months of diligent correspondence about men and guns and rations and animals, about forty men under Lieutenant Estudillo were equipped as an escolta, and the march began the 15th of December. On account of various mishaps they did not leave San Bernardino until Christmas, and subsequently lost their way and wandered in mountains and deserts without water for their animals till the end of January, when they returned to San Gabriel.[46] It required about as much paper and ink to announce, explain, and complain of the result as it had to prepare for the start.

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[44] *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 17, 82, 91; xiii. 2; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 41, 65, 68–9.

[45] He started from Sta Catalina April 14th, and reached Arizpe in May. *Caballero, Estadística de Son. y Sin.*, 11.

Two parties of Indians soon arrived in search of Romero with despatches from Sonora; but an Indian revolt which occurred this spring, and will be described in the next chapter, prevented his return with the messengers. It took a long time to convince Argüello that the danger was past; and in September 1824, when Romero was preparing for another start, the governor received instructions from Sonora to send him back by way of Loreto. Romero was unwilling to go by that route; Argüello would not authorize or help him to go by the other; and the ensuing correspondence consumed the time until the late summer of 1825. Then a new general in Sonora, José Figueroa, of whom I shall have much to say in later years, ordered Romero to return by land and complete the exploration; and a new governor ordered the necessary guard to be prepared. A new avalanche of official documents in August and September was repeated in November; and finally all was ready, though in the mean time Figueroa had come to the Colorado to meet Romero, and tired of waiting had gone back. Such active and complicated preparations were rarely known in California, every officer in the south being involved. At one time it was proposed to fortify the San Gorgonio pass, but this plan was given up on account of the deep snow. The last mishap was the running away of the Cocomaricopa guides from San Bernardino the 4th of December. The grand total of result was that Alférez Romualdo Pacheco with five soldiers and a party of Indians escorted Romero to the Colorado in December, and then returned by another and better route to San Diego before February 2, 1826, on which date the governor announced the result to the minister of war in a communication which closes the series.[47]

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[46] Rafael Gonzalez, *Experiencias*, MS., 14–19, accompanied the party and gives some details. He attributes the failure largely to Estudillo's incompetence and intemperance. It would appear, however, that the attempt of Romero to take with him a large drove of mares, and the attempt to follow a new trail pointed out by an Indian, instead of the old route of Anza and others, had much to do with the disaster.

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[47] *Romero, Documentos relativos á la Expedicion del Capitan R. para abrir Camino entre Sonora y California, 1823-6*, MS. Being the letters of Romero, Argüello, Echeandía, Urrea, Figueroa, Estudillo, Guerra, Portilla, Pacheco, Sarría, and others. Also Echeandía's final report of Feb. 2, 1826, in *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xix. 24-6. It is implied in this report that some point on the southern route had been, or was being, garrisoned with a view to keep open the communication by land. March 30th, Gen. Figueroa to comandante general of California. Thinks an effort should be made to keep the route open. Distance from Arizpe to Concepcion, 200 leagues; from Concepcion to San Diego, 80 leagues. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lvii. 17-18. There are many minor points of some interest, but no importance, in the correspondence, matters of official etiquette, etc., which I have omitted.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EVENTS OF ARGÜELLO'S RULE—INDIAN REVOLT.

1824.

National Politics—Junta at Monterey—Plan de Gobierno—California's First Constitution—Sessions of the Diputacion—Bandos against Criminals—Communications with Mexico—Miñon Appointed Governor—Colonization Law—The Missions and Padres—Question of Supplies—Stipends Paid—List of Vessels—Cooper's Voyage to China—Otter Contract—Commerce and Revenue—Kotzebue's Visit and Impressions—Foreign Residents Old and New—Revolt of Neophytes in the South—Motives—Burning of Santa Inés—Purísima Taken—Fight and Flight at Santa Bárbara—Estrada's Campaign—Expeditions of Fabregat and Portilla to the Tulares—Capture and Execution of Pomponio.

The federal constitution of October 4, 1824, was not known in California until the next year;[1] but there were rumors of federation proclaimed by some of the provinces and not yet approved by others—rumors not well understood, but sufficient to create a vague impression that it was perhaps incumbent on California to do something. Moreover several provinces, including Sonora, Jalisco, and Oajaca, had directly invited the Californias to join them; and it was necessary to take some action on these invitations. Accordingly Argüello had summoned a junta as we have seen in the preceding chapter.

The junta met at Monterey on the 7th day of January. It was composed of the military officers Guerra, Estrada, Ramirez, and Santiago Argüello, with the deputies, José Castro as substitute taking the place of

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[1] In the *Acta Constitutiva* of Jan. 31, 1824, it was declared that California and Colima should be federal territories, immediately subject to the supreme powers. *Supt. Govt. St. Pap.*, MS., iii. 1. But not even this acta appears to have been known in California.

Ortega. For some reason not explained the friars were not represented. The "Political and Military Superior Chief and President of said Most Excellent Diputacion," Don Luis Argüello, in his opening address stated that, in distress at the unhappy condition of our America, disturbed by political differences, he had called the meeting to devise some means of escape from the prevalent contagion, and secure for the province the peace hitherto enjoyed. He invited all to express their views frankly on the following points: 1st. Will it be expedient for this province to declare itself in favor of the federation; and if so will it be advantageous to join some one of the provinces inviting it? 2d. What kind of a government in any case will be best for California? The diputados spoke first; the military men followed; and after sufficient discussion the junta by a unanimous vote resolved:—1st. That for the present the province should remain aloof and free from any other until the intentions of the national government could be learned with reference to a general federation of all the American provinces; and 2d. That a committee of four should be appointed to report a plan of government for internal affairs. The committee was named and the meeting adjourned.

Next day the junta reassembled to hear the report of the committee, whose members are not named. The report was a 'plan' of preamble, four titles, and twelve articles. It was unanimously adopted after discussion; was officially published in a proclamation by Argüello on January 17th; and was publicly read at each presidio within a few days. Though this *plan de gobierno* introduced no radical changes; never had properly any legal or political force or authority, and was nominally the law of the land for only one year, yet as California's first constitution or organic law I have deemed it worth preservation in a note, though in a form somewhat abridged.[2]

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[2] *Plan de Gobierno Provincial resuelto por la Junta General en Monterey, 1824*, MS., and incomplete in *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 17–19. Read to the troops

Thirteen subsequent meetings of the diputacion are recorded in 1824, several of which were of the junta provided for in the plan, to constitute which President Sarría with lieutenants Estudillo and Martinez were called in to take part in the deliberations. Though the matters treated and the decisions reached were for the most part trivial, yet as the methods of treatment were in some cases peculiar and interesting I append the substance of the record.[3] During the

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at San Francisco on Jan. 20th as certified by Lieut. Martinez on the original record in my collection.

Title I. on Government.—Art. 1. The government of this province shall be civil and military, vested in one person exercising the functions before prescribed by the laws. Art. 2. The diputacion shall still subsist, with the same attributes as before under the laws. Art. 3. There shall be a junta general composed of diputacion, two officers, and the prelate of the missions, with the governor as president—to have cognizance of grave affairs. Art. 4. The governor may judge what matters require the assembling of the junta; but such matters shall include: 1st, extraordinary taxes; 2d, grants of land; 3d, foreign relations; and 4th, control of public funds and accounts. Art. 5. The junta may at any meeting modify, add to, or repeal any of the regulations in force.

Title II. on Military Force.—Art. 1. So long as there are means for payment the governor is to receive $2,500; a captain, $1,200; a lieutenant, $550; alférez, $400; sergeant, $262.50; corporal, $225; and private, $217.50 per year. The Monterey presidial company to consist of 80 men including officers, and each of the others of 70 men, the artillery to continue as before. Art. 2. All men from 18 to 50 years should be enlisted to form companies (militia) of infantry or cavalry, and the militia artillery companies should be kept full and in a good state of instruction.

Title III. Expenses and Revenue.—Art. 1. Indispensable expenditures are: the regular and prompt payment of the garrisons; $1 per day to diputados during absence from home; and a salary of $270 to the secretary of the diputacion. Art. 2. Revenues to meet these expenditures are: (1) tonnage on foreign vessels as per last Mexican tariff; (2) 25% on sales of goods imported on foreign craft, after deducting 12.5% as before(?); (3) 10% on imports by Mexican vessels; (4) 6% from foreigners on exports; (5) 12% from sellers on same; (6) the product of the national ranchos; (7) other revenues according to the public exchequer—at present only that of the postoffice; (8) the product of the otter-fishery lately established; (9) 10% on all cattle branded, and on crops including wine and brandy—no importation of foreign liquors being permitted. Citizens may pay the tax in kind; but the missions (in money?) on cattle at $1.50 per head; wheat, $2 per *fanega;* corn, $1.50; beans, $2.50; wine $8 per barrel; brandy, $35 per barrel. But all effects for the church or personal use of the padres are exempt. Art. 3. The junta may devise other sources of revenue if needed.

Title IV. on Administration of Justice.—Art. 1. For civil cases in towns there shall be three resorts (*instancias*). 1st to alcalde; 2d to comandante; and 3d to the governor. Civilians living at the presidios will apply first to the comandante, secondly and finally to the governor. Art. 2. Criminal cases will be tried by a court-martial, whose sentence will be executed without appeal.

[3] Legislative record for the year: At the spring session the first recorded meeting after Jan. 7th–8th was on Jan. 23d, when after fixing a date for

year Argüello issued a series of bandos intended to promote the public welfare, some of them founded on acts of the diputacion, and others having no such recorded basis. On January 31st he proclaimed the death penalty for all thefts exceeding twenty-five dollars, the body to be quartered in cases where force or false keys were used. For thefts of $1.25 to $6.25 ten years of presidio or public works were imposed;

the commencement of the secretary's salary—a matter more important to Torre than to the reader—the subject of revenue was taken up and Lieutenant Estrada was appointed administrator general. Next day attention was called to the deplorable condition of the forts at Monterey and San Diego, and a novel expedient was devised for effecting repairs. A competent person was to be appointed in each place to watch for vagabond, lazy, and useless persons, who were to be reported to the governor and set to work on the defences, at a cost of six cents a day for rations. Jan. 27th the establishments of a college, or *hospicio de estudios*, for the education of Californian youth was proposed; but when it came to a vote, Carrillo and Palomares, while admitting that such an institution would be *convenientísimo*, opposed the assumption of any obligation to pay a teacher. Sarría, being called in next day for consultation, promised to see what could be done in view of the scarcity of money and friars; and there the matter rested. In the session of the 27th abuses in police regulations were noted, and the governor was authorized to issue a bando making each ayuntamiento responsible for the proper control of its own pueblo. By resolution of the 29th, whalers were required to pay tonnage dues, and all foreign vessels to pay for wood; and on the same day the proposed voyage of the *Rover* was considered, of which more anon. On this occasion Palomares refused to vote, and Aruz being sick three members went to his house to take his vote, since he had only a bad cold and was in full possession of all his senses.

At the autumn session on Sept. 14th the distribution of lands was considered; Sarría made a speech in behalf of the neophytes as individuals and communities; it was proposed to take for redistribution a part of their lands, from such settlers as had more than they needed; and finally it was resolved to leave the whole matter to be settled in Mexico. On the 16th Sarría, Estudillo, and Martinez met with the diputacion forming the junta general provided for in the plan. The revenue accounts for the three preceding years were called for; but Argüello after various excuses declared that as he got no recompense for 'heating his head' over those accounts, the junta would have to wait until they were ready; whereupon it was voted that if the documents were not forthcoming within fifteen days, the legislators could not perform their duties and the people's money would be wasted. On the 19th it was noted that foreign brandy had been sold in violation of the plan, and some of the members were in favor of fining Argüello $10 per barrel on all liquor sold, for having failed to enforce the laws; but others doubted the power of the diputacion to fine the governor, and it was thought best to refer the matter to the sovereign congress. At the session of Oct. 18th a petition was received from the neophytes of San Buenaventura asking to be relieved from the taxes imposed by the plan; and as the style of the document was not altogether reverential, it being 'adorned with an enormous criticism and threat' by the padres in an appended prologue, it was decided to refer it to a committee of two, who were not to consider the propriety of abating the tax, but the best means of administering a 'prudent rebuke.' At this same session the junta notified the people that the ten per cent tax on products was not to be confounded with tithes, but was an independent and direct tax. On the 27th and from $6.25 to $25 there was added a running of the gauntlet six times between lines of two hundred men armed with ramrods. On the same date he decreed that no person should leave town, presidio, or rancho, without a passport from the civil authority; and again he ordered that all books and papers suspected of being seditious against either the government or the Catholic faith must be delivered for examination by the president of the missions. The 5th of February he forbade the selling or buying of cattle without notice to the administrator of revenues, or the transfer of produce for sale without a permit from the alcalde, under penalty of confiscation and fine. And finally on November 22d he issued an edict against horse-stealing, or rather against the prevalent practice of taking a horse wherever it might be found and leaving it wherever convenience might dictate without reference to the rights of the owner.[4]

Communication with the Mexican government was very rare and of slight importance. The governor sent in a few complaints of destitution with reminders of back pay due the garrisons, directing his communications to the minister of the treasury or to Don Pablo de Sola. The latter was still regarded as California's diputado in congress, and Argüello declared that if he were not admitted no successor could be sent for want of funds. From Sola we hear nothing, and from the habilitado general in Guadalajara, Gervasio Ar-

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comandantes were instructed to facilitate in every possible way the sale of produce offered by settlers. Oct. 30th, the junta repealed from Jan. 1, 1825, the two taxes of 12½ per cent and 6 per cent on exports; but imposed a tax of 25 per cent on all coin extracted from the province. Nov. 10th–11th, there was some vaguely recorded action on the proposition of Arus that the 'April session be held in January,' and that the diputacion meet 'in the centre of the province.' Dec. 2d, comandantes were ordered to have the cargo of each vessel appraised for the collection of duties immediately on arrival. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 16–41. It is very likely that the record is not quite complete.

[4] Bandos of Jan. 31st and Feb. 5th in *Dept. St. Pap.*, *S. José*, MS., iv. 12–13, 17–18. Bandos on passports and seditious books, in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 144–6. Bando of Nov. 22d, original document in *Coronel, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 3–4. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 342–5, notes Argüello's attempts to diminish crime and the severity of his measures. We do not hear, however, of the death penalty being inflicted for stealing.

güello, nothing officially, though in a private letter he stated that no aid was to be hoped for from the treasury.[5] Under date of November 3d the superior powers attempted to use California as a medium for manufacturing favorable public opinion throughout the world and counteracting the malicious reports of Spanish foes by ordering that reports of the prevalent harmony be sent by every English or American vessel to Michelena at London and Obregon at Philadelphia. The minister of war also noticed the past services and present needs of the Californian troops in his report presented to congress the 20th of December.[6]

At the end of the year came the announcement, apparently in official form, for it was formally proclaimed at San Francisco, that a new comandante general, and presumably gefe político as well, had been appointed to succeed Sola, Argüello's rule being of course ad interim. Brigadier General Juan José Miñon was the new ruler, with Lieutenant Manuel Ruiz as second in command; but neither ever came to the province, and another man was named a little later, as we shall see, in place of Miñon.[7]

Among the general acts of the Mexican congress in 1824 the only one requiring special notice in connection with Californian history is the colonization decree of August 18th, which was forwarded immediately on its passage for publication in the province. Though the law had no immediate practical effect in California, its subsequent importance as a basis of land legislation and in connection with the admission of foreigners renders its reproduction here essential. The provisions of the act were certainly liberal and wise, if not, as Tuthill says, "so liberal as to excite a wonder what hidden motive suggested its wiser provisions."[8]

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[5] Argüello to sup. govt. and to Sola of different dates in *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 48, 51, 173, 214, 274. Oct. 9th, Argüello sends a complaint of the diputacion that Sola has not been admitted to congress. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 132. Dec. 9th, Gervasio Argüello to his brother, in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 226.

[6] Nov. 3d, Esteva to Argüello, *Sup. Govt., St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 9–10. Mier y Teran to congress. *Mexico, Mem., Guerra*, 1824, 19–20.

[7] Dec. 14th, Argüello to Guerra. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liv. 4; Dec. 3d, Martinez to Argüello. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xiv. 6. Miñon named as general, Dec. 17th. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 161. April 24th, Varela to Guerra, the *San Cárlos* is ordered to Acapulco to convey to California war material and the new governor of both Californias, Col. Miñon. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 139.

The missionaries like others were waiting for something to turn up, but without the slightest possible hope that the 'something' would be in any way favorable to their interests, to which the fall of Iturbide was a death-blow.[9] The day of republicanism was at hand, and the friars had this year for meditation on their future policy. Notwithstanding their despondency, and the fact that the old reasons for compliance with secular demands had largely ceased to exist, I find but one instance of refusal on their part to comply. At San Diego in February, at a time when the province was threatened with danger from the Indians, the padres of the four missions of the jurisdiction refused to furnish supplies for the troops unless paid their just value. This gave rise to some correspondence, but the result is not clearly given.[10] The threatening attitude of the Indians gave the friars a temporary advantage, and Argüello was obliged to adopt a somewhat conciliatory tone, merely warning the friars that there was danger of driving the troops to extremes. Sarría on the other hand protested on December 31st that it would be impossible to continue meeting such exorbitant demands as those of the past year. The provincial authorities, he said, had a very erroneous idea of the mission products; most of the missions, after paying the various taxes, duties, and forced loans, could barely clothe their neophytes in coarse and scanty material; they could not collect the sums due them; and the pueblos had never done anything for the troops,

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[8] *Decreto del Congreso Mejicano sobre Colonizacion, 18 de Agosto, 1824*, MS. Forwarded by Minister Alaman on same date to California. Also printed in *Mexico, Cal. de Órdenes y Decretos de la Soberano Junta Provisional gubernativa, etc.*, iii. 64. Translated in *Halleck's Report*, app. 4; *I Rockwell*, 451; *Wheeler's Land Titles*, 7–8; *Schmidt's Civil Laws of Spain and Mexico*, 340–5; *Dwinelle's Col. Hist. S. F.*, add. 23–4. Art. 1. The Mexican nation promises security in person and property to foreigners settling in its territory and obeying its laws. Art. 2. This law refers to national lands, not private property nor belonging to corporations or pueblos. Art. 3. The congress (legislature) of each state will at once regulate the matter of colonization according to this and the general laws. Art. 4. Lands within 20 leagues of the boundary of a foreign nation, or within 10 leagues of the coast, cannot be colonized without approval of the supreme executive power. Art. 5. The federal government may reserve lands for public edifices. Art. 6. For 5 years after the publication of this law no tax shall be imposed on the entry of foreign new-comers. Art. 7. Before 1840 the national congress cannot prohibit the entry of foreigners to colonize, except compelled to do so in the case of individuals of some nation for strong reasons. Art. 8. The government will take precautionary measures for the security of the federation. Art. 9. Mexican citizens are to be preferred in the distribution of lands, with no distinction among them except for merit, services, circumstances, or residence in the place where the lands are. Art. 10. Military persons entitled to lands under the promise of March 27, 1821, shall be attended to in the states. Art. 11. The supreme executive may grant vacant lands in the territories to military or civil officers of the federation. Art. 12. No person shall have more than one sq. league of 5,000 varas of irrigable land; four leagues of land dependent on rain; or six leagues of grazing land. Art. 13. The colonists cannot transfer their possessions in mortmain. Art. 14. This law guarantees the contract made by individuals to bring families at their own cost and in accordance with the laws. Art. 15. No grantee under this law can retain lands if he reside out of the republic. Art. 16. The government will proceed in accordance with these principles to the colonization of its territory.

[9] Sept. 12th, P. Martinez of San Luis writes to Argüello of his disgust at the state of affairs in general. He thinks all is lost, sees no prospect of improvement, and will himself leave the country rather than stay to see 'the devil get away with all he has done.' *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. 129–31. According to Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. and 345–8, and Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 25–9, P. Martinez had this year a quarrel with Corporal Miguel Ávila. He harshly reproved Ávila for talking with an Indian in the ranchería; Ávila blamed him for administering the reproof in presence of servants and inferiors; the friar called the corporal a perjurer and a traitor; the corporal in trying to induce the padre to go with him and settle the matter

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quietly, touched his robe; whereupon the padre cursed him and threatened excommunication. Ávila was greatly frightened, turned pale, and called his men to arms. The infuriated padre rang his bell and summoned all his assistants and neophytes. The two forces faced each other in battle array, armed on one side with guns and lances, and on the other with book, holy water, and cross. Martinez began to read, and Ávila seized the book, thinking thus to escape damnation; but the padre went on, finished the rite in bad Latin from memory, and retired in triumph to the church. The matter was sent to the commandant and to the governor, and was compromised by annulling the excommunication and the appointment of a new *cabo*.

[10] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 239, 314. Padre Boscana was prominent in the refusal. April 12th, Argüello encloses to Sola his letter to Sarría, not including all the correspondence as 'too tiresome,' but enough to show that the padres made a great deal of trouble about a little corn and beans. *Id.*, i. 51. Argüello also complained to the president this year that the padres of San Cárlos refused to say mass at a court-martial on the ground that this was a new duty, but really because they feared they would get no pay. *Id.*, i. 321. To Kotzebue, Lieutenant Estudillo accused the padres 'of consulting only their own interest, and of employing their proselytes as a means of laying up wealth for themselves, with which, when acquired, they return to Spain.' *Kotzebue's New Voyage*, ii. 108.

though Los Angeles had one thousand inhabitants with rich lands and many ranchos. If Argüello chose to use violent means, the president would not support him, and while the padres would not resist, there was great reason to fear that all would quit the country and the missions would be abandoned.[11]

The padres had one extraordinary stroke of good luck, however, about which both by inclination and by superior instructions they said nothing. They were informed in a letter of the guardian, confidential and to be circulated with the greatest care, that the stipends of 1820–3, amounting to $42,680, had at last been collected and placed in the hands of Síndico Martiarena at Tepic for the use of the missions. The matter had been managed in Mexico so shrewdly that not even Procurador Escalante knew of it, because he was not to be trusted, and because "in these days money is the greatest enemy a man can have in the house." It was also to be kept secret in California lest the padres might not be believed to be so destitute as they pretended, and lest the knowledge might prevent the collection of the later stipends, of which there was yet some hope, though those preceding 1820 were regarded as lost.[12]

I give a list of sixteen vessels for this year, though the records are not so complete as would be desirable.[13] Only two or three of the fleet were strangers visiting the coast for the first time. The *Pizarro* was consigned to McCulloch, Hartnell, and Co., as were perhaps one or two other vessels. The home firm of Begg and Co. of Lima, had made a contract to supply the Peruvian government with salt beef; and a number of salters and coopers from Ireland and Scotland were sent to prepare the meat in California under the superintendence of David Spence, who came on the *Pizarro*. But few details are known respecting this branch of the company's business, which proved unprofitable after a few cargoes had been shipped.

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[11] April 22d, Argüello to Sola. Says he has sent a despatch to the minister of the treasury praising the conduct of the troops, but expressing a fear that their pacific spirit may be disturbed if the padres go on acting as they have done. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 52–3. Dec. 31st, Sarría to Argüello. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 121–4. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 333–5, and Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 4–7, both speak of a regular junta of the governor, diputacion, and padres at Monterey at which Argüello explained the critical state of affairs, called on the friars for food and for a loan on his personal credit, and was supported in his demands by Padre Peyri in an eloquent speech; but I find no evidence of any such meeting.

[12] Guardian Cortés' circular to the padres. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 255–9. Dated June 27th. In *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xviii. 20–2, 27, I find an invoice of a large lot of goods for the missions shipped from San Blas on May 1st by the *Apolonia*, Malarin master. These effects may be supposed to have been bought with a part of the $42,680.

On May 24th Sarría was elected comisario prefecto at the college by 17 votes, Tapis receiving 15 votes and Duran 13. The result was announced in California on Nov. 11th. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 121; *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 23; *Sta Clara, Arch. Parroquia*, MS., 26; *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 360–1.

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[13] *Arab*, American brig, arrived off S. Diego from S. Dec. 30th. The *Rover*, Cooper, on the coast in spring and autumn, in the mean time making a trip to China. $210 duties on corn taken away.

Buldákof at S. F. and Sta Cruz in Jan. Corporal Rodriguez and José Bolcof were arrested for smuggling goods to the amount of $136 from her at Sta Cruz.

Rurik, Russian brig; Basilio, master. At S. F. in Jan., paying $234, and perhaps at Mont. in Dec. 1823.

Apollo, *Creiser*, and *Ladoga*, Russian frigates at S. F. in Jan., having arrived in the autumn of 1823. The *Creiser*, Capt. Mighael Lazaref, came back to S. F. in Dec. 1824.

Hawaii, English brig, Capt. Kelly. At Mont. and S. F. in May. Paid at S. F. $481.

Young Tartar, or *Jóven Tartar;* Wm. Smith, master; English schooner. Arrived from Lima at Monterey, June 12th; at S. F., in July and Dec., paying $554.

Constancia, Colombia schooner from S. Blas; Zurrillaga, master; arrived at Mont. July 29th.

Thomas Nowlan, from Lima; Wm. Clark, master; at S. F. in Aug. and Sept., paying $1,191.

Mentor, American ship. At S. F. in July, paying $471, and S. Diego in Sept., bound for Mazatlan.

Predpriate, or *Enterprise*, Russian frigate under Kotzebue. At S. F. in Oct. and Nov.

Pizarro, English brig, from Lima. Arrived at Mont. in Oct.; still there in Nov.

Royal George, English ship; no dates; left 8 men.

Sachem, vaguely alluded to as having been on the coast in February, but very doubtful.

On movements of vessels see *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 24, 87, 90, 156, 222, 224, 291; *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Cust.*, H. MS., iii.–viii. passim; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 156–9; *Id.*, *Mont.*, iv. 87; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, liv. 5; *St. Pap.*, *Sac.*, MS., xi. 70; xiv. 1, 5–11, 24; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 29; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., v. 36; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 213; xviii. 6–11, 31–3, 43, 47–50, 57–60; xxviii. 405, 416; *Spence's Hist. Notes*, MS., 12–13. According to Reynolds' list in *Honolulu Friend*, ii. 49, there were 7 arrivals from California ports at Honolulu in 1824. Combier, *Voyages au Golfe de la Cal.*, 251, speaks of a Mexican ship captured by an English corsair in the latitude of S. Francisco.

Within a year, Peru having failed to pay promptly, the contract was annulled.[14]

Argüello sent his newly purchased schooner, the *Rover*, with a cargo of skins, including 300 otters obtained from the Russian contract, and tallow enough to properly ballast the vessel, to China under the command of Captain Cooper, her former owner. He intended the cargo to be exchanged for such goods as were most needed by the troops; but he also kept in mind his own personal interests and obtained from the diputacion a decree granting to himself as owner of the vessel five per cent of the net value of the effects to be brought back. The *Rover* was ready to depart at the end of January, and probably sailed in February. She returned in November, but of the voyage and its results we know only that the return cargo was valued at $12,781. November 9th a contract was made between Argüello and Cooper for a second voyage to be made the next year.[15]

According to the figures given in the last chapter, the Russian otter contract yielded to the provincial government about 350 skins down to the end of October when it expired.[16] I have already recorded the commercial legislation of the year in presenting the acts of the diputacion. Argüello issued the 17th of January a provisional tariff of prices for the province,[17] to accompany the plan de gobierno proclaimed the same day, and title III. of which was devoted to revenue. On the 23d Estrada was appointed administrator general of provincial finance and revenue, a subject which was further regulated in some of its details.[18] In March Sarría presented an argument against a double price-list, one for natives and another for foreigners, "a thing which he could not make agree with Christian morality."[19] In the autumn the diputacion chided the governor for permitting the introduction of foreign brandy; paid no heed to a petition of neophytes and padres for relief from taxation; encouraged the exportation of pueblo products; and finally removed the tax on exports for reasons not explained, to take effect from the beginning of 1825.[20] Of the practical results of the legislation on trade we only know that the duties on exports and imports for the year as recorded at Monterey amounted to $8,000, or less than half the amount for 1823.[21] With the free trade that followed the downfall of Spanish power, smuggling again became prevalent and profitable; but the annals of contraband trade are never clearly recorded, and in these years smugglers were rarely disturbed.[22]

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[14] Spence, in *Taylor's Discov. and Founders*, ii. No. 24; *Cronise's Nat. Wealth*, 46; *Hartnell, Narrativa*, MS., 2–3.

[15] *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxii. 23. Decree of diputacion, Jan. 29th. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 28–31. Jan. 31st, receipt for $210 duty on $6,000 in coin exported. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 333. Dec. 31, 1823 (?), bill of goods bought in Manila and Canton for account of Argüello to be shipped by *Rover*. *Id.*, xxviii. 329–30. Fernandez, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 23–7, says that Santiago Estrada and Marcelino Escobar sailed with Cooper. J. J. Vallejo, *Reminiscencias*, MS., 86, tells us that the crew brought back many silks, etc., for smuggling. The contract of Nov. 9th is in *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust. II.*, MS., i. 20–1. It is not altogether intelligible, giving the impression that Cooper was still owner. He was to have $10,000 for freight out and back, and the privilege of bringing $10,000 worth of effects on his own account free of duties.

[16] Jan. 12th, the governor reprimands the commandant of San Francisco for having eight canoes engaged in otter-fishing, thus robbing the provincial treasury. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 76. Dec. 6th, the commandant of San Francisco reports that 20 *cayucos* had returned without finding a single otter, and had gone to Bodega. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xiv. 6. This would indicate that the contract had been again renewed after October. In the mission report of 1822 it had been recommended that Alaskans should be employed to teach otter-hunting. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 288–9.

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[17] *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., iv. 9–10; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xviii. 11. The prices were: wheat, $2; maize, $1.75; beans, $2.50; Lima beans, $1.75; pease, $1.75; chick pease, $3; lard per *arroba*, $2; tallow do., $1.75; flour, fine, do., $2; flour, coarse, do., $1.50; dried meat do., $1; deer-skin shoes, $1.50; cows, heifers, etc., for beef, $1.50 to $7; other articles at the old rates.

[18] The habilitados collected the revenue at the presidios, and the síndicos at the pueblos, each receiving 3 per cent and reporting to Estrada at the capital. S. Fernando was added for revenue purposes to S. Diego jurisdiction, and Sta Cruz to Monterey. Estrada secured three per cent on the total net receipts and reported to the diputacion. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 21–3; *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., iv. 14–15. By act of Jan. 29th a tonnage due of 5 reals per ton was exacted, and also 6 reals per boat-load of wood, the tax on timber to be left to the administrator. *Id.*, iv. 20.

[19] March 22d, Sarría to Argüello. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 94.

[20] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 32–9. Dec. 14th, Argüello in a proclamation orders that all the decrees of the diputacion on the collection of duties must be enforced. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liv. 4.

[21] *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust. H.*, MS., i. (212). In *Mexico, Mem. Hacienda*, 1826, p. 27, it is stated not very intelligibly that the customs received up to the end of 1824 were $1,160. Feb. 16th, governor calls on habilitados for accounts for 1822–3. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 146–7. April 20th, Guerra ordered to distribute the $2,600 in his hands, giving each of the 7 companies $300 and devoting the rest to necessary expenses. *Id.*, iv. 155–6.

There is no record extant respecting the weather during the winter of 1823-4, as there probably would be had the season been a notably dry or wet one. Some of the crops were caught in the fields by the heavy rains of the next autumn, but the harvest was a little larger than that of the preceding year, aggregating about 78,000 bushels.[23]

One of the visits of foreign vessels deserves more extended notice, chiefly from the fact that the visitor published a book in which a chapter was devoted to California. I allude to the voyage of Otto von Kotzebue, who had once before visited California and described his impressions.[24] On this second visit he commanded the Russian frigate *Predpriatie,* despatched with a cargo and also as a cruiser to protect the Russian company from foreign smugglers on the north-west coast, but also carrying a scientific corps. Coming from the north, Kotzebue anchored in San Francisco Bay on October 8th, and was saluted by the guns of Fort San Joaquin as soon as powder could be borrowed for that purpose from the frigate. The vessel remained until December 6th, the visitors were furnished with all the fresh provisions needed, and were most hospitably entertained; and during the stay of two months the commander made three somewhat extended expeditions into the interior. First he visited Santa Clara and San José; next went to Ross overland by way of San Rafael; and finally made a boat voyage up the Sacramento River.[25]

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[22] Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 75-6, says that Argüello did not object to smuggling, saying: 'I see not why we should prevent it, since our people are the gainers.' In fact the governor may have indulged slightly in contraband trade himself, if we judge by his request of Aug. 9, 1824, to some one in Lower California to send him some pearls for his daughter through his uncle at S. Diego that there may be no suspicion. *Dept. Rec.*, i. 156. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 9, tells us that the padres were still engaged in smuggling, or at least pocketed the proceeds; and J. J. Vallejo, *Reminiscencias*, MS., 23, states that few captains or supercargos, to say nothing of sailors, came without a *pacotilla* of all sorts of things not indicated on the ship's manifest, prohibited books being among the articles thus introduced. Yet we have seen that Argüello issued an occasional warning and that Bolcof and Rodriguez were arrested for smuggling at Sta Cruz.

[23] There are newspaper accounts of earthquakes in 1824.

[24] See chap. xiii. of this volume; *Kotzebue's Voyage; Chamisso, Reise;* and *Choris, Voyage.*

Kotzebue's observations on local matters connected with San Francisco, Santa Clara, San José, San Rafael, and Ross will be utilized in other chapters.[26] His impressions of things actually seen are interesting, and tolerably accurate. He was enthusiastic in his admiration of the country, its natural resources and charms, and its grand prospects for the future. Each of the three great districts visited successively furnished a new topic for wonder and praise, all being in marked contrast with the Russian territories.[27]

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[25] *Kotzebue's New Voyage round the World in the years 1823, 24, 25, and 26. By Otto von Kotzebue, Post Captain in the Russian Imperial Navy.* London, 1830. 12mo. 2 vols. The chapter on California is found in vol. ii. 71–150. Notice of the arrival on Oct. 8th (Kotzebue gives it as Sept. 27th, Russian style) in *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xiv. 8–9. Notice of sailing before Dec. 18th. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 224. See accounts of Kotzebue's visit by Stillman in *Overland Monthly*, ii. 260 et seq., and by Taylor in *S. F. Bulletin*, Jan. 11, 1867.

[26] A few items not directly connected with local annals, or the other topics referred to: 'Some speculators have attempted a trade with China, but without success. A richly laden ship was intrusted to a North American captain for this purpose, who disposed of the cargo in China; but found it more convenient to retain both the money and ship for his own use than to return to the owners.' This allusion is not intelligible. On the way to Sta Clara they landed on a small pleasant island, where 'probably the foot of man had never before trod,' whose 'northern shore was tolerably high, and rose almost perpendicularly from the sea.' The author speaks of the mission San José as 'one of the richest in California, and a Pueblo has arisen in its neighborhood; the only Pueblo on the bay of San Francisco, except that near Santa Clara'! On his trip to Ross he was accompanied by Lieut. Estudillo, whom he found 'a very cheerful companion, and one of the most enlightened Spaniards I have met in California;' yet who seems to have given the traveller some absurdly inaccurate information about the province. A distant view was had of the mission of 'St. Francisco Salona, the only one situated on the northern shore of the bay except San Gabriel'! A valley extending far inland from Bodega was called by the natives Valley of the White Men, there being a tradition that a ship had once been wrecked on the coast, and the white men had chosen this valley for their residence. These men had perhaps improved the native race, who were 'distinguished for their courage, and preferred death to the dominion of the Missionaries, into whose power no one of them has ever yet been entrapped.' The latitude of the mouth of the Sacramento was found to be 38° 2′ 4″, and longitude 122° 4′; and the voyagers went up to 38° 27′, or very near the present site of the city of Sacramento. Of the two rivers, which unite 23 miles from the general mouth, the one from the east was called by the Spaniards Pescadores, and its two tributaries San Joaquin and Jesus María. 'No trace remains of a numerous race called Korekines (carquines) by whom it was once inhabited.' Kotzebue conjectured that the Slavianka (Russian River) was an arm of the Sacramento. The extraordinary abundance of game—deer, bears, and birds—attracted attention and furnished much sport. A flock of pelicans attacked an Aleut, and gave him a severe beating with their wings; a bear was seen swimming after a deer by moonlight. The river by sounding was found to be from 15 to 20 fathoms deep, except at the mouth, where it was 4 or 5 fathoms.

"It has hitherto been the fate of these regions," writes Kotzebue, "like that of modest merit or humble virtue, to remain unnoticed; but posterity will do them justice; towns and cities will hereafter flourish where all is now desert; the waters, over which scarcely a solitary boat is yet seen to glide, will reflect the flags of all nations; and a happy prosperous people receiving with thankfulness what prodigal nature bestows for their use, will disperse her treasures over every part of the world." For the institutions of the country, and particularly for the mission system, the author has nothing but condemnation. The Spaniards were an ignorant, indolent, good-for-nothing people; and the padres had no good quality but hospitality. The neophytes were simply slaves, captured in their homes by the lasso and dragged into the missions to toil, until relieved by death, under tyrannical masters who treated them worse than cattle. Naturally the lowest race on the face of the earth, the Indians were still further degraded by the iniquities of the mission system under the hypocritical pretence of conversion to Christianity. While Kotzebue's views were not altogether without foundation, his exaggeration and prejudice on these points are apparent, and are attributable in part to his reliance on the statements of José María Estudillo, a bitter foe of the padres. Estudillo also led our author very far astray respecting the political situation of the province. His version was that California, though neglected by Spain and importuned by Mexico, had remained through poverty and suffering true to the king, and in unquestioning submission to the friars, until a smouldering spark had a few years ago been blown into a flame in consequence of a revolt of the Indians. The troops with little loss defeated large numbers of the foe, learned how weak the padres really were, declared their independence of Spain, and made California a separate republic. Whether it was best to remain independent or place herself under the protection of a foreign power was yet a subject of discussion. "Our soldiers are all of one mind; whoever pays them the arrears due from the Spanish government is their master; he purchases them and to him they belong. Induced by a knowledge of this disposition, Mexico has entered into negotiations with us"! The only obstacle now to California becoming a powerful state was the inability of her ruler, Don Luis Argüello, and thus Estudillo gratified again his personal spite.[28]

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[27] South of San Francisco 'the country presented on all sides a picture of beauty and fertility,' described at some length. 'How abundantly and happily might thousands of families subsist here! and how advantageously might the emigrants to Brazil have preferred this spot for colonization!' On the north side of the bay the country, 'chiefly characterized by gently swelling hills, the park-like grouping of the trees, and the lively verdure of the meadows, is as agreeable to the eye as that of the southern coast.' On the Sacramento 'in every direction the landscape was charming and luxuriant.' 'The many rivers flowing through this fruitful country will be of the greatest use to future settlers. The low ground is exactly adapted to the cultivation of rice; and the higher would yield the finest wheat harvests. The vine might be cultivated here to great advantage. All along the banks of the river grapes grow wild in as much profusion as the rankest weeds,' and the grapes, though small, were very edible.

Foreigners were still welcomed and baptized; and though authority came from Mexico to expel them should the necessity arise, there was no need to exercise such power, and harmony was undisturbed.[29] Of old acquaintances George Allen was baptized as José Jorge Tomás by Sarría at San Cárlos on December

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[28] Kotzebue also exhibited much prejudice and unfairness in his presentment of the Russian question; but this will be noticed elsewhere.

[29] Dec. 24th, the governor is ordered to make public the decree of congress authorizing the expulsion of foreigners if necessary. *Sup. Govt. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 18. Jan. 2, 1825, Sarría to bishop announcing that he has baptized many English and Americans *in forma absoluta*, but feels some doubt about the Episcopal sect. A Russian was admitted on protestation of faith, abjugation of error, and absolution of censure. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 362-3. Ground was designated for the burial of foreigners. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., iii. 3. Cot tells Hartnell that in the Sta Bárbara troubles the Indian leaders said they had no intention of harming foreigners. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist.*, MS., xxviii. 358.

22d; John Martin was received into the church at San Juan Bautista by Arroyo de la Cuesta October 16th; Padre Uría baptized Dr Diego Borris, aged 22, at Santa Bárbara June 5th; José Chapman bought a house at Los Angeles from Agustin Machado; and Wm. A. Richardson was in trouble at San Francisco about his debts, being threatened with the *calabozo* if he did not pay within twenty-four hours.[30] Among new-comers the most prominent was David Spence, the Scotchman, who arrived on the *Pizarro* to take charge of the meat-packing establishment of Begg and Company, and who became a leading and wealthy citizen.[31] James, Walter, or Santiago Burke, came on the *Young Tartar;* Nicodemus Goddard, an American shoemaker, nineteen years of age, on the *Sachem*, probably the year before. Thomas Stewart, a Scotch carpenter of twenty-three years, was one of six deserters left by the *Royal George.*[32] William Logan and Thomas Shaw are spoken of in documents of this year as residents; and Joseph Lawrence, called Larans, a native of New York, was baptized by Sarría at San Gabriel the 11th of July.[33] An English whaler seems to have left at San Francisco in November James McKinley, William R. Garner, and James Watson, natives of Scotland, England, and Ireland respectively.[34] Other names accredited to 1824 by lists of foreigners in later years, but with no details of vessels, are the following: David Littlejohn and Santiago McFerion, Scotch; Joseph Daniel Ferguson, Irish; Joseph Dilen, or Dillon, American; Mathew

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[30] *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. (96–7, 185–7); *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 284; *Sta Bárbara, Lib. Mision*, MS., 20; *S. Juan Bautista, Lib. Mision*, MS., 19.

[31] *Spence's Hist. Notes*, MS., 12–13. At Monterey in December. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 422.

[32] *Dana and Moraga, Lista, 1836*, MS.; *Estrada, Lista, 1829*, MS. Huse, *Sketch of Sta B.*, 6, says that Capt. Burke came in 1820.

[33] *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 402, 408; *S. Gabriel, Lib. Mision*, MS., 57.

[34] Monterey list of 1840. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 38; Los Angeles list of 1836 in *Los Angeles Arch.*, MS., i. 121–4; Naturalization records in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. (460–4); xx. (108–13); *Monterey Herald*, May 1, 1875. Kotzebue notices the arrival of the whaler with a scurvy-stricken crew.

Fellom, or Felon, identical perhaps with the Philip Felon of 1821, a Dane; and several more doubtful names.[35] Charles Smith is mentioned as engaged in otter-hunting, but the reference may possibly be to Karl von Schmidt, of Ross; and an American whose Christian name was Daniel is thought by Mrs Ord to have been killed in the Indian troubles at Santa Bárbara.[36]

The neophytes of three southern missions revolted this year against the military authority. There are evidences that other missions were asked to join in the rising, but only slight indications that any consented or furnished material aid. Records of official investigations have been lost, if they ever existed. Old Californians, writing of the affair from memory, attribute the movement to a deliberately planned attempt to free the country forever from the power and presence of Spaniards, doubtless exaggerating its importance in this respect.[37] Franciscan authorities in Mexico took the ground that the real cause was the ever growing discontent of the Indians at having to support the troops by their hard labor without pay, that is without the old-time memorias of mission supplies which could no longer be sent now that drafts in favor of the missions were not honored by the treasury.[38] This explanation, if somewhat far fetched for an apparent motive, was not entirely without foundation. Some of the padres claimed that the first outbreak was due to a petty act of injustice on the part of the soldiers, and that it was fanned into a revolution by continued acts of cruel severity.[39] At any rate there was no ill-feeling shown by the neophytes against the padres. The truth is that the Indians did not fare so well in these hard times as formerly, when there was no market for mission produce; the soldiers on account of their destitution, if not their new republican ideas, were careless of the Indians' rights; the neophytes noted the growing difficulties of the friars and their comparative inability to protect their subjects from the soldiers; and they finally were incited in connection with some local event, but as I think without very definite plans, to test the strength of their oppressors.

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[35] *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., i. 121–4; *Id.*, *Ayuntamiento Rec.*, MS., 32; *Estrada, Lista, 1829*, MS.; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 37–8; xx. (478–9). In a sketch of C. J. Fellom in the *S. José Pioneer*, July 6, 1878, Mathew is said to have come to California in 1823. See *Pioneer Register*.

[36] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 76; *Ord*, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 13–14; *Ripoll*, *Levantamiento de Indios*, MS.

[37] *Osio*, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 58–85; *Alvarado*, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 47–57; *Vallejo*, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 350–69; *Vallejo (J. J.)*, *Reminiscencias*, MS., 82–3; *Gonzalez*, *Experiencias*, MS., 19–25; *Ord*, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 7–15; *Valdés*, *Memorias*, MS., 14–17; *Bandini*, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 67–70; *Galindo*, *Apuntes*, MS., 4–5; *Fernandez*, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 14. The Vallejo-Alvarado version makes Pacomio leader of the revolt, a well educated neophyte, skilful carpenter and cabinet-maker, patriotic in his ideas and determined to free his country, and subsequently an intelligent citizen and member of the ayuntamiento at Monterey. The archives simply show that Pacomio was one of ten men sentenced to ten years of presidio work and exile, and that José Pacomio, *Monterey*, *Padron*, MS., 15, was a married carpenter 40 years old in 1836 living at the capital. Gonzalez says the leader was one Patricio, a half-breed.

The trouble began at Santa Inés on the afternoon of Sunday the 21st of February. The flogging of a Purísima neophyte by the orders of Corporal Cota a short time before is mentioned as the immediate cause. Details of what happened here are not known. The soldiers defended themselves and the padre; it does not clearly appear that anybody was killed, but a large part of the mission buildings was burned. Early the next day Sergeant Anastasio Carrillo arrived with a small force, and the hostile Indians seem to have fled to Purísima. Carrillo remained for some time at Santa Inés, which does not appear to have been abandoned.[40]

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[38] July 5, 1825, guardian to Minister Alaman. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 145-8.

[39] May 5th, P. Ripoll to Sarría. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 95; Sarría also seems to take this view of the matter more or less fully.

[40] According to *Ripoll, Levantamiento de Indios en Sta B. 1724*, MS., the rebels at Sta Inés sent a message to the alcalde Andrés at S. Marcos, the message reaching Sta Bárbara on Monday morning, that they had killed the soldiers and shut up the padre. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 61-5, tells a story of P. Uría being awakened from his siesta by a page who said the Indians were coming to kill him; whereupon the padre seized a musket, killed two of the assailants, broke the arm of another, and fought his way to where the soldiers

At Purísima the neophytes rose on the same afternoon, probably on receipt of the news from Santa Inés, and took possession of the mission. Contemporary documents afford few particulars, but corroborate in a general way the accounts from memory. Corporal Tiburcio Tapia with his four or five men defended the families and padres through the night, only one woman being wounded, but at last surrendered when powder gave out. In the morning Tapia and Padre Ordaz were sent to Santa Inés to prevent Carrillo from coming with his troops and thus causing the slaughter of the families. What answer was received is not known, but soon all the soldiers and their families were allowed to retire with Padre Ordaz to Santa Inés; while Rodriguez, minister of the mission, remained with his neophytes, who showed no disposition to molest him.[41] Four white men were killed at Purísima during the affray; but two of them—Dolores Sepúlveda and Ramon Sotelo—and probably all, were travellers on their way to Los Angeles, who, suspecting no danger, arrived at the mission after the trouble had begun and apparently before the guard had surrendered. The number of Indians killed was seven, or at least that was the number buried this and the two following days.[42] Masters now of the situation locally, reënforced from Santa Inés and perhaps to a slight extent from other missions, the rebels

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were defending themselves in the square! Mrs Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 11–12, tells us that P. Uría and the soldiers defended themselves in the padre's house all night, killing several Indians; and also that Carrillo had a fight after his arrival, killing some and capturing the leaders. She says that the padre and families left Sta Inés and came to Sta Bárbara for a while.

[41] Osio says the rebels offered to spare Tapia if he would give up his arms, but he refused; also that in the fight many houses were burned. A letter of Sarría, *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 87–90, partially confirms the statement of Mrs Ord that the soldiers' families were held for a while as hostages to keep Carrillo away. Gonzalez, a soldier who took part in the events of the next month, tells us that Ordaz, who was minister of Sta Inés and not of Purísima, arrived at the latter mission after the surrender. Valdés says that the majordomo Arellanes was held as a captive until the mission was retaken. Vallejo and Alvarado imply that the soldiers were kept as prisoners. They confound Padre Rodriguez with Victoria, and the former states that Pacomio had 2,000 Indians when he attacked and captured the mission.

[42] *Purísima, Lib. Mis.*, MS., 11.

began to prepare for defence by drilling, erecting palisade fortifications, cutting loop-holes in the adobe walls of the church and other buildings, mounting one or two old rusty cannon hitherto used chiefly to make a noise on *dias de fiesta*, sending messages of exhortation to gentiles and neophytes, and taking every precaution that native ingenuity could devise. It was nearly a month before they were attacked.

The news reached Santa Bárbara on Monday morning,[43] and the neophytes under Andrés manifested great excitement, which fathers Ripoll and Jaime succeeded in allaying for a little time; but during the former's absence at the presidio the Indians armed themselves and worked up renewed fury by recalling instances of ill-treatment from the soldiers. They also claimed to be in danger from the rebels if they did not join the revolt. They promised the padre, however, on his return to do no harm if the troops were kept away, and Ripoll produced an order from the commandant for the escolta to withdraw. The Indians insisted that the soldiers should leave their weapons, and wounded two men who refused compliance with that condition. Guerra at once marched to the mission and a fight of several hours ensued, in which the Indians fought with guns and arrows from behind the pillars of the corridor. The Indians lost two killed and three wounded; while the troops, with four wounded, retired to the presidio. The rebels then took all the clothing and other property they could carry, respecting, however, all that was in the church, and retired to the hills not far distant, sending Padre Jaime to the presidio on horseback after they had urged him in vain to go with them. The same afternoon the troops came back under Alférez Maitorena, and within a day or two they sacked the Indians' houses, despite the padre's protests, and killed such stragglers as they could catch without reference to their guilt or innocence, as Ripoll claimed. Messages passed between the fugitives and the padres; but the former refused to return, and after a week or more moved their camp further off toward the Tulares. Such was the situation at the end of February, at which time twelve victims had been buried at the mission.[44]

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[43] The best authorities on events at Sta Bárbara alone make it Sunday, and speak of mass at the presidio; but I follow the dates of official documents which speak of the rising at the three places as having taken place on Feb. 21st–22d, that is on Sunday and Monday. Osio says the affair began at Sta Inés on Saturday.

Meanwhile the alarm reached Monterey and a correspondence ensued between the governor, his subordinates, and the missionaries, on the steps to be taken to ward off the danger.[45] The result was that a hundred men were sent south under Lieutenant Mariano Estrada and Alférez Francisco de Haro to coöperate with Captain de la Guerra against the rebels. By some mischance, or misunderstanding of orders, the two armies were not united, and Estrada, having left San Luis Obispo March 14th, reached Purísima early in the morning of the 16th. The cavalry having been sent to the right and left under corporals Alviso and Espinosa to act as skirmishers and cut off the retreat of the foe—or prevent the retreat of the army being cut off, as the case might be—the rest of the force opened fire on the adobe walls at eight o'clock from muskets and a four-pounder. The neophytes, now said to have been about four hundred strong, returned the fire from cannon, swivel-guns, and muskets, to say nothing of the clouds of arrows. The guns were ineffective through the ignorance of the neophyte gunners. Some say the cannon burst at the first discharge and killed several persons. The Indians after a while attempted to fly, but were prevented by the cavalry. Then they begged Padre Rodriguez to intercede and stop the firing, which he did, first by a letter and then by coming out in person. The battle was over at half past ten. The Spaniards had three men wounded, one of them mortally; while the Indians lost sixteen killed and a large number wounded. Two swivel-guns and sixteen muskets were the most important items in the war-stores captured. After the depositions of the prisoners had been taken, Guerra and Estrada proceeded under authority of the governor to decree the punishment. Seven were condemned to death for complicity in the murder of Sepúlveda and his companions, and were shot before the end of the month. The four ringleaders in the revolt, Mariano, Pacomio, Benito, and Bernabé, were sentenced to ten years of presidio and perpetual exile from the province; and eight others to eight years of presidio in California. It was claimed by Ripoll that a pardon had been promised to all at Purísima, which was most unlikely, and was indignantly denied by Estrada. Argüello was disposed to think his officers had been too lenient in the punishments.[46]

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[44] The best authorities are *Ripoll, Levantamiento de Indios en Sta Bárbara, 1824*, MS., which is Ripoll's report of May 5th, to Sarría; and Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 7–11, the author of which, the daughter of Guerra, though a young girl at the time, had exceptional facilities then and later to learn all about the matter. The burials are recorded in *Sta Bárbara, Lib. Mision*, MS., 45–6, where is also a later certificate that 16 other Indians had been buried by their companions. Mrs Ord says that in the forenoon only a small part of the neophytes fought, while the rest were getting away; and that when the troops returned after dinner all had gone. Meanwhile, Ripoll sat at a window at the presidio overlooking the mission, weeping and exclaiming, 'My God, they killed some Indians!' and refused to partake of the broth carried to him by Señorita de la Guerra. Osio also has something to say about the retreat of the troops having been merely going to dinner in order to fight on a full belly '*á la inglesa*.'

[45] Feb. 25th, 27th, March 7th, Sarría to Argüello, transmitting news, and in last letter begging most earnestly that the trouble be settled without shedding of blood. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 87–9. Feb. 24th, March 10th, Argüello to Guerra. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 147–51. Feb. 27th, March 3d, Argüello to Ramirez. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 97–9. The force sent south finally was 16 artillerymen, 23 cavalry, 35 infantry, and 35 auxiliaries (Indians?). *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lviii. 7; lxxxvii. 64.

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[46] March 19th, Estrada's official report to the governor. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 166–9. He especially commends the valor of the artisan Francisco Pacheco who volunteered, acted as aid, and did good service with a gun; the artillerymen Manuel Flores and Octaviano Gutierrez; and the infantrymen Santa Ana, Diaz, Leonardo Vírgen, and Antonio Rodriguez. Sentences of the offenders on March 23d. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lvii. 36–7. Notice of the execution of the seven; no details. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 100–3. Argüello's report of Estrada's campaign to minister of war. *Id.*, i. 217. May 22d, Estrada to Guerra, denying the charges of the padres, and calling on the captain to state the facts. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 190–1. April 22d, Torre to Guerra, to the effect that there is much current fault-finding at

All the revolted neophytes had now been subjected except those of Santa Bárbara, with a few refugees who had joined them from other missions. Respecting the movements of this party during the month of March very little is known, save that the rebels retreated to the region of the Tulares. March 21st Padre Ordaz wrote to the governor that the situation was threatening, the rebels being at San Emigdio rancho where a Russian was instructing them in the use of firearms, the Indians of San Fernando having run away presumably to join the rest, and those of San Buenaventura and San Gabriel showing alarming signs of revolt.[47] But it would seem that the danger was exaggerated; for at the end of the month Argüello, on the strength of reports that the Santa Bárbara Indians had dispersed and were gradually returning to their mission, ordered Estrada back to Monterey, that the settlers might attend to their sowing; he was to wait for the roads to dry, and to make an expedition later if it should prove necessary.[48]

The reports that prompted Argüello's orders would also seem to have been premature; for Guerra immediately despatched Lieutenant Fabregat with eighty men, who had two encounters with the rebels on April

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the slight punishment inflicted and at the failure of the Sta Bárbara troops to take part in the action. *Id.*, vi. 106–7. Gonzalez, *Experiencias*, MS., also complains of the failure as an injustice to the southern soldiers of which he was one.

Vallejo and Alvarado add something of interest if not of accuracy to the narrative, by representing the Indians to have exposed the person of the padre where the shots fell thickest in order to stop the firing. They put Guerra in command of the assaulting force; represent the besieged rebels as having escaped during the night, perhaps with the connivance of P. Rodriguez; and as subsequently encamping at the Laguna where terms were made, the murderers being given up and Pacomio sent to Monterey to live as an independent citizen! Osio tells us of an Indian who, in the midst of the conflict, tied a crucifix to his neck wrapped in a blanket, with a view to test its efficacy, vowing life-long devotion if he were unharmed. He fought unscathed among the flying bullets until his arrows were all gone, and later served as a pious sacristan until death. An increased escolta was left at Purísima under Sergt. Pardo after this affair. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 153.

[47] Mar. 21st, P. Ordaz to Argüello. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 91–3. The padre deems it of the utmost importance that the Indians be punished by a military force at once.

[48] March 31st, Argüello to commandant of Sta Bárbara. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 151–2. Id. to Ramirez. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 102–3.

9th and 11th at Buenavista Lake, and at or near San Emigdio. Sergeant Cárlos Carrillo commanded at the latter fight, killing four Indians, recovering thirteen horses, and having three civilians of his force wounded. In the other battle of five hours Fabregat lost not a man killed or wounded; but the army retreated to Santa Bárbara. The governor thanked the troops for their bravery, though he could not quite comprehend the retreat; but it seems that a storm of wind and dust had prevented more effective operations.[49]

Argüello immediately set about the organization of a new expedition to the Tulares, the preparations for which were completed by the end of May.[50] The command was given to Captain Portilla, some slight blame being imputed to Guerra for his past management. The subordinate commanders were Lieutenant Valle, of the forces sent from Monterey, fifty in number, and Lieutenant Ibarra of the southern troops. The whole force was about 130. Padre Ripoll was asked to serve as chaplain, but at first declined, declaring that he would rather die than be present at the horrors that were to be committed. This padre carried his humanity in the affair to the verge of childish weakness. The Indians had not harmed the friars, and had committed no sacrilege in the church, and Ripoll's head had room for no other ideas. Sarría at last determined to go in person, and Ripoll went also. He also deplored the martial and destructive ideas that were prevalent, begged that pacific measures might be used so far as possible, and finally induced Argüello to grant an *indulto*, or general pardon, for all past rebellion, which he forwarded in advance to the Tulares, with a letter of his own the 16th of May.[51]

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[49] Record of the fights. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liv. 3; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 153, 157–8. The wind and dust are mentioned by Ripoll, *Levantamiento de Indios*, MS., and by Gonzalez, *Experiencias*, MS., 23. Ripoll was asked to go as chaplain but refused. He says that an Indian taken at S. Emigdio was killed to save the trouble of guarding him; also that two men, one of them an American, were killed at the same place by gentiles, aided by only one Christian. Mrs Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 13–14, says the American's Christian name was Daniel. Lugo, *Vida*, MS., 6–8, tells us that the brothers Dominguez were struck by arrows while the force was marching through the Cajon de Uvas; he also notes a song composed by a San Diego soldier for the occasion, beginning:

'El Sargento Don Cárlos
Por la Trinidad
Se vistió de guerra
Con mucha crueldad.'

and so on, a verse for each soldier.

[50] April 15th, Argüello to Guerra and Portilla. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 153–5; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liv. 3. Orders of various dates to Portilla and Valle. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 143–52. June 11th, Argüello to minister of war before the result of Portilla's campaign was known. *Id.*, i. 221. June 1st, several Indians who had been in the Tulares were examined as to what they saw there, and testified that the refugees had plenty of cattle but had drank all their liquor; that the married and unmarried were living together; and that they spent their time in gambling without prayer. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 142–50.

Portilla marched the 2d of June from Santa Bárbara and Valle from San Miguel, the two divisions uniting the 8th far out in the plain of the Tulares, at San Emigdio.[52] The fugitives were encamped near this place, heartily repentant, as they said, and willing to return to mission life, but timid and apprehensive of punishment if they should give up their weapons. All was thought to be settled on June 11th, but unfavorable rumors circulated by gentiles and distrustful neophytes caused additional delays; and it was not until the 16th that the army started to return, the rebel chief Andrés being left behind to collect and bring in some forty refugees who had not yet been found. The pardon seems to have been complete, and the repentant rebels were even allowed to retain their arms on the march in order to be ready for an attack from the gentiles. All reached Santa Bárbara the 21st, and the revolt of 1824 was at an end.[53]

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[51] May 7th, Ripoll to Sarría; April 30th, May 10th, 14th, 18th, 27th, June 3d, Sarría to Argüello. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 112-17, 133-4. Domingo Carrillo commanded 24 of the presidial troops under Portilla.

[52] *Portilla, Diario de una Expedicion al Tular, 1824*, MS. The diary of the northern division is not extant, if any was written. The route of Portilla's march was as follows: To S. Buenaventura, where he remained until June 5th. Up the Sta Clara River 15 leagues to Camulos rancho, where the S. Fernando sheep were kept. Up the river 3 l. to S. Javier rancho; N. E., over a summit named by Sarría S. Norberto, to the spot named Espíritu Santo from the day, 5 l. Over the hills, past an arroyo called Tinoco to Álamos, 8 l.; over the plain, past the Salinas de Cortés, into the Cañada de Uvas, to Sta Teresa de Jesus, a fine site, 6 l. Three leagues more through the *Cajon* to the plain, whence the Lake Misjamin was seen 6 l. toward the N.; over the plain, leaving the lake to the right, to S. Emigdio, which was 9 l. from the mouth of the Cajon de Uvas and 5 or 6 l. from the lake. The camp of the rebels was at Mitocha. The ranchería of Tulali is mentioned on or near the lake. The return was by Malapica; Camup, Cuyam, Casitec named S. Pablo; Seguaya, or S. Gervasio Creek; down the creek to Sta Inés River, down the river 3 l. to Ciénegas rancho or Trinidad; to S. Roque and half a league to Sta Bárbara Mission.

As a reward for bravery at Purísima, Mariano Estrada was made by the Mexican government full lieutenant; the artisan Francisco Pacheco was made brevet alférez; and to the troops was awarded double pay for a month—a graceful compliment which cost nothing, as the soldiers never received their original pay, not to mention the double allowance.[54] After the revolt all the neophytes' weapons were by the governor's orders removed to the presidios as a precautionary measure.[55] In October the junta named Captain de la Guerra, with diputados Aruz and José Antonio Carrillo, to investigate the causes of the revolt; but we have no record of results.[56] In July 1825 a criminal prosecution was carried on by Alférez Maitorena against the ex-rebels of Purísima, not for insurrection, but for the theft of certain articles which had never been returned.[57] In January 1826 Benito and Bernabé, two of the rebel leaders condemned to the chain-gang, made their escape; and a report to the minister of war in October indicates that not all the refugees had yet been reduced to submission.[58]

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[53] June 28th, Sarría to Arguello, announcing the success of the expedition, and praising the conduct of Portilla, Valle, and Ibarra. Dec. 31st, Capt. Ruiz mentions Cadet Domingo Carrillo's exploration of the lake during this expedition. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lvii. 4–5; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 118–20. Rafael Gonzalez was a soldier in this expedition. He says that Ibarra lost his patience and threatened an attack if the Indians did not yield next day. He also mentions the celebration of the *Corpus* in an *enramada* on the plain. *Gonzalez, Experiencias*, MS., 23–4. In the middle of April there had been rumors of a disposition to revolt on the part of the neophytes at San Luis Obispo, and Sergt. Ignacio Vallejo was sent by the governor to investigate, and if necessary punish. The rumors proved unfounded, but Vallejo could not lose the opportunity of making a speech to the Indians on the terrible punishment that had been in store for them had they been less faithful. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 1–3; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 96, 104–5. Padre Cabot of S. Miguel in a letter to the governor, *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 132, says that the rebels of Purísima sent beads, etc., to various gentile rancherías with an invitation to join them. Tache and Telame refused to receive the gifts; the Notontos took the beads, but did not go! Bubal and Santache started but do not seem to have joined the rebels. Mrs Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 15, deems it fortunate that the revolted Indians were on bad terms with those of San Buenaventura, else the latter would have risen and been followed by those of S. Fernando and S. Gabriel. By a letter of Argüello to Guerra on July 23d, it would appear that there was some further trouble with the Indians, or perhaps that the refugees left in the Tulares did not come in as had been promised. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben, Mil.*, MS., liv. 4–5.

[54] Communications from war department of July 31st and Aug. 11th. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xi. 18–19; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxvii. 69.

[55] July 22d, Sarría to Padres. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 120.

[56] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 151–2.

Besides the great revolt there is nothing in the Indian affairs of 1824 that calls for special notice, except the capture and execution of Pomponio. He was a refugee neophyte of San Francisco, and a native of the San Rafael region; and for several years had been notorious as an outlaw and criminal, whose capture had often been attempted without success. Of his depredations, extending from San Rafael to Santa Cruz and probably farther south, consisting of robberies, outrages, and murders, chiefly of Indians, but including the killing of one soldier named Manuel Varela, we have no contemporary record save general allusions in connection with his capture. From the vague recollections of old inhabitants some startling and romantic tales of his adventures, wholly unreliable in detail, have found their way into the newspapers of later days. Lieutenant Martinez with a corporal and two men captured Pomponio in the Cañada de Novato above San Rafael. He was tried by a court martial at Monterey February 6th and shot, apparently the 6th of September.[59] It was also in or about

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[57] *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lvi. 10–11.

[58] *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 180; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, liv. 10. The mission report for 1827–8 also implies that some were yet absent. *Bandini, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 6. General mention of the revolt in *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 51, 172; *Sta Clara, Arch. Parroquia*, MS., 58–63; Taylor in *Cal. Farmer*, March 21, 1862. Morineau, *Notice sur la Nouvelle Californie*, 148–9, gives an inaccurate account, dating the revolt in June 1827, or rather representing the affair as an attack by the gentiles, or Tolés. Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio*, ii. 143–5, inaccurately describes the revolt and dates it in 1820.

[59] Hoja de servicios of Martinez in *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xix. 141. Statement of Martinez in *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxvi. 93; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xi. 66–7; xiv. 3. The court-martial consisted of Guerra, Ramirez, Santiago Argüello, Ignacio Vallejo, Cárlos A. Carrillo, Torre, and José R. Estrada, who with Gov. Argüello sign the sentence on Feb. 6th. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lii. 7. Execution on Sept. 6th. Estrada, in *Guerra*,

1824, apparently, that Martinez and Sanchez had some encounters with the chieftains of northern contra costa tribes, Marin and Quintin, who left their names one to a county and the other to a point in that region.[60]

Doc. Hist. Cal., MS., v. 190. Torre, *Reminiscencias*, MS., 46, and Galindo, *Apuntes*, MS., 65–6, gives some account of his depredations, stating that it was his favorite associate who at one time cut off his own heel to escape from the mission stocks. See also narrative in *Sacramento Record*, Nov. 18, 1869, from *Sta Clara News*. I have also noticed a newspaper item to the effect that Salvador, hanged for murder at San Rafael in 1879, was a grandson of Pomponio. A stream in San Mateo County bears Pomponio's name.

[60] *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 146–9. In *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xi. 6. A northern campaign which lasted 45 days is mentioned, and may be the one referred to by Vallejo. Mention of miscellaneous minor hostilities during the year, chiefly on the Lower California frontier. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 163–4, 197, 223; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 124.

CHAPTER XXIV.

LOCAL ANNALS—SAN DIEGO DISTRICT.

1821--1830.

San Diego Presidio—Ruiz and Estudillo—Biographical Sketches—Officers, Military Force, and Population—Presidial Finance—The Port—Rancho del Rey, or Rancho Nacional—Town and its Buildings—Private Ranchos—Visits of Morrell, Duhaut-Cilly, and Pattie—A School—Criminal Record—Indian Affairs—Residence of the Governor—Chronologic Record of Local Happenings—Floods, Politics, and Foreign Visitors—Mission San Diego—Ministers—Statistics—Chapel at Santa Isabel—Names of Rancherías and Mission Ranchos—San Luis Rey—Events and Statistics—Branch at Pala—Lands—San Juan Capistrano—A Period of Decline.

It has not been found practicable, without too great sacrifice of convenience in other respects, to make an exact chronological division of all volumes after the first. Thus, having given the regular history of the province down to the end of 1824, I now proceed with local and institutionary annals not only to that year but to 1830. This plan, though involving a slight apparent lack of symmetrical arrangement, will not, I believe, be regarded as a real defect, and is in every way preferable to breaking the record of a decade.

Lieutenant José María Estudillo, of the Monterey company, remained in temporary command at San Diego nearly a year,[1] when, not having been more successful than his predecessor in maintaining harmony between the officers of the presidial and Mazatlan companies, he returned to Monterey, while Francisco María Ruiz, promoted to be captain and somewhat restored in health, resumed the command in September 1821, and Captain Portilla was apparently sent for a short time to Santa Bárbara.[2] Ruiz retained command of the company, and so far as the records show, of the post as well, until 1827, when he was retired at the age of seventy-three. He had owned a rancho for several years, and he built one of the first houses at what is now old San Diego, outside the presidio walls. Though the old captain lived until 1839, he had little or nothing more to do with public life, and a biographical notice may be presented appropriately here.[3]

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[1] See chap. xvi. of this volume for local annals of the south in 1810–20. See chap. vi. for map of S. Diego district.

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[2] For some not very complete details of the troubles among the officers see *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 293–4; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 13, 15–18, 24–5; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 195–9; vi. 60. Guerra was sent by Sola to investigate the troubles at S. Diego in October 1821. *Id.*, iv. 93–5. It seems that one Capt. Patricio Anje had sought the command, understanding that there was to be a vacancy; but Sola tells him on March 27, 1821, that Ruiz will retain the place. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 35.

[3] Francisco María Ruiz was born at Loreto about 1754, his parents, according to the statement of his grandniece, *Burton's Biog. Sketch of Ruiz*, MS., being Juan María Ruiz and Isabel Carrillo, both descendants from families somewhat distinguished in Spain. His father was killed by a lion while Francisco was being educated by a Jesuit missionary. Francisco's brother José Manuel became governor of Lower California; and descendants of his three sisters were connected with several leading families of California. He enlisted at Loreto in 1780, *Ruiz, Hoja de Servicios, 1817*, MS.; soon came to California, where in 1795 he became sergeant of the Santa Bárbara company. Not a month after his appointment he was arrested for offensive language to a private. In 1801 he was made alférez of the same company. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 90–1. At the end of 1805 he was promoted to lieutenant, and in 1806 became acting comandante of San Diego, where he soon had a serious quarrel with his relative Guerra y Noriega, whom he knocked down. See chap. vii. of this volume. In 1809 he indulged in certain bickerings with Alf. Ignacio Martinez. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 209. In 1813 he served as *padrino* at the consecration of the new mission church. *S. Diego, Lib. Mision*, MS., 14. In 1816 Ruiz was recommended to Gov. Sola by Pedro Negrete of S. Blas as follows: 'This is an old American, one of the few true men met with in America or the world. He may have some faults as all men have, but all are outweighed in the balance by his natural honesty; by the justice that in the midst of his great popularity with his soldiers he deals out so as to make himself respected by all; and by his unbounded love for Fernando VII. our monarch, in whose honor he often assembles his soldiers, ordering them to play, dance, drink, and shout Viva Spain! Viva Fernando VII.! Long live the Governor! Viva! Viva! Viva-a-a-a!' *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 128. And he was in later years as enthusiastically loyal, in words at least, to the empire and republic in succession. In 1817, with a report of his 36 years, 10 months, and 29 days of service, noting that he had been in several

The lieutenancy of the company had remained vacant from 1821 to 1825, when Estudillo was transferred permanently to the San Diego company, of which he became comandante on the retirement of Ruiz in 1827. At the end of that year Estudillo was made captain, Santiago Argüello becoming lieutenant at the same time. For a time in 1828–9 Estudillo was noted on the company rolls as 'retired' or 'absent,' being doubtless under temporary suspension, like Guerra, in consequence of the Mexican laws requiring the expulsion of Spaniards. It is not quite clear that he ever resumed the active command before his death, which occurred at San Diego the 8th of April 1830. He was buried next day in the presidio chapel. Don José María's character requires but brief notice, eulogistic or otherwise. He was not an able man, but was an honest and faithful officer so far as routine duties were concerned; a skilful penman and a fair accountant. His greatest fault was an overweening vanity which made him unpopular, especially with other officers, who failed to recognize in him any ex-

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campaigns, including one to the Colorado River, Gov. Sola recommended Ruiz, in the third place, for promotion to a captaincy. In 1818 he was recommended again, *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 10, and his commission was issued in Mexico on July 12, 1820, and received by him in January, 1821. *Id.*, 21. The charges of drunkenness and other irregularities made against him in 1820, and his consequent temporary suspension from command have been noticed in chapter xvi. this volume. Ruiz earnestly denied the charges, which he attributed to the personal enmity of Portilla; and Gov. Sola, while satisfied that his conduct had been imprudent, evidently felt much esteem for the old man and was glad to restore his command. June 16, 1822, Ruiz writes that he has entirely regained his health. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 60. It was in 1823 that he obtained from Gov. Argüello the rancho of Peñasquitos against the protest of the padres. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 75; *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 492; *Cal. Land. Com.*, No. 452. It has been stated by old Californians to Hayes and others that Capt. Ruiz came down from Presidio Hill and built his house in 1824, or even earlier, and this is possibly true; still it seems unlikely that it was before his retirement from the command. This was early in 1827, when his name was dropped from the company rolls, though Echeandía's formal and final document seems to have been sent him on Jan. 11, 1828. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 168; v. 2–3. In June 1834 Capt. Ruiz had received no pay as an invalid for a long time, and asked for $200. He was told there were no funds; but if he would prove his claim he would be remembered. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iii. 34–5. Aug., 22, 1839, Alf. Salazar announces to Gen. Vallejo the death of Capt. Ruiz on Aug. 14th. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., viii. 52. He had never been married.

traordinary qualities, and one after another became, with few exceptions, the objects of his serious displeasure. His descendants have been in later years among the most respected of the native Californian families; and several of the name have reached honorable prominence in public life.[4]

Lieutenant Santiago Argüello took the command at Estudillo's death, having been indeed acting comandante for some time before. He obtained his captain's commission at the end of the year or early in 1831. This officer had served as alférez of the company, though belonging to that of San Francisco, till his promotion to a lieutenancy in 1827, his brother Gervasio, the regular alférez, being still absent in Guadalajara. Don Santiago had also acted as habilitado until 1825; and Domingo Carrillo held the place from 1825 to 1829, as cadet in 1825–7, and as alférez of the Santa Bárbara company in 1827–9. Juan Salazar seems to have acted as habilitado in 1830, though not commissioned as alférez until the next year. José María Pico and Cristóbal Dominguez were retired sometime before 1825, and succeeded as company sergeants by José Góngora and Pedro Lobo. In 1828 José Antonio Pico was the sergeant, the other place being vacant.[5]

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[4] José María Estudillo was born in Spain, I think in Andalucía, in 1772, his father being an officer, and came to America at the age of fifteen years in 1787. Coming to Lower California in 1795, he enlisted July 23, 1796, at Loreto, where he served as *soldado distinguido* until August 1799, and then as cadet till March 1806. He was now made alférez and transferred to Monterey, where, on the recommendation of Gov. Arrillaga, he was promoted to be lieutenant before the end of the year. He kept the lieutenancy of the Monterey company for more than 20 years, being much of the time comandante of that presidio, and was promoted to be captain of San Diego in December 1827. To his 33 years of actual military service were added 11 years of extra time duing the war of independence in accordance with the Mexican decree of March 1822. *Estudillo, Hojas de Servicio, 1817, 1828, 1830*, MS. In 1810 Estudillo was complimented for the ability with which he had defended three Indians accused of murder, by the auditor de guerra in Mexico. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xl. 10. In 1817 he was recommended by Gov. Sola for promotion, and accredited with having commanded a party of 13 men who prevented seven Russian fishing canoes from effecting a landing at Monterey, killing one of the occupants, capturing one, wounding several, and driving the rest away. In 1819 he commanded an expedition against the Indians of the Tulares, which accomplished nothing, see chap. xv.; and in 1823 he was at the head of a company which was sent to escort Capt. Romero from S. Gabriel to the Colorado, but which lost its way and had to return. chap. xxii. Estudillo was accused by Santiago Argüello of neglect and cruelty toward the presidial company while at S. Diego. In June 1822 he was ordered to take command at Sta Bárbara, and may have done so for a short time. On April 9, 1822, he swore to the national independence. April 22, 1827, the governor sent the Mexican ratification of Estudillo's appointment as commandant, and Dec. 31st notified him of his promotion to be captain. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 39, 121–2. In 1828 the governor reported to the supreme government that, though a Spaniard, Estudillo, by his activity, intelligence, and services, was entitled to be considered useful to the republic, being a friend to the system which he had sworn to support. *Id.*, vi. 34, 38–9. His death and burial on April 8th and 9th, 1830, are recorded in *S. Diego, Lib. Mision*, MS., 97; *Carrillo (J.), Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 21; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 94.

Capt. Estudillo's wife was Gertrudis Horcasitas, a lady of Mexican birth, with whom he did not always live harmoniously. By her he had 6 children; and in 1828 12 of his grandchildren were living. He left no estate, though his son and daughter, Doña María Magdalena, a famous beauty and noted also for her charms of character, as Alvarado tells us, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 176, received each a land-grant of one league at Otay in 1829. His son, Don José Antonio, was a prominent man at San Diego, and the founder of the southern branch of the family, a member of which, Don José Guadalupe, son of José Antonio, once held the office of state treasurer. Another of the captain's sons, Don José Joaquin, also figured somewhat prominently in public affairs before 1848, and was the founder of the northern, or Alameda county branch of the family.

There were several other officials at San Diego during this decade who require mention here. José María Echeandía, gefe político and comandante general of the Californias, made this presidio his residence from 1825, accompanied by his secretary, Alférez Agustin V. Zamorano. Captain Pablo de Portilla of the 'Mazatecos,' and Lieutenant Juan M. Ibarra of the same company were stationed here. Domingo Carrillo as habilitado was *comisario subalterno*, or revenue collector, in 1825–8, when Juan Bandini was appointed to fill the position by the governor. José Antonio Estudillo was a kind of associate collector with Bandini, and at the same time treasurer of municipal funds. Ignacio Lopez was the first partido elector for the San Diego district in 1822; but when the electors chose themselves as members of the provincial diputacion, the name of Cárlos Castro was substituted for that of Lopez. Zamorano was chosen as elector in 1827–8; and Juan María Osuna in 1830. Last and not least must be mentioned Padre Antonio Menendez, a Dominican who came up from the peninsula with Echeandía in 1825, and ministered spiritually to troops and citizens as chaplain and cura until 1829, at an irregular salary of fifteen dollars a month.

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[5] Pattie, the trapper, was very kindly treated by Sergt. Pico, or Peaks, as he calls him, in 1828 as elsewhere related. Among the inválidos during these years was Juan Mariné y Salvat, a soldier retired as lieutenant *de premio* for long service. He lived at S. Gabriel and was the second husband of Eulalia Perez the centenarian. He was a Catalan, 60 years old in 1828, and had been 33 years in California. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 39; vi. 41; *S. Diego, Lib. de Mision*, MS., 55; *Perez, Recuerdos de una Vieja.* MS.

The presidial company of San Diego failed to keep its ranks quite full, and by 1830 had decreased to sixty men and fifteen invalids; there were seven artillerymen; Portilla's Mazatlan company dwindled from 55 to 35 men; and the total force with two or three mechanics was thus 120 men. A detachment of infantry came with Echeandía in 1825, but there is nothing to indicate whether or not any part of that body remained at San Diego. The mission escoltas required about half the presidial company; at least half of the inválidos lived at the pueblo; and the actual force at the presidio was about 100 men. The total population de razon in the district, which I have given as 450 in 1820, I put down at 520 in 1830.[6] The increase of 70 seems small, but the error, if there is one, is more likely to be in the earlier than the later figures. The population, always excluding San Gabriel, was 475 in 1828 and the only element of uncertainty is respecting the increase of the last two years. The population at the presidio proper was about 400 white persons and 150 Indians. Only two or three foreigners lived in the district. The neophyte population remained at 5,200, San Luis having gained and San Juan having lost over a hundred.

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[6] See chapter xvi. this volume for population in 1820. There are reports making the population in 1821, 630; and in 1830, 439; and one, *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., v. 37, making the total, including S. Gabriel, 557 in 1830; but the estimate must be founded chiefly on reports which are extant for 1827–8. In *Bandini, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 6, is an official report of the governor for 1827, cited also in *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 477, in which the population of S. Diego is given as 769, or 273 men, 246 women, and 250 children; but this includes Indians whose number varied in these years from 130 to 200, and deducting 160 say from 769, we have 609 as the white population, or 479 if 130 be deducted for S. Gabriel. Again a similar official table for 1828 was published in *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Expl. Exped.*, v. 555, making the number 608 of gente de razon, or 478 after the deduction for S. Gabriel. That these reports include in the presidio population all the whites at the missions is proved by the fact that their totals for the missions agree with the number of neophytes derived from other sources. Finally a report for 1828, in *Prov. St. Pap. Pres.*, MS., i. 97–8, in which S. Gabriel is not included, gives the population de razon as 477. Thus the agreement of these three reports leaves but little doubt respecting the figures for 1828, though a report for 1828 in *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., v. 8, makes the number at least 540 in that year. In *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 170, 41 of 69 men in the presidial company are said to have had families in 1821. In *Id.*, ii. 160, the distribution of men a few years later was 35 men to the presidio; 5 at the mission; 6 at S. Juan; 8

There are no other presidial statistics extant except the usual fragmentary items of finance,[7] from which it is impossible to draw any general conclusions of any value. The pay-roll of the military force was nominally over $20,000 a year; the men really received at least what they ate and wore, contributed by the missions and obtained from vessels as duties on imports. The reader may find in the general lists for each year in other chapters the names of vessels which touched at San Diego, though the record in this respect is far from being complete. The port was practically open to foreign trade throughout the decade, and legally so during a large part of the time, as there was a decree of 1822 formally opening it;[8] the orders of 1826 to close it were not carried out; and in 1828–9 it was officially deemed to be open provisionally even

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at S. Luis; and 11 at S. Gabriel. In 1828 the distribution of population was 403 at the presidio; 10 in ranchos; 12 at the mission; 17 at S. Juan; and 35 at S. Luis. The foreign residents were J. B. Mutrel, James Thompson, and James McFerion.

[7] Items of habilitado's accounts: 1823, S. Diego indebted to Monterey, $1,544. 1825, treasury owed officers and soldiers of the company $42,700; citizens and former soldiers, $32,700. Pay-roll for five months, $6,728. 1826, due company on pay-roll to August, $9,137; June to December, $4,981. Supplies to the Mazatlan company in 1826–7, $9,080. Company's pay in 1827, $1,300 per month. Estimate for expenses of 1828, $19,574. Pay of Mazatlan company per month in 1828, $924. Pay-roll of 1830, $14,639, and $2,523 for inválidos. Net yield of postal revenue about $30 per year. Municipal funds in 1828: receipts, $424; expenditures, $330. 1829, receipts, $358; expenditures, $311. Tax on cattle, 1828, $27. Tithes, 1821–5, $1,230. Liquor dues, 1826, $205 net; 1827, $144; 1828, $100. Sixty-five otter-skins sold in 1826, $991. Revenue from customs in 1830, net, $19,346 (?). Comisario Bandini's account for Aug. 1829: Balance Aug. 1st, $25,362; supplies from missions, $443; import duties, $826; paid out, $3,370; balance Sept. 1st, $23,261.

[8] Decree of soberana junta provisional gubernativa of Jan. 14, 1822, opening S. Diego to foreign vessels. *Mexico, Mem. Hacienda*, 1838, pt. i. 6. See also chapter v. of this volume.

when San Francisco and Santa Bárbara were closed. Yet Monterey, and not San Diego as has sometimes been claimed, was always the chief port of entry and site of the territorial custom-house.

The rancho del rey, now known as the rancho nacional, was still kept up in a manner, and furnished meat and horses for the troops; but we have no statistics and no information save an occasional complaint that the cattle are almost exhausted and should be replenished from the missions. All tithes of cattle were added to this rancho.[9] As before there is no definite record of agricultural or pastoral industry except in the missions; but there are indications, chiefly from the recollections of old Californians, that both soldiers and invalids now cultivated to a considerable extent fertile spots in the vicinity of the presidio; that several retired soldiers and officers came down from Presidio Hill before 1830 to live in adobe houses standing about the site of what is in modern times old San Diego; and there is proof that several ranchos had been granted to private individuals by whom some of them were occupied.[10]

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[9] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 78; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 291; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 60; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liii. 89; liv. 8; lxiii. 13; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., i. 40.

[10] Soledad Valley was the tract chiefly cultivated by the military farmers. *Romero, Memorias*, MS., 4; *Aguilar*, in *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 502–3; *Hayes' Miscellany*, 78; *Bancroft's Personal Obs.*, 85–6. Of the earliest houses at the foot of the hill Gunn gives an account from the recollections of old residents, in the *S. Diego Union* of July 20, 1876. He says there were 5 houses in 1821, the 'Fitch house,' and those of Capt. Ruiz, María Reyes Ibañez, Rafaela Serrano, and Juan María Marron. Romero, *Memorias*, MS., 1–2, mentions the same houses as existing in 1825, except the Fitch house not named. Gunn says the 6th house was built by a Pico in 1824; and that by 1830 there had been added 7 more, including those of Juan Rodriguez, José Antonio Estudillo, Juan Bandini, Tomasa Alvarado, Rosario Aguilar, the 'French bakery,' and part of the 'Seely house.' Judge Hayes' *Memorabilia* and other scrap-books contain much detailed information respecting these earliest houses, fields, and gardens; and photographs of many of them are given in his *Emigrant Notes.* Naturally I have no space for these voluminous details, which though interesting are for the most part rather vaguely founded. There is a decided tendency to antedate the building of the older houses, and I have no faith in the exactness of the dates given. There were probably no houses on the bench in 1821, and few in 1825; but there is no reason to doubt that most of the dozen named in this note, if not many more, had been built by 1830. Capt. Ruiz probably did not come down from the hill to live before his retirement in 1827. J. A. Estudillo and Juan Bandini were granted house-lots, or

In 1826 a commission composed of Captain Portilla, Domingo Carrillo, and Lieutenant Romualdo Pacheco reported the presidio buildings as in a "deplorably ruinous condition," and requiring at least $40,000 for repairs. The fort at Point Guijarros was hardly in a better state, but might be repaired at a cost of $10,000. We do not learn that any such sums were forthcoming from territorial or national treasury; but in May 1828 the governor asked the padres for ten men, with tools and food, to be set to work on the battery, which a few months later was at least in condition to discharge several broadsides into Bradshaw's vessel.[11] The *barca plana*, or flat-boat, which had been wont to ply between the presidio and the port, was wrecked at Los Adobes late in 1827, and a year later the governor directed that a small wharf should be built of the timbers.[12] Three foreign visitors, whose narratives were printed, have something to say

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a lot 100 varas square in common, in 1827. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 8. As to the private ranchos, in a report of 1828 there are named, besides La Purísima or rancho nacional, where the presidio had 250 cattle and 25 horses, San Antonio Abad with 300 cattle, 80 horses, and 25 mules, producing also 143 fanegas of grain; Sta María (de Peñasquitos), with 50 cattle, 20 horses, and 8 mules; El Rosario, or Barracas, a *sitio*, with 25 head each of cattle, horses, and mules, producing 125 fan. of grain; and San Isidro, also a *sitio*. Each of these was inhabited by 2 or 3 men. *Prov. St. Pap., Pres.*, MS., i. 97–8. The names of owners are not given; but we know that Peñasquitos had been granted to Capt. Ruiz and Francisco M. Alvarado on June 15, 1823, against the protest of the padres. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 75; *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 492; *Cal. Land Com.*, No. 452. In an official report of 1830, *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., v. 37, the same four ranchos are named and no more; yet we know that in Jan. or March 1829 Echeandía had granted one league at Otay to José Antonio Estudillo; another league at Otay (Janal?) to María Magdalena Estudillo; and Tia Juana, across the line of Lower California. *Dept. Rec.*, vii. 62; *Register of Brands*, 43–4; *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 492; *Cal. Land Com.*, No. 330. It is also stated by the padres in 1828 that the rancho of Temescal between S. Luis Rey and S. Juan Capistrano had been occupied by Leandro Serrano, majordomo at S. Juan. *Register of Brands*, MS., 41.

[11] Report to Portilla, etc. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 188–9. Demand for laborers. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 202. Armament of S. Diego in 1830: 13 cannons, 8 of brass, and 5 of iron; 3 eight-pounders, 7 of 6 lbs., and 3 of 4 lbs. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxii. 24. Romero, *Memorias*, MS., 23; *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 494, describes the fort and powder magazines as of stone, and the barracks of brick, situated close under the high hill on what is now Ballast Point. Machado, *Tiempos Pasados de Cal.*, MS., 22, says that Echeandía made the troops construct a dam or reservoir of stone and mortar in a cañada near the fort. The water later broke the dam, but the ruins were yet visible in 1877.

[12] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 141; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxvii. 9.

of San Diego in this decade. The first was Morrell in 1825, and his absurdly inaccurate description of the presidio is quoted elsewhere.[13] Duhaut-Cilly came in 1827. He devotes more attention to a description of the port, which he pronounces "without doubt the best in all California," safer even than San Francisco, and its natural surroundings than to artificial improvements; but he says, "a sad place is the presidio of San Diego, the saddest of all that we had visited in California except San Pedro. It is built on the slope of an arid hill and has no regular form. It is a shapeless mass of houses, all the more gloomy because of the dark color of the bricks of which they are rudely constructed. Under the presidio on a sandy plain are seen thirty or forty scattered houses of poor appearance, and a few gardens badly cultivated."[14] Finally the American trapper, Pattie, was confined here during the greater part of 1828. He describes nothing but his prison, situated just across the square from the governor's house, of which he says: "My prison was a cell eight or ten feet square, with walls and floor of stone. A door with iron bars an inch square like the bars of window sashes, and it grated on its iron hinges as it opened to receive me. Over the external front of this prison was inscribed in capital letters *Destinacion de la Cattivo*"*!*[15]

There was a primary school at the presidio during the last half of the decade if not before; it had eighteen scholars in 1829; Padre Menendez was for a time the teacher; and he received from fifteen to twenty dollars a month from the municipal funds.[16] Justice was administered in a primitive and irregular way by the military authorities;[17] but the criminal annals of San Diego at this period include no *causas célebres.* Hostile gentiles caused less trouble on the southern frontier in this decade than in most others, Lieutenant Ibarra's fight at Santa Isabel on April 5, 1826, being the only exciting event of Indian warfare. Ibarra lost three men of his Mazatlan squadron, but he killed twenty-eight of the foe and sent in twenty pairs of ears. One of the gentiles was captured and publicly shot at San Diego the 23d of April. In a battle between the Indians of San Felipe Valley and gentiles from more distant rancherías, eighteen of the latter were killed and lost their ears.[18]

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[13] See chapter i. of volume iii. *Morrell's Narrative*, 201.

[14] *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, ii. 14–25.

[15] *Pattie's Narrative*, 176.

[16] *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., vi. 1, 2; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 146; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 114; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, lxvi. 91.

[17] In 1821 several cases of adultery and dissolute life are reported. In one the man was sentenced to imprisonment for two months and transfer to another presidio; while the woman had to stand with shaven head in church

where all could see her, and was shut up for six months in the mission *monjería. Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 286, 294; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 23; lii. 11. In April 1826 the soldier Victor Linares killed the vecino Juan German. Argüello was prosecutor; Pio Pico, clerk; and Zamorano defended the accused. The court-martial, composed of Echeandía, Rocha, Valle, Ibarra, Portilla, Pacheco, and Mata, each of whom gave a separate vote in writing, acquitted Linares, who had merely performed his duty as a sentry. *Id.*, lix. 5–7. In December a neophyte was tried for killing another. The fiscal asked for only one year's imprisonment and hard work, in consideration of the man being a new convert. As usual the final decision is not known. *Id.*, lxiii. 5. In October 1828 five soldiers, in the name of all, complained to Lieut. Argüello of hunger and nakedness, asking for something on account of back pay. Argüello became angry and began to put them in irons, desisting at the demand of the troops. The five appealed to the general and were promised justice; but seem to have been scattered in other presidios as a punishment for their insubordination. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxvi. 64–8. In Feb. 1821 an Indian was condemned to two years of public work for having killed his neophyte wife. *St. Pap.*, *Ben.*, MS., i. 81. In April a house of ill-fame is mentioned. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 134; and a soldier was liberated after 21 months' confinement for stealing three cattle from the rancho nacional. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxiv. 13. In July a soldier was tried for perjury, a crime punishable by death, but was released after a few months in jail as the subject of the perjury was of little consequence. *Id.* lxx. 1. In May 1830 a civilian cut a soldier with a knife, escaped from prison, and took refuge in the mission church. An interesting trial followed on the question of his right of church asylum. He was sentenced to eight years in the chain-gang. *Id.*, lxxi. 35–58. In September a soldier lost a despatch, for which he seems to have received 25 blows and a month of extra sentry duty. *Id.* lxix. 4. In November there were 12 prisoners in custody. *Id.* lxxii. 6. This year the majordomo, Hilario García, was tried for excessive cruelty in having flogged a party of gentile and neophyte captive cattle-thieves, one of whom was pulled about by the hair until he died. At the first trial the fiscal, Cadet Ignacio del Valle, insisted on 10 years in the chain-gang. Later Juan Bandini defended García, pronouncing the charges only lies of Indians. The *asesor* called for five years in the chain-gang, and Gov. Victoria thus ordered in April 1831. *Id.*, lxii. 11–15.

[18] Ibarra in his report, *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., iii. 81–3, says he lost one pagan and had 14 neophytes and one soldier wounded, so that the three soldiers killed on or about the same day, *S. Diego*, *Lib. Mision*, MS., 96,

San Diego was not at this time in any proper sense the capital of California, as is sometimes claimed by those who have interested themselves in the local annals of the south. Monterey was officially recognized as the capital, but San Diego was the residence of Governor Echeandía, who preferred its climate, and, as it is more than hinted, its ladies; and who had a plausible excuse for remaining there in his lack of health and in the fact that the peninsula was also within the jurisdiction. The presence of the gefe político naturally did something toward enlivening the normal dulness of life at this presidio; and it tended to make San Diego more prominent than before in territorial history as recorded in chapters of the next volume. I have no space to repeat here so much of that general history as relates particularly to San Diego; but I have deemed it well to append a chronological statement on the subject, in which I introduce some minor events, with details of others, not elsewhere recorded.[19]

were perhaps of another party. Report of the fight between Indians in *Dept. St. Pap.*, i. 136–7. 1821, Indians in prison for having killed the soldier Lerma and a neophyte. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvi. 22–3. Machado, *Tiempos Pasados*, MS., 2–3, mentions an expedition made by her father about 1823 against horse-thieves, in which corporal Machado had a hand-to-hand fight with and killed the chief Agustin.

[19] 1821. In the autumn, according to the statement of Blas Aguilar, *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 501–2; *Id., Memorabilia*, 133; *S. Diego Union*, Jan. 28, 1876; *Sta Bárbara Press*, Feb. 19, 1878, a flood came sweeping down the valley, the result of a cloud-burst in the mountains, probably, as there was no rain. It banked up the sand so as to turn the river into False Bay. The stream, according to Aguilar, had previously entered the bay by a channel farther west than that of modern times, and a small stream still continued to flow into the port, though the greater part of the water found its way into False Bay. Such an event as Aguilar describes may likely enough have occurred, though little reliance can be placed on the exact date. I suppose there may have been several changes in the channel since 1769; but it is not likely we shall ever know the dates. Juan Bandini said the river was turned from False Bay into the port in 1825. *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 268–9; and it is true there was a great freshet that year. *Guerra, Doc. Hist., Cal.*, MS., v. 200–1. Pio Pico thought the change took place in 1828, and his statement is supported to a certain extent, as against that of Bandini, by the fact that Duhaut-Cilly found the river flowing into False Bay in April 1827. *Viaggio*, ii. 19. The stream is said to have been artificially turned into False Bay by Lieut. Derby in 1853, the dam standing the freshet of 1854, but yielding to that of 1855.

1822. On April 20th, the oath of independence and allegiance to the imperial regency was taken; and in December the canónigo Fernandez, imperial commissioner, came to show the San Diegans what he knew about gambling.

Padres Fernando Martin and Pascual Oliva continued to rule the destinies of San Diego mission during this decade. The former was one of the few who finally took the oath of allegiance to the republic; while the latter, like most of his companions, persisted in his refusal. In 1823 the friars had occasion to protest against the granting of the Peñasquitos ran-

chap. xxi. of this volume. A tendency on the part of Captain Portilla's company to desert this year and the next is noted. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 137-40; *Véjar, Recuerdos*, MS., 3.

1824. The padres of the missions refused to furnish supplies for the presidios. chap. xxiii. this volume. On Oct. 30th an Indian was publicly executed in the presence of a great crowd; cause not stated. *S. Diego, Lib. Mision*, MS., 95.

1825. In February a pestilence which had been raging in Lower California broke out here, and in 24 hours carried off—the wife of a soldier! *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 201. Capt. Benjamin Morrell of the *Tartar* was at S. Diego April 11th-23d, and he had some exciting, but purely imaginary, adventures with Indians of the interior. *Morrell's Narrative*, 200-6. On or about April 30th the federal constitution of Mexico was ratified by officers, soldiers, and citizens. At the end of October Gov. Echeandía arrived, and received the office formally from Argüello in November. chap. i. of vol. iii. In Dec. 1826 Jedediah Smith, the American trapper, came down from S. Gabriel to explain the motives of his arrival and to get certificates from American sea captains. chap. vi. of vol. iii.

1827. In January a wild bull made an excitement by nearly killing a man, mounting the church and throwing tiles in all directions. So writes Gale to Cooper. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxix. 104. Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio*, ii. 55-6, tells the same story. It was one of his men that was in danger of being killed—but it must be added that this author represents the incident as having occurred at S. Luis Rey in June. A territorial election for diputacion and member of congress was held on Feb. 18th and 19th. Echeandía started north in March and was absent a year. Secret proceedings against José María Herrera were begun in April. chap. ii., iii. of vol. iii. The visit of the French captain, Duhaut-Cilly, and the Italian scientist, Botta, was on April 18th-30th, and they spent much of their time hunting on the peninsula where game was very abundant. *Viaggio*, ii. 14-25.

1828. James O. Pattie's captivity with that of his company of trappers lasted throughout this year from March. chap. vi. of vol. iii. The smuggling adventures of Capt. Bradshaw in the *Franklin*, of Capt. Lawlor in the *Karimoko*, and of Charles Lang, belong also to the annals of this year. chap. v. of vol. iii. A second territorial election was held at S. Diego on Oct. 6th; and in December Echeandía started on a second visit to the north. chap. ii. of vol. iii. I must not omit to mention the celebration of July 4th by the burning of much powder on board the American vessels in port. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxix. 252.

1829. The Solis revolt gained no foothold at S. Diego. chap. iii. of vol. iii. A party of hide-salters from the *Brooklyn* raised the U. S. flag over their station on La Playa. chap. v. of vol. iii. Jan. 1st, the diputacion assembled here only to be dismissed. chap. ii. of vol. iii. In April occurred Capt. Fitch's elopement. chap. v. of vol. iii.

1830. On Aug. 22d a primary election is recorded, at which 13 electors were chosen to select an elector de partido to go to Monterey and vote for a member of congress. *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 16-17. In December the new governor Victoria probably arrived by land from Loreto.

cho to Captain Ruiz; in 1827 they refused to furnish more supplies for the presidial company, drawing out from the governor an order that the provisions be taken by force; and in 1829 they had to call upon the governor to settle a dispute on boundaries with the padres of San Luis Rey. Materially this was one of the most prosperous missions. Neophyte population was about the same in 1830 as in 1820, but had reached its maximum of 1,829 souls in 1824. San Diego had now passed San Gabriel and stood third on the list. Baptisms still slightly exceeded deaths. There was a small falling-off in herds, but a gain in flocks; though San Luis Rey had now passed its neighbor and taken the first place. The average of agricultural products, 6,900 bushels per year, was a little less than that of 1810–20; but the crop of 1821, 21,000 bushels, was not only the largest ever raised here, but with a single exception the largest ever raised at any mission. The statement in a report of 1822 that there were no facilities for irrigation brings up yet once more the old doubt respecting the date at which the elaborate irrigating works now in ruins were built and used, but throws no light upon the puzzle. By 1822 a chapel had been built at Santa Isabel, and there were also several houses, a granary, and a graveyard, with four hundred and fifty neophytes living at this branch establishment, which proved a great aid in keeping the gentiles quiet. There is extant for this period considerable information respecting the limits and ranchos of the mission, which I append in a note with some references and details of matters treated in this paragraph.[20]

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[20] In addition to padres Martin and Oliva, there may be mentioned P. Menendez who served as chaplain after 1825, and P. Tomás Mancilla who was at S. Diego in 1829–30, both being Dominicans from the south. On the matter of taking the oath see chap. iv. of vol. iii.; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 27. The boundary dispute was settled by Echeandía dividing the Cañada de Buenavista half and half between S. Diego and S. Luis. *Id.*, vii. 90, 258. Chapel, etc., at Sta Isabel. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 228–9; *S. Diego, Lib. Mision*, MS., 97.

Statistics of the decade: Decrease of population, 1,567 to 1,544; highest number, 1,829 in 1824. Baptisms, 1,094; largest number, 189 in 1823; small-

San Luis Rey was still under the care of its venerable and energetic founder, Father Antonio Peyri. Jaime Escudé remained as associate until the end of 1821; José Joaquin Jimeno, a new-comer, served from 1827 to 1830; and José Barona also lived here in retirement in the infirmity of old age after 1827. Peyri was, unlike most of the friars, an enthusiastic friend of the republic, after he knew it to be inevitable, and took the oath of allegiance; but was so offended at the expulsion law of 1829 that he tried unsuccessfully

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est, 53 in 1830. Deaths, 1,030; largest number, 179 in 1825; smallest, 63 in 1830. Decrease in large stock, 9,162 to 8,822; horses and mules, 1,042 to 1,192; increase in sheep, 14,908 to 16,661. Largest crop, 20,880 bushels in 1821; smallest, 2,796 in 1823; average, 6,948 bushels, of which 3,840 wheat, yield 8 fold; 2,173, barley, 7 fold; 810, corn, 50 fold. The greatest number of horned cattle was 9,245 in 1822; of sheep, 19,450 in the same year.

For some local names of rancherías between S. Diego and S. Gabriel in 1821 see expedition of P. Sanchez in chap. xx. In the mission report of 1822 the land in the south is said to be occupied by the presidio cattle; eastward the mission lands stretch 17 l. to Sta Isabel and the summit of the sierra; northward for 7 l. to Cañada de San Bernardo; and N. W. only 1 l. because of presidio and settlers. Land sterile, only producing grain when rain is abundant. No irrigation. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 261-2. Romero, *Memorias*, MS., 5, says in 1825 the mission lands extended down the valley to Cañada de Osuna; but later El Pozo was the boundary. In 1827, Hayes, *Emig. Notes*, 477, found in a report the names of the ranchos Sta Mónica, Sta Isabel, S. José del Valle, S. Bernardo, S. Dieguito, and Paguay. A report by Santiago Argüello in 1825 names only Sta Mónica, Sta Isabel, and S. Bernardo. *Prov. St. Pap. Pres.*, MS., i. 98. In the *Register of Brands*, MS., 37-8, the bounds are described with some minuteness on the authority of P. Martin in 1828: Lands occupied westward, down the valley, 1.5 l. to Cañada de Osuna, neighbors 'los vecinos del puerto;' southward 2.5 l to ranchería of San Jorge, land used for sheep in winter, neighbors the gentiles of S. Jorge; eastward 2 l. to S. Jaime de la Marca and S. Juan Capistrano de Matamo used for pasturage, 5 l. to Sta Mónica, or El Cajon, where grain is raised, and 9 l. to Sta Isabel; from Sta Isabel northward to Valle de S. José 1 l. used for cultivation and grazing; to Laguna de Agua Caliente, 2 l. on the boundary of S. Luis Rey; thence 7 l. past Bosque de Pamó to Rancho de S. Bernardo; thence northward 2 l. to S. Luis Rey; and by way of S. Dieguito the mission lands extend 3 l. to La Joya where cattle are kept. Between S. Bernardo and the mission is a ranchería and *aguage* called Paguay. In March 1829, Echeandía allows the padres to occupy provisionally the rancho of Jamul. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 94. In a report of 1830 by Argüello the names of Sta Mónica, or Cajon, Sta Isabel, and S. Bernardo only are given as in 1827. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., v. 37. See also many items on mission lands and those adjoining in *U. S. vs. Santiago Argüello, Claimant's Brief on Exceptions to Final Survey. Before U. S. Surv. Gen. for Cal.*, with map. (*Hayes' Legal Hist. S. Diego*, i. 45.) Brígido Murillo was majordomo at the mission in 1828-30, and testifies on lands, live-stock, etc. *Id.*, 8, 9, 59-60. Apolinaria Lorenzana, 'La Beata,' lived here during this decade, teaching the women to sew, distributing clothing and rations, caring for the sick, and making herself generally useful to neophytes and padre. She used to go with the sick to the Agua Caliente in the mountains for baths. *Lorenzana, Memorias*, MS., 11-12, 48. She subsequently received a land-grant.

to obtain a passport. In every element of material prosperity San Luis was now far in advance of any other mission. There is no record that a new church was built as had been proposed in 1811, but the church and other buildings, the same now standing in ruin, were the largest and in some respects the finest in California. San Luis alone of the old missions, except San Juan Bautista, gained in population, baptisms outnumbering deaths; but it had reached its maximum of 2,869 neophytes in 1826, and had started on its decline. Herds and flocks had doubled in ten years. Sheep had reached the highest limit of 28,900 in 1828, and cattle were still increasing; though the figures have been grossly exaggerated in current newspaper reports. The average crop of grain, 12,660 bushels, was nowhere surpassed, though both San Diego and San Gabriel produced larger single crops. The 1st of January 1821, after a period of excessive cold, a somewhat violent shock of earthquake is recorded. An ex-neophyte pueblo at San Luis was a feature of Echeandía's secularization experiment of 1826, but we have no information about results, if the experiment was tried, which is very doubtful. The branch establishment at Pala was yet in a flourishing condition; and several *ranchos*, *sitios*, and *estancias*, were occupied for cultivation or grazing at some distance from the mission.[21]

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[21] Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio*, ii. 40–6, visited the mission in 1827 and gives a good description of the buildings and surroundings, also presenting a view of the front, which, though less elaborate than that made by Duflot de Mofras in 1841, is in several respects more accurate. This author speaks of two large gardens, two reservoirs, the Indian village of straw huts just north of the mission, and says each of the ranchos had its chapel. Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 24–6, describes San Luis as it appeared in 1829–30 at the time of his arrival.

Statistics of the decade: Increase of population, 2,603 to 2,776; highest number, 2,869 in 1826. Baptisms, 1,430; highest number, 234 in 1823; lowest, 88 in 1827. Deaths, 1,200; highest number, 272 in 1825; lowest, 60 in 1830. Increase in large stock, 11,852 to 27,978; horses and mules, 1,352 to 2,468; sheep, 13,641 to 26,658. Crops: largest, 17,700 bushels in 1821; smallest, 8,020 in 1823; average, 12,660 bushels, of which 3,220 wheat, yield 6.5 fold; 3,106 barley, 15 fold; 5,679 corn, 247 fold; 559 beans, 36 fold. In the *Cal. Farmer*, Feb. 15, 1861, Taylor speaks of 80,000 head of cattle, 4,000 horses, and 70,000 sheep! There are many similar exaggerations. The white population in 1828 was 35. Nathaniel Pryor, an American, lived here from 1829. Only a few gentiles in the eastern sierra in 1822, generally related to the neo-

Padre José Barona was minister at San Juan Capistrano throughout the decade, though spending much of his time at San Luis after 1827; but Padre José María Zalvidea came in 1826 to take the place of Boscana. This establishment, unlike the other southern missions, was no longer prosperous. Population decreased, and so did the number of cattle slightly, though in this respect San Juan still stood in the fifth place; while sheep showed a decrease of over 50 per cent; and the average crop was less than half that of the preceding decade. Many vessels touched at the mission anchorage during these ten years, though much of the time it required a special permission from the governor, and in one or two of the years this embarcadero was closed to foreign vessels. The neophytes, while not engaging in open revolt, were disposed to be insolent and unmanageable; and there was also at times a spirit of hostility between padres and the escolta. In January 1823 the soldiers went so far as to use violence toward Padre Barona, something that had never before occurred in California.[22]

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phytes and friendly. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 231, 265. Great drought in 1829. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 264. Beechey, *Voyage*, ii. 36, incorrectly reports the murder of a padre near S. Luis in 1823. Earthquake of 1821, mentioned in *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 191. On the ex-neophyte pueblo see chap. iv. of vol. iii. Trouble in 1827 with a neophyte who 'pronounced' on his own individual account against the Mexican government, calling the governor 'un inglés' and applying opprobrious epithets to all the whites. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., lviii. 2. In the report of 1822 the mission lands are said to extend 11 l. N. and S., and 15 l. E. and W., besides a rancho 15 l. off in the N. E. Lands rather sterile, and all utilized at one time or another. Squirrels, locusts, and crows very troublesome. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 263–4; vi. 196–7. In 1828 the rancho of Temécula, estancias of S. Antonio de Pala and S. Pedro (Las Flores) and sitios of Sta Margarita, Las Pulgas, S. Jacinto, S. Juan, and Agua Caliente are named. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Pres.*, MS., i. 98. Same in 1830. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., v. 38. In the *Register of Brands*, MS., 38–40, the mission lands are described on the authority of Peyri. West 3 l. a stock-farm not named; N. E. 7 l. S. Antonio de Pala; S. E. 9 l. Rancho of Temécula used for wheat and pasturage; N. 1.5 l. Sta Margarita with house, garden, vineyard, and land fit for all crops; 3 l. farther N. Rancho de S. Pedro, or Las Flores, with chapel, houses, and granaries; a stock rancho 1 l. (from S. Pedro?); 12 l. N. E. in mountains, stock rancho of San Jacinto, with a house; good timber 2 l. east of Pala and 9 l. from the mission.

[22] This affair is mentioned in chap. xxii. this volume. Boscana reported it as 'el caso mas escandaloso que se habia visto en California.' *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 6–7. José Cañedo and two other soldiers were implicated;

they were excommunicated by the padres, and a military trial was held. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 30, 39. Finally in Dec. 1824 the supreme tribunal in Mexico decided that Cañedo had merely carried out the orders of his chief, and in view of his two years' imprisonmant in shackles he was to be set free and made a corporal. Soon after he was absolved from the excommunication. The others had been absolved in 1823, and he had been offered the same grace if he would repent. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 138–43. Pattie, *Narrative*, 214, claims to have vaccinated 600 neophytes here in 1828. He says the padre was in the habit of indulging freely in wine and liquors so as to be often intoxicated. There is some slight evidence that Boscana had been removed in consequence of irregularities with women. Record of slight troubles with Indians in 1826–7. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 134–5; ii. 12. On one occasion the neophytes wished the padre put in the stocks. On San Juan as a port see chap. v. of vol. iii.

Statistics: Decrease in population, 1,064 to 926; baptisms, 454; largest number, 57 in 1821; smallest, 40 in 1823 and 1830. Deaths, 592; largest number, 137 in 1827; smallest, 37 in 1826. Decrease in large stock, 11,480 to 10,978; horses and mules, 480 to 178; sheep, 14,198 to 5,019. Average crop, 2,943 bushels, of which 1,200 wheat, yield 12 fold; 84 barley, 14 fold; 1,539 corn, 96 fold; largest crop, 6,837 in 1825; smallest, 781 in 1829. The wheat crop of 1824 was spoiled in the field by rains. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 122. The white population was 17 in 1828. *Prov. St. Pap., Presid.*, MS., i. 98. 1823. Mission lent J. A. Carrillo $2,000 for a year. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iii. 13.

In 1822 the lands were described as extending 12–13 l. N. and S.; 3–4 l. E. and W. Some of the fields irrigated, and they furnished grain enough to feed the Indians with the aid of fish and meat. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 233, 266. In 1828–30 the mission ranchos are named as Sta Ana, S. Joaquin, Trabuco, and S. Mateo. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Presid.*, MS., i. 98; *St. Pap.*, *Miss.*, MS., v. 38. In 1828 the lands are described by the padres as extending 10 l. from N. W. to S. W. (?), and from .5 to 4 l. wide. Much of the land useless on account of the mustard which it is impossible to destroy; and the water both of the sea and of the arroyos of Trabuco and Mision Vieja does more harm than the mustard. In dry seasons the streams have no water; in winter they are torrents, frequently changing their channels and spoiling much land. The mission will perhaps have to be moved for want of land and wood. The live stock is pastured near Sta Ana River. South-east 3 l. is the rancho of S. Mateo, within a half league of which S. Luis has established that of S. Onofre on land said to belong to S. Juan. 2 l. N. (of S. Onofre?) is the Trabuco hill, near which S. Luis has occupied S. Jacinto, and its majordomo has occupied El Temescal. On the S. half a league to the sea the land is alkaline. The pastures of Sta Ana are 6 l. N. W. across the river, and bounded by the lands of the Yorbas, the Nietos, and S. Gabriel. *Register of Brands*, MS., 40–2.

CHAPTER XXV.

LOCAL ANNALS—SANTA BÁRBARA DISTRICT.

1821–1830.

Pueblo of Los Angeles—Population—Ayuntamiento, and Municipal Affairs—Chapel—Inundation—Port of San Pedro—Private Ranchos and Land Grants—Mission San Gabriel—Padre Nuez—Lands—San Fernando—Statistics—Mission Ranchos—Ulibarri—Guerra versus Ibarra—Santa Bárbara Presidio—Lieutenant Gabriel Moraga—Officers—Company Statistics—Criminal Record—Local Events—Santa Bárbara Mission—Fathers Jaime and Ripoll—San Buenaventura—Items of Decadence—Altimira—Purísima Mission—Death of Rodriguez—Santa Inés.

Los Angeles[1] with the ranchos within its jurisdiction had 1,000 inhabitants in 1830, a gain from 615 in 1820. There were besides from 150 to 350 Indians in the last years, statistics on this point being irregular and unreliable. In the pueblo proper were 770 inhabitants de razon, and on the ranchos, 230. If we add 160 for the adjoining missions of San Gabriel and San Fernando, the total for what I have from the first treated as a kind of a district is 1,160, a gain from 750 during the decade. There was a foreign population, not including Spaniards—who were in these times always spoken of as foreigners—Portuguese, or negroes, of at least sixteen men, several of whom were married to Californian wives. Four or five of them lived at San Gabriel and the rest in town. On other topics than that of population figures are for the most part wanting; but it would seem that, under the increased demand for hides and tallow, the cattle owned by citizens and rancheros had increased to 10,000 in 1823, and in 1830 to over 40,000.[2]

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[1] For map of Los Angeles district see chap. xvi.

There are more items of interest extant respecting municipal affairs in Los Angeles for this than for earlier periods, though they are still fragmentary. Not even a complete list of pueblo officials can be formed. While the change in national system had practically no effect on that of municipal government, yet the growth of what were supposed to be republican ideas did not make of Los Angeles a better governed and more orderly community than before, but had rather the opposite tendency. Besides the ordinary difficulties of enforcing police regulations and restraining the unruly element of town population, there were frequent troubles at elections, dissensions between officials, conflicts between civil and military authorities, complaints and petitions of citizens, appeals to governor, diputacion, and commandant, arrests and suspensions from office, all tending to a never ending confusion. The people generally had an unfavorable opinion of their local rulers, and the latter of each other, and there are indications that these opinions were for the most part well founded. Something of detail for this paragraph and the next I append in a note.[3]

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[2] All is not clear, however, in statistics of population. An official report in *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., v. 39, which I have followed, gives the population of the pueblo proper as 258 men, 264 women, and 242 children; total, 764; ranchos, 237; Indians, 198; total de razon, 1,001. There is a report for 1824 in *Sta Clara, Parroquia,* MS., 57–8, which makes the total 837, which, though the contrary is implied, may include Indians and thus agree well enough with my figures for 1830. There are, however, three reports for 1827–8, which present difficulties. One *padron* of 1828, in *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., v. 27, precisely similar to that of 1830, makes the population of the pueblo, exclusive of Indians, 881, and the total, including the ranchos, 1,007. So far the difficulty is removed by the probability that San Gabriel is included with the pueblo, as it is not included in a report for San Diego the same year, in *Prov. St. Pap., Presid,* MS., i. 98. The original official report for 1827, in *Bandini, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 6, makes the total 1,170, probably including 350 Indians, but not the population of San Gabriel. I suppose the 820 de razon to include 700 for the pueblo and 120 for the ranchos, and thus both these authorities fall into line after a fashion. But the report for 1828 in *Wilkes' Nar. U. S. Explor. Exped.*, v. 555, gives a total of 1,388 inhabitants de razon, and I am obliged to suppose there is an error in the figures, as indeed is not unlikely.

Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 36, says Los Angeles had about 1,500 inhabitants in 1829. Pattie, *Narrative*, 215, says he vaccinated 2,500 persons here in 1828. Duhaut-Cilly estimated the population at about 1,000 in 1827, including 200 Indians. *Viaggio*, ii. 98. In Dec. 1824 President Sarría speaks of Los Angeles as having nearly 1,000 gente de razon, with the best lands in the province and large private ranchos; yet this region does nothing for the troops and the missions are impoverished by excessive exactions. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 123. The foreigners resident at Angeles and San Gabriel were José Chapman, W. A. Richardson, Jos. V. Lawrence, Isaac Galbraith, Wm. Welsh, Joaquin Bowman, J. B. Leandry, John Temple, Geo. Rice, Wm. Fisher, Jesse Ferguson, John Haley, John Davis, Richard Laughlin, Fred. Roland, and Louis Bauchet. See *Hist. Cal.*, chap. vi. vol. iii. this series. Livestock in 1823: 10,623 cattle, 3,130 horses and mules and asses, 468 sheep. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., (i.) 122; in 1830, 42,903 cattle, 3,057 horses and mules, 2,469 sheep. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., v. (297).

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[3] 1820. Prefect Payeras suggests that if the citizens would give their attention to other products of industry than wine and brandy, it would be better for both province and pueblo. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 32.

1821. Comisionado, Anastasio Carrillo; alcalde, Anastasio Ávila; regidores, Antonio Ignacio Ávila and José María Aguilar. Pio Pico, *Hist. Cal.*. MS., 155, relates that on coming to town from San Diego on a visit he was ordered by Alcalde Ávila, an ignorant fellow who ruled 'á fuerza de machete,' to go to work with the citizens on the new aqueduct; but being on horseback and armed with a musket he escaped the task and went home. Two women for scandalous conduct were sentenced to six months in the 'nunnery' after exposure with shaven heads at the church door. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 40–1; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 293.

1822. Comisionado, A. Carrillo, till November; alcalde, Manuel Gutierrez. José Palomares was elector for this district, including temporarily San Gabriel and San Fernando, in May, and he became a member of the diputacion in Nov. chap. xxi. this vol. In November the ayuntamiento was established by order of the diputacion; but the incumbent officers seem to have continued in their places, and the only change was the addition of a síndico and secretary, whose names, as indeed those of the regidores, are not known. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 80; *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 262. In January Vicente Sanchez, a prominent citizen, was sent by the comisionado in irons to Sta Bárbara, the offence not being specified. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 91.

1823. Alcalde, Manuel Gutierrez; regidor, Juan Ballesteros; secretary of ayuntamiento, Francisco Morales. The salary of the latter was $15 per month. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liv. 15. Guillermo Cota appointed by Guerra as a kind of comisionado in February. Letters of Lieut. Moraga and Alcalde Gutierrez on the refusal to recognize his authority. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 131; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 236, 285–6. Yet according to *Id.*, v. 149–65, Carrillo seems to have been comisionado until Feb. 1825. Aug. 2d, Gov. Argüello reprimands Gutierrez for disrespect and interference with military affairs. Calls him pitiably ignorant and stupid. *Id.*, iv. 136–7.

1824. Cota, comisionado; alcalde, Encarnacion Urguides, though some one objected to Carrillo in 1826 on the ground that he had held the office within two years; regidor, Ballesteros. Comisionado Cota wrote to Guerra that the town was filled with vagrants, from which class he has agreed with the alcalde to take the quota of military recruits, 25 men. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 23; vi. 144; v. 164–5.

1825. Cota, comisionado; alcalde, José María Ávila until October; regidores, Francisco Sepúlveda and José María Aguilar. Ávila is said to have been suspended from office by the people. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xii. 12. A complaint of José Joaquin Sanchez is found in *Carrillo (J.), Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 17–20, to the effect that Alcalde Ávila had put him in irons for having refused to copy some public documents without pay. Avila claimed that as no official clerk was provided it was the duty of any citizen to perform such duties. Sepúlveda acted as alcalde after October, and on Oct. 26th he com-

In 1822 an ayuntamiento was established in acccordance with an act of the diputacion at Monterey; but the only change was in the name and the addition of a treasurer and secretary to the old officers. By this act the civil authority was supposed to be fully organized, and the military office of comisionado to have no longer any *raison d'être*. But the invalids and mili-

plained that Aguilar declined to attend to his duties as regidor. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 153. Alcalde's complaints that several citizens had refused to pay their taxes. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 755-6. Comisionado Cota sends a militiaman to Sta Bárbara in irons for illicit relations with a married woman. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 144. Correspondence between Ávila and Guerra on obedience to the comisionado. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 629-30, 721, 725-8, 743-4. It appears that in April the citizens publicly declared that they would not recognize any military authority. Gov. Argüello leaves the matter for the decision of his successor July 23d. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liv. 9.

1826. Alcalde, Claudio Lopez; regidores, Desiderio Ibarra and José María Aguilar; síndico, José Palomares; secretary, Narciso Botello, and later Francisco Morales. José Antonio Carrillo had been elected alcalde for this year; but 9 citizens protested that his election was illegal, as he as elector had voted for himself, and as he could not hold the office twice within two years. *Dept. St. Pap. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., iii. 94-5. A new election was ordered for Jan. 1st. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., ii. 20. There are several indications that Vicente Sanchez acted as alcalde for a time in 1826-7, under what circumstances I know not. Nov. 8th, Regidor Aguilar to be set at liberty. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., iv. 12. April 13th, Echeandía declares San Gabriel and San Fernando to be within the jurisdiction of Los Angeles. *Id.*, iv. 30. November, a man prosecuted for 'habitual' rape. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lviii. 5, 6.

1827. Alcalde, Guillermo Cota; regidores, Vicente Villa and Desiderio Ibarra; secretary, Francisco Morales. The last named official on petition of 5 persons was removed from office in September for incompetency, revealing confidential business, losing papers, etc. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 80-1; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iii. 17; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, lxi. i. Vicente Sanchez was elector de partido for the February election. On May 25th the ilustre ayuntamiento issued a series of resolutions on police regulations for the preservation of morality and good order. All offenders against the Roman apostolic religion were to be punished with the utmost severity. Failing to enter church, entering disrespectfully, lounging at the church door, standing at the corners or remaining on horseback when processions were out, were all to be punished, first with fines, and then with imprisonment. Purchasing articles of servants, idleness and vagrancy, swindling, gambling, prostitution, scandalous assemblages, obscenity, and blasphemy, also riding at speed in the streets at unusual hours or without lawful cause, were among the evils which it was proposed to exterminate. *Los Angeles, Reglamento de Policia formado por el Ayuntamiento, 1827*, MS.

1828. Alcalde, José Antonio Carrillo; regidor, Desiderio Ibarra; secretary, José Palomares. Manuel Domniguez was elector de partido for the September election. March 30th, Echeandía says that for the coming year two more regidores are to be chosen. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 197. Alcalde Carrillo accused of having opened letters of President Sanchez with a view to implicate him in smuggling. He was ordered by the governor to explain. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 79-80. Five dollars per month added to the salary of the secretary. *Id.*, vi. 130. Municipal receipts for the year, $859; expenditures, $763. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 76. Body of Bermudes found at Sta Gertrudis. *Id.*, tiamen of the pueblo clung to their *fuero militar*, and Captain de la Guerra, with the governor's approval, appointed Sergeant Guillermo Cota to have jurisdiction over those persons in criminal matters only, in fact with very much the same authority as the old comisionados. The alcalde and ayuntamiento declined to recognize Cota's authority or any military authority whatever over the citizens of the free town of Angels; but a sharp reprimand from the governor would seem to have calmed for a time the alcalde's republican zeal. In 1825, however, under another alcalde, the dispute came up again, when the commandant at Santa Bárbara reappointed Cota, or perhaps Anastasio Carrillo. Again the citizens protested against having any military authority in their midst; and Guerra defended the *fuero militar*. The last we hear of the matter, Argüello decided in July to leave all questions pertaining to the civil administration of the pueblo to his successor then daily expected. Perhaps the subsequent choice of Cota as alcalde was a kind of compromise.

The pueblo church was at last finished, perhaps in 1822 or 1823, but certainly not in 1821 as has been represented.[4] In the autumn of 1821 work had been for some time suspended. The missions had contrib-

Prof. y Juzg., i. 45. Man fined $5 for attempt to stab a vagrant. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 188. Adultery case. *Id.*, vi. 55; *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxvii. 1.

1829. Alcalde, Guillermo Cota; regidor, Dominguez; síndico, Francisco Morales; secretary, José Palomares. Aug. 7th, S. Gabriel and S. Fernando again joined to Angeles for the election of a diputado. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 213. June, José Antonio Carrillo fined $5 for returning from San Diego without having his passport properly signed. *Coronel, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 7–8. Debt of ayuntamiento, Dec. 31st, $49; tax on wine and brandy retailed, $339; fines, $158; expenditures, $642. The síndico obtained three per cent on the liquor tax. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxix. 27. At an election held in December, Vicente Sanchez and Regidor Sanchez called each other hard names and made threatening gestures. Sanchez was put in prison. *Id.*, lxxii. 24–5; *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben.*, MS., v. 46–63.

1830. Alcalde, Tiburcio Tapia; regidor, Juan B. Alvarado; secretary, José Palomares. José A. Carrillo was elector de partido for the October election. Aug. 16th, Vicente Sanchez to Echeandía declares the last election void, the candidates being vagabonds, drunkards, and worse. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iii. 17–18. Record of election for diputado. *Los Angeles, Ayunt. Record*, MS., 6. Receipts by the treasurer for the year, $532; expenses, $429. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxii. 8–9.

[4] *Los Angeles History*, 49.

uted brandy, which the citizens, besides furnishing timber, had promptly converted into money, some of them drinking immense quantities in their zeal for the spiritual welfare of the town. Now the funds were exhausted, and $2,000 were needed. In this emergency Padre Payeras made a new and most earnest appeal to the different missions to contribute cattle, laborers, anything, for the completion of the edifice as a monument of missionary zeal in the cause of God and St Francis. His plan was to have work begun immediately and to have both church and a priest's house completed in about a year,[5] the *fiesta* of Our Lady of the Angels being postponed so as to coincide with the dedication, an occasion which was to be celebrated with extraordinary ceremony. The friars seem to have responded liberally. Governor Sola contributed his mite, and even the citizens of Los Angeles seem to have taken a little interest in the matter, so that the church was completed as planned, and was formally dedicated December 8, 1822.[6] It elsewhere appears that Captain Fitch in 1830 was condemned as a penance to furnish the church with a bell.

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[5] His appeal is dated Nov. 5th, and he proposes that Ramirez with a few neophytes begin to prepare timber, etc., 'next November,' while in the 'coming April or May' enough Indians will come to finish the work by September. I have no doubt, however, that the 'next November' is a slip of the pen for December. The priest's house was already far advanced.

June 22, 1821, José Antonio Carrillo petitioned the comisionado for a house-lot, 'near the new temple which is being built for the benefit of our Holy Religion.' The lot, 40 x 60 varas, was granted next day. *Los Angeles, Arch.*, MS., i. 1. Judge Hayes in a note adds that this is the only grant of a lot extant between 1781 and 1836, and that the lot was that on which the Pico House now stands.

[6] *Payeras, Memorial á los PP. sobre Nueva Iglesia en el Pueblo de Los Angeles, 1821*, MS. S. Miguel offered 500 cattle; S. Luis Obispo, 200 cattle; Sta Bárbara, 1 bbl. brandy; S. Diego, 2 bbls. white wine; Purísima, 6 mules and 200 cattle; S. Fernando, 1 bbl. brandy; S. Gabriel, 2 bbls. brandy; S. Buenaventura would try to make up deficits, or supply church furniture, etc. I have an original record of the dedication on Dec. 8th; but have lost the reference. Guerra was chosen by the ayuntamiento as *padrino*. Dec. 6th, Gov. Sola offers to give something. *Arch. Sta B.*, xi. 439. In April, 1823, which indicates that the work had been done partly on credit, the alcalde called on Guerra for aid to drive in the cattle contributed by the different missions. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 157–8.

In the beginning of 1821 the municipal authorities sent a petition to the prefect that P. Luis Gil de Taboada be sent as pastor to Los Angeles; but Payeras replied that the ill health of Gil would render it impossible. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 37–40; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 61.

On April 30, 1815, the citizens of Los Angeles through their local authorities ratified the federal constitution of the Mexican Republic.[7] It was probably in the same month that occurred the great flood which turned the Los Angeles River into a new channel—its present one so far as the vicinity of the city is concerned—eastward of its original course. Considerable damage was also done to gardens and farms, and cattle are said to have perished in large numbers.[8] In the autumn of 1827 Duhaut-Cilly visited the pueblo, which from its inland situation was but rarely seen by foreign visitors in the early times. He found eighty-two houses, with well cultivated gardens on the alluvial lands, and noted the inability of the alcalde to preserve order or protect individual rights in property. There was an earthquake on or about the 23d of September.[9] It was also in 1827 that Juan

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[7] See *Hist. Cal.*, chap. i. vol. iii. this series.

[8] 'In 1825 the rivers of this county were so swollen that their beds, their banks, and the adjoining lands were greatly changed. At the date of the settlement of Los Angeles city, a large portion of the country, from the central part of the city to the tide-water of the sea, through and over which the Los Angeles River now finds its way to the ocean, was largely covered with a forest, interspersed with tracts of marsh. From that time till 1825 it was seldom, if in any year, that the river discharged its waters into the sea, even during the rainy season. Instead of having a river-way to the sea, the waters spread over the country, forming lakes, ponds, and marshes. No channel existed till the flood of 1825, which by cutting a river-way to tide-water drained the marsh land and caused the forest to disappear. From 1825 to January 1867 the San Gabriel and Los Angeles River united at a point northerly from the dwelling-house on the Cerritos rancho, and flowing past the house on the west, emptied into the S. Pedro estuary south-west of that house.' The flood of 1832 changed the drainage in the S. Pedro region, causing some lakes to disappear; and the S. Gabriel River cut a new channel in 1867. *Los Angeles History*, 10. Luis Vignes told Hayes in 1850 that he by the use of brush-wood, etc., had turned the river still farther east than the flood of 1825 had left it, and thus reclaimed the land on which his willow grove stood. *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, MS., 46. See *Los Angeles Express*, March 8, 1872. José del Cármen Lugo, *Vida de Ranchero*, MS., 9-12, describes the flood of 1825, which came in the night, and forced all the people in town to take refuge on the hill. He says the river cut its way through his father's rancho of S. Antonio, carrying away house, vineyard, corral, and spoiling all the fields. He tells us also that the flood introduced mustard which had not been troublesome in that region before.

[9] 'It was 8 o'clock in the evening, when we were taking tea with Don José Carrillo, our host, and his family, the earth suddenly shook. Their first movement was to rush into the court, and I with them. But all at once it occurred to me that the son of Carrillo, 8 years old, was asleep in the room and I ran to get him. I had carried him to his parents before they had thought of their neglect.' 'The chief crops are corn and grapes. Vines flour-

Bandini introduced in the diputacion his proposition to make the pueblo a city and capital of Alta California under the name of Villa Victoria de la Reina de los Angeles. He seems even to have obtained the approval of the legislators and governor, for the proposition is said to have been submitted to the national government; but that was the end of the scheme for a long time.[10]

San Pedro was the port of Los Angeles in early as in later times, though the commercial connection was more important with San Gabriel. This port was considered as of more importance than the other minor embarcaderos, and was kept open to foreign trade when they were closed.[11] Few trading vessels came to the coast without touching at San Pedro. There were no buildings at the landing, or at least nobody lived nearer than the Dominguez rancho, several leagues on the way to the pueblo.[12] The smuggling adventures of Briones and other citizens of the town with an American schooner in 1821 are elsewhere noticed, as also the charges against Padre Sanchez of smuggling operations in connection with Captain Lawlor in 1828. In 1830 the *Danube* was wrecked at San Pedro.

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ish very well, but the wine and brandy are very inferior to the exquisite flavor of the grape, and I am of the opinion that this inferiority is to be attributed rather to the manner of making the wine than to the quality of the soil.' He mentions an almost continuous forest of mustard higher than the horses' heads on the way from S. Pedro. *Duhaut-Cilly*, *Viaggio*, ii. 96–107. Pattie's statement about Angeles should by no means be omitted. 'The houses have flat roofs covered with bituminous pitch, brought from a place within 4 miles of the town, where this article boils up from the earth. As the liquid rises, hollow bubbles like a shell of a large size are formed. When they burst the noise is heard distinctly in the town. The large pieces thus separated are laid on the roof, previously covered with earth through which the pitch can not penetrate when it is rendered liquid again by the heat of the sun'! *Narrative*, 214–15.

[10] See *Hist. Cal.*, chap. ii. vol. iii. this series; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 54–5; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 44. In 1823 a school-master was to be appointed by the ayuntamiento at a suitable salary. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *S. José*, MS., iv. 5–6. Luciano Valdés held the position in 1828; and had Joaquin Botiller as an associate in 1830. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxvii. 3; lxxii. 10.

[11] See *Hist. Cal.*, chap. v. of vol. iii. this series.

[12] *Duhaut-Cilly*, *Viaggio*, i. 288–90; ii. 18.

I have found no definite contemporary record of any increase in the number of private ranchos in this district during the decade, but it appears that a grant of La Brea was made in 1828 to José Antonio Rocha,[13] and also that of San Antonio to Antonio María Lugo.[14] There is also a record that Las Ciénegas was granted to Francisco Ávila in 1823.[15]

A report of 1830 names the following five as within the jurisdiction of Los Angeles: San Pedro, Santa Gertrudis, Santa Ana, San Rafael, and San José de Gracia y Simí;[16] and we have seen that these ranchos had a population de razon of two hundred and forty souls. San Pedro was in 1822 declared by Sola to belong to Sergeant Cristóbal Dominguez as heir of the original grantee, and Dolores Sepúlveda was obliged to remove his cattle.[17] Santa Gertrudis, or Los Nietos, was the residence of several men who with their families and servants formed quite a little settlement ruled by an alcalde auxiliar. There was some trouble with intruders in 1828, which caused testimony to be taken respecting the grant and its limits. A part of the rancho was occupied at this time by the mission with the consent of the owners.[18] Antonio Yorba was alcalde of his own rancho of Santa Ana. It was on the river of the same name, and the adjoining land farther down the stream was occupied by the mission San Juan Capistrano.[19] San Rafael, or the Verdugo rancho, is merely mentioned as being a league and a half from San Gabriel and a boundary of San Fernando.[20] In 1821 Sola seems in a manner to have confirmed the grant of Simí to Patricio, Javier, and Miguel Pico; but in 1829 other persons desired to occupy a part of the lands which it was claimed Rafael Pico could not make use of, and Echeandía ordered Pico to appear and make a report. In 1828 the rancho had 250 cattle, 80 horses, 24 goats, a house, and 1,500 vines.[21]

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[13] Jan. 6, 1828, according to *Cal. Land Com.*, No. 477; April 8th, according to *Briefs, Rocha vs. Hancock* (no. 5331). By the table in *Hoffman's Repts.*, the claim was rejected by the commission and by the district court; but according to *U. S. Sup. Court Repts.*, 9 Wall. 639, it was finally confirmed.

[14] *Register of Brands*, MS., 43; *Lugo, Vida*, MS., 9–12, 79; *Cal. Land Com.*, No. 308. It was claimed that the grant was made in 1810 by José Argüello and confirmed April 1, 1823 by Luis Argüello.

[15] *Cal. Land Com.*, No. 372. As Micheltorena's name is mentioned with that of Guerra y Noriega, there may be a misprint of 1823 for 1843.

[16] *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., v. 39.

[17] *Register of Brands*, MS., 35. S. Pedro is described as 6 l. from S. Gabriel. *Id.*, 43. The grant to Dominguez in 1822 in *Cal. Land Com.*, No. 398, 480.

[18] *Dept. St. Pap., Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., vi. 24–8, 54; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 27; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 113; *Register of Brands*, MS., 43. José Nieto, Bernardo Higuera, and Juan Perez are named in connection with Sta Gertrudis.

According to a mission report of 1828 there were two ranchos down the river between San Gabriel and San Pedro; one occupied by the widow Sotelo, and the other that of Antonio María Lugo already mentioned. The tract called Sauzal Redondo was temporarily granted by the commandant of Santa Bárbara in 1822 to Antonio Ignacio Ávila, the land apparently belonging to the pueblo.[22] In 1821–2 Guerra tried to obtain for himself the ranchos of Piru and Sespe, but unsuccessfully, by reason of protests from the padres of San Fernando and San Buenaventura.[23] Accordingly the captain in October 1822 asked for and obtained that part of the Conejo rancho, now dignified with the name Nuestra Señora de Altagracia, which had been granted in Arrillaga's time to José Polanco, but which had been abandoned. The rest of the rancho belonged to the heirs of Ignacio Rodriguez.[24]

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[19] *Register of Brands*, MS., 41–2; *Dept. St. Pap., Pref. y Juzg.*, MS. vi. 54.

[20] *Register of Brands*, 29, 43. San Vicente and Maligó are named as bounds of S. Fernando mission lands.

[21] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 159; *Dept. St. Pap., Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., i. 1; *Register of Brands*, MS., 33.

[22] *Register of Brands*, MS., 35.

[23] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 61–2; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 70–1. He also tried to get Secpe.

[24] *Register of Brands*, MS., 30–1; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 49, with a description in 1827. It extended from Agua Amarga on the east to the Cuesta de la Mojonera on the west; and from Simí Pass on the south to Maligo Hill on the north. Sta Mónica is mentioned as a rancho adjoining Conejo. In *Register of Brands*, MS., 31–2, is a description of Antonio María Ortega's

At San Gabriel Padre José María Zalvidea served till March 1826, when, very much against his wishes, he was transferred to San Juan Capistrano and Gerónimo Boscana came to take his place. Joaquin Pascual Nuez, Zalvidea's associate, died on December 30, 1821,[25] and was succeeded by José Sanchez, who became president of the California missions in 1827, but who continued to reside here. The mission reached its largest population since 1817 with 1,644 neophytes in 1824, but for the whole decade there was a falling-off of about 300, and a change to fourth rank in the list of missions. In large live-stock San Gabriel stood second in the list, having reached the maximum of over 28,000 in 1829; in sheep it stood third, but had gained largely in both classes. Its average of agricultural products was exceeded by that of San Luis Rey and was considerably less than for the preceding decade; but its crop of 1821 was the largest ever raised by any mission.[26]

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rancho of Refugio. It extended N. and S. from Cañada del Cojo 6 l. to Cerro de la Vigía, between the summit of the sierra and the sea.

[25] Joaquin Pascual Nuez was born Feb. 20, 1785 at Luco, Vale of Daroca, Spain; took the habit of St Francis in the convent at Calatayud, Sept. 24, 1800; sailed from Cádiz March 20, 1810; arrived at the college of San Fernando June 20th; and was ordered to California July 1, 1811. His journey was impeded by the insurrection and he was detained several months at Acapulco by a pestilence; but arrived in Lower California in April, and at his destination in July 1812. He served at San Fernando from August of that year until March 1814, and at San Gabriel during the rest of his life. In person Nuez was tall, slender, and fair-skinned. He was a good man, loved by all; and though young he was regarded by his prelate as a missionary of more than ordinary ability and promise. His activity was notable in his frequent pastoral visits to the pueblo and ranchos. In his last years his piety verged upon asceticism, and he expressed a strong desire to pass the rest of his days as a recluse. His illness lasted 24 days; he received all the sacraments; and was buried in the mission church on Dec. 31, 1821. Certificate of Oliva, in *S. Gabriel, Lib. Mision*, MS., 37-8; *Sarría, Informe, 1817, sobre Frailes*, MS., 44-5, 125; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xviii. i; *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 404, 486; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 431; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 242-3; *Perez, Recuerdos*, MS., 26; autograph in *S. Antonio, Papeles Sueltos*, MS., 58, 62, 66-7. Señan in one record gives the date of his death as Dec. 26th.

[26] Statistics of S. Gabriel 1821-30: Decrease in population, 1,636 to 1,352; highest number, 1,644 in 1824. Baptisms, 800; largest number, 162 in 1823; smallest, 38 in 1827. Deaths, 1,027; largest number, 165 in 1827; smallest, 51 in 1830. Increase in large stock, 15,981 to 25,725; horses and mules, 981 to 2,225; sheep, 12,448 to 14,650. Largest crop, 29,400 bushels in 1821; smallest, 2,250 in 1829; average, 8,125, of which 4,252 wheat, yield 9 fold; barley, 39, 8 fold; corn, 3,168, 200 fold; and beans, 567, 66 fold. The white population has been set down in my general estimate as 140, as derived from

Respecting the mission buildings we have nothing definite for this period but the statement of a French visitor in 1827, that the edifices were much inferior to those of San Luis Rey; that "the church had been ruined two years before by an earthquake, and they were at work building another." Very strangely there is no other record either of the earthquake of 1825, or of a new church at this mission; we have seen, however, that some damage had been done to the building in 1812.[27] Events at San Gabriel, recorded in other chapters, are the arrival and arrest of one hundred and fifty Indians who came under an Ópata chief in 1822 and were sent back to the Colorado, the arrival of Captain Romero from Sonora in 1823 and

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different official reports. In 1822 there were 64 white persons connected with the mission, besides the troops and their families, or 111 in all. *Misiones, Cuaderno de Estados, 1822*, MS., 236. Bandini, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 77, talks of 80,000 cattle; Robinson, *Statement*, MS., 7, of 120,000. It has been the custom in current newspaper articles to grossly exaggerate the wealth and prosperity of this mission, though doubtless under the care of Zalvidea it was most prosperous and most systematically managed. Claudio Lopez is named as majordomo, and Zalvidea's most effective and famous assistant. *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, Feb. 1, 1861. In 1824 the crop of grain was spoiled in the fields after harvest by rains. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 122.

For local names of rancherías, etc., see Sanchez' expedition of 1821. Some 10 or 12 l. east of S. Bernardino were the Capullas Indians, then the Topamuña, then the Artidanes near the Colorado. The mission lands extend, 1822, south, 3 l. to Sta Gertrudis; south-west, 6 l. to S. Pedro; west, 1.5 l., including Los Coyotes and Cañada Verde granted in 1819; north, 2 l. to Sierra de San Gabriel de Verdugo separating it from S. Fernando; eastward, 7 to 9 l. to Guapa or indefinitely into the mountains and toward the Colorado, including the pagan settlement of S. Bernardino, 15 l. N. E. *Misiones, Cuaderno de Estados, 1822*, MS., 235, 267-70, 1823. Complaints that Argüello had granted mission lands to individuals. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 36-8. In a report of 1828 there are named as mission ranchos, La Puente, Sta Ana (?), Jurupa, S. Bernardino, S. Timoteo, S. Gorgonio, 4 sitios on the Rio S. Gabriel, and also lands between the pueblo and S. Rafael. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Presid.*, MS., i. 97. In the report of 1828 in *Register of Brands*, MS., 42-3, the padre complains that Lugo's rancho had been granted without consulting the mission, and states that all the banks of the Rio S. Gabriel, Cañada Verde, and Los Coyotes was granted to the mission in 1815. It says further that the mission occupies by permission of the owner Los Cerritos and Las Bolsas of the Rancho Sta Gertrudis, and that the lands extend some 20 leagues by the cañon towards the Colorado, past La Puente 4 l., Sta Ana, 10 l., Jorupet (Jurupa), 15 l., S. Bernardino, 20 l., and S. Gorgonio, 27 l. Locality of S. Gabriel called Guachana by the Indians. *Hayes' Miscellany*, MS., 133.

[27] *Duhaut-Cilly*, *Viaggio*, ii. 204. Sept. 25, 1821, governor orders that the 'pilot prisoner' (José Chapman) be sent to build a mill at S. Gabriel like that he had built at Sta Inés. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 67. The same year there was a proposition to build a wall round the mission as a defence against Indians. *Id.*, xi. 61.

his efforts during several years to return, Jedediah Smith's visit with his trappers in 1826–7, an accusation of smuggling made against Father Sanchez in 1828, and the interesting imprisonment and ecclesiastical trial of Captain Fitch and wife in 1830.[28]

At San Fernando, companion mission of San Gabriel, and like the latter belonging in a sense legally to the jurisdiction of Los Angeles during this decade, Francisco Gonzalez de Ibarra still served as minister, and alone it would seem from 1821, in which year Father Ulibarri died.[29] Ibarra was somewhat independent in his ideas, and a caustic correspondence between him and the presidial authorities of Santa Bárbara is the most prominent element in the meagre annals of the mission for the period. Captain de la Guerra in 1821 applied to Sola for a grant of the Pirú Rancho, which Padre Ibarra also desired and in fact was already using to some extent for the mission herds. The earnest efforts of the friar and of Padre Señan seem to have kept the rancho from Guerra, but did not secure it for San Fernando, and a somewhat bitter feeling survived on both sides. The padre complained that the soldiers of his escolta behaved badly, selling liquor and lending horses to the Indians. In 1825 he declared that the presidio was a curse rather than a help to the mission, sheltering fugitive neophytes, and that the soldiers should go to work and raise grain, and not live on the toil of the Indians, whom they robbed and deceived with talk of liberty while in reality treating them as slaves. This brought out a sharp reply from Guerra, who advised the padre to modify his tone, or he might suffer from it.[30] The mission was no longer prosperous in any respect, showing a radical decline in population, live-stock, and agriculture.[31] There is some descriptive matter extant respecting the mission lands, but nothing whatever about the buildings at this time; and the items of events are very few and slight.[32] The amount of supplies furnished by this mission to the presidio from 1822 to April 1827 was $21,203.

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[28] See chap. xxi. xxii. this vol., and iv. v. vi. of vol. iii.

[29] Francisco Roman Fernandez de Ulibarri was born Feb. 28, 1773, at Ali, near Vitoria, Spain. He became a Franciscan in 1794 at Vitoria, sailed from Cádiz June 20, 1803, and arrived at the college of San Fernando on Sept. 9th. Here he worked irregularly on account of broken health for some five years, when he volunteered for the California service, arriving at Monterey June 22, 1809. His health was better in his new field, and he served at S. Juan Bautista till 1815, at Sta Inés till 1819, being, however, at Purísima temporarily in 1818–19, and at S. Fernando till 1821. His disease was hæmorrhage of the lungs, of which he came near dying in Feb. 1821, being urged to go to S. Gabriel, but refusing. He changed his mind later, for he died and was buried at S. Gabriel on June 16th. He had been held of only ordinary merit. *S. Gabriel, Lib. Mision*, MS., 36; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 241–2; *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 401–2, 485; *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., x. 444; *Sarría, Informe sobre Frailes, 1817*, MS., 52–3, 125; *Autobiog. Autóg.*, MS.

José Antonio de la Guerra y Noriega continued to be captain of the Santa Bárbara company, but he acted as commandant in reality only until the end of 1827. Early in 1828 he went to Mexico as a member of congress, and after his return in 1829 was suspended from his position on account of being a Spaniard. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Maitorena was acting comandante in 1828, and Lieutenant Romualdo Pacheco in 1829–30. The lieutenancy was held by Gabriel Moraga until his death in 1823.[33] It was vacant until 1827, when Alférez José Joaquin Maitorena was promoted to be lieutenant, and Cadet Domingo Carrillo to be alférez, though the latter was serving at San Diego during 1828–9, and Alférez Rodrigo del Pliego served at Santa Bárbara in his place most of the time. The alférez was usually habilitado, though Cárlos Carrillo held the place for a time in 1822–3, and Anastasio Carrillo in 1827 and 1829. Maitorena was sent to Mexico as a member of congress for 1829–30, and died probably in 1830. A notice of his life is given in another place.[34] Pacheco though acting comandante of the post was not an officer of the company. José Antonio de la Guerra was a cadet in 1821, Francisco Tapia in 1825–6, and Ignacio del Valle in 1828–9. Sergeant Anastasio Carrillo served throughout the decade. Cota was replaced by Dámaso Rodriguez in 1821; Cárlos Carrillo retired in 1824 or earlier, and his place was filled in 1827 by Juan Salazar who in 1830 was sent to San Diego temporarily as habilitado. Maitorena was postmaster in the earlier years, and Sergeant Carrillo in the later. In these republican times there was also a form of civil government, and an ayuntamiento elected for the first time in December 1826 by order of Echeandía, though the list of officials as recorded is very imperfect.[35]

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[30] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 89, 96; vii. 62–7; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 70–1; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 61–2; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 731–3. San Buenaventura also claimed the rancho of Pirú.

[31] Guillermo Cota commanded the guard in 1822, and Juan Salazar in 1823. Statistics: decrease in population, 1,028 to 827. Baptisms, 302; largest number, 42 in 1823; smallest, 17 in 1830. Deaths, 550; largest number, 91 in 1827; smallest, 21 in 1830. Decrease in large stock, 12,509 to 6,560; horses and mules, 509 to 560; sheep, 7,650 to 3,160. Crops: largest, 6,600 bushels in 1821; smallest, 1,305 in 1829; average, 2,956, of which 2,227 wheat, yield 13 fold; 105 barley (only raised in 1821); 480 corn, 44 fold. I have in my collection an alphabetical list of the neophytes of San Fernando, the original record of the mission, and the only one of the mission books the whereabouts of which is at present known. *S. Fernando, Lista Alfabética de Neófitos*, MS.

[32] Mission lands extend 10 l. E. to W. from Tajunga Mts. to Ataguama Mts.; and N. to S. 5 leagues from ranchos S. Francisco de la Mision and Simí toward S. Gabriel and Sanja. Good soil, but no irrigation. *Misiones, Cuaderno de Estados, 1822*, MS., 237, 272–3. Camulos rancho occupied by the mission sheep in 1824. chap. xxiii. 1828, from S. to W. (?), 10 l. from Cahuenga to Triunfo, including Cahuenga, las Calabazas, Las Vírgenes, Agua Amarga, and Triunfo; from W. to N. (?), Camulos, S. Francisco Javier, 5 l. from Encino to the Sierra. *Register of Brands*, MS., 29–30. In 1821, a neophyte stabbed another in a gambling quarrel, and took sanctuary in the church. He was sent to Monterey for two years. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 203–11. April 13, 1826, Echeandía declares S. Fernando to be in the jurisdiction of Los Angeles. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., iv. 30. Proposed ex-neophyte pueblo at S. Fernando 1826. *Hist. Cal.*, chap. iv. of vol. iii. this series. Dec. 1, 1830, military aid sent from town on account of the arrival of a suspicious party of gentiles. *Dept. St. Pap. Angeles*, MS., i. 95.

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[33] Gabriel Moraga was a son of Lieut. José Joaquin Moraga, the first comandante of San Francisco, and of his wife Doña María del Pilar de Leon y Barceló, born some years before his parents came to California. He enlisted in 1784, and July 16th of that year was married at S. Francisco to Ana María Bernal. Padre Palou officiated, and Capt. Nicolás Soler was present. *S. Francisco, Lib. Mision*, MS., 57. In 1788 he became corporal in the Monterey company, and for 12 years commanded various mission escoltas. From 1800 to 1806 he was sergeant of the same company; and was then transferred to S. Francisco as alférez. In 1811 he was made brevet lieutenant for his gallantry in a battle with the Indians on the strait of Carquines, and in April 1818 he received his commission as lieutenant of the Sta Bárbara company by a mistake made in Mexico or Spain, with which on account of his health he was well pleased. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., li. 4; lxix. 32; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ix. 196; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 194; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xvi. 48. In 1800 he commanded a small party sent against the Indians from Monterey, and he became one of the most famous Indian fighters in California. Before 1806 he had visited and named the San Joaquin river, where his father had been long before. His later recorded expeditions include that made to the broad region beyond the Tulares in Sept. and Oct. 1806; to the S. Joaquin in 1807; two visits to the S. Joaquin in search of mission sites, a trip to Bodega, the famous fight at Carquines Strait in May, and a campaign in the region of San Gabriel—all in 1810; three visits to Ross in 1812–13–14; and an expedition toward the Colorado in 1819: see chap. iii. xiv. and xv. this volume. According to his *hoja de servicios* of 1820 he had been connected with 46 expeditions against Indians and taken part in 10 battles. *Prov. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., li. 4.

From about 1818 Lieut. Moraga tried frequently to obtain retirement on account of chronic rheumatism and other infirmities resulting from old age and past exposure. With this object of retirement in view he obtained certificates from Gov. Sola, Capt. José D. Argüello, Capt. Francisco Ruiz, Surgeon Quijano, and padres Señan and Payeras, all of whom spoke in terms of the highest praise respecting his character and the value of his past services. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 180–204. No attention was paid to his demands so far as the records show; nor to his appeal of Oct. 29, 1822, to Iturbide, in which he pleaded earnestly at some length for retirement and full pay as the only means to protect his family from poverty and suffering. *Id.*, vii. 117–22. Of the remaining 8 months of his life we know nothing; and of his death only that he was buried in the cemetery of Sta Bárbara mission on June 15, 1823. *Sta Bárbara, Lib. Mision*, MS., 35. Though an illiterate man, Moraga was honest, moral, kind-hearted, popular, and a very energetic and successful officer.

Moraga's wife and also a son died on Feb. 11, 1802. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xviii. 197. He subsequently married María Joaquina Alvarado. Two of his sons, José Guadalupe and Domingo, were *soldados distinguidos* in the San Francisco company in 1818. *S. Francisco, Cuentas*, MS., i. iii. The former became a cadet in the San Diego company. Another son, Vicente, born at San Antonio Jan. 23, 1790, *S. Antonio, Lib. Mision*, MS., 7, was in 1833–5 a schoolmaster at Angeles and also secretary and síndico of the ayuntamiento. *Los Angeles, Ayunt. Rec.*, MS., 1; *Botello, Anales del Sur*, MS., 10, 176. But the fame of the family expired with Don Gabriel, whom Inocente García describes as a tall, well built man of dark complexion, brave, gentlemanly, and the best Californian soldier of his time.

The presidial company of Santa Bárbara did not vary materially from sixty-six men and twenty-six invalids from 1821 to 1829, but according to the rolls for 1830 was fifty men and twenty-two invalids. About twenty of the Mazatlan company under Fabregat and Delgado may be supposed to have still remained here in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, though most of the number got no pay or rations and were earning their living as best they could; and in the last years of the decade there are mentioned seven or eight artillerymen and twelve or thirteen infantry. Thus in 1830, if we deduct twenty men for escolta duty and half the invalids, the total force at the presidio may be considered as eighty men. The population de razon at the presidio proper was about 500, only a slight gain if any during ten years, or 630 including the missions of the jurisdiction except San Fernando.[36] There were at least ten resident foreigners in the district. With San Fernando and San Gabriel the total was 790 against 740 in 1820; or for the whole presidial district, including Los Angeles and its ranchos, 1790, a gain of 435 for the decade. The neophyte population of the same district had decreased in the same period from 6,400 to 4,400. If we take the two districts of Santa Bárbara and San Diego together we find that during this decade Southern California had gained in white population from 1,800 to 2,310, and declined in neophyte population from 11,600 to 9,600.[37]

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[34] *Hist. Cal.*, chap. ii. vol. iii. this series. March 1, 1830, there was an order in Mexico for Capt. José Ramirez to proceed to California and take command of Sta Bárbara; but he never came. *Sup. Govt. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 4–5.

[35] Dec. 15, 1826, Echeandía's order for an election. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 189–90. Vicente Valencia síndico in 1827. *Id.*, xiv. 1. Jacinto Gonzalez síndico for 1828 and arrested by the alcalde for refusing to render accounts. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 206. Martin Ortega, alcalde; Rafael Gonzalez, regidor; and José Antonio de la Guerra (Jr.) síndico in 1829. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 67; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xiv. 1; *St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 94. Electores de partido; Francisco Ortega, 1822; Cárlos Carrillo, 1827; Francisco Atanasio Cota, 1828; Domingo Carrillo, 1830.

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[36] The padrones in *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., iv. 48; v. 26, 33, give Sta Bárbara with its 5 missions, 604 souls in 1821, 606 in 1828, and 645 in 1830. The report in *Wilkes' Nar.*, *U. S. Explor. Exped.*, v. 555, gives 613 for 1828, agreeing practically with the other. That in Bandini, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 6, makes the number 782 in 1827, doubtless including Indians. That in *Sta Clara, Parroquia*, MS., 57-8, makes the population 582 in 1824. The foreign residents were James W. Burke, Robert J. Elwell, Daniel A. Hill, Thomas M. Robbins, William G. Dana, William D. Foxen, James Scott, Michael White, John Wilson, and James Breck.

[37] Items of finance for the decade: company pay-roll, from $1,450 to $1,700 per month. Dept. to S. Francisco at end of 1822, $1,198. Supplies required for 1823, 1,100 fan. corn, 270 beans, 700 *arrobas* lard, $1,300 worth of soap! Paid the company in 1825, $3,324; due $5,199 more. Sometime in 1826 the company is said to have received $10,000 on account of back pay. Due company at end of 1826, $9,911. Supplies to Mazatlan company in 1827, $456. Oct. 1829, due from the treasury $75,036. In April 1827 the habilitado signed drafts on Mexico for $85,578, the amount of supplies furnished by 6 missions since 1822. Duties from vessels, 1820 to Oct. 1822, $19,819, of which sum $13,377 for 1822. For 1825, $1,220; 1826, $7,223; 1827, about $6,000. Postal revenue, 1825, $25.50; 1826, $133. No tithes, 1823-6. Tithes in 1826, $2,640. Municipal revenue, 1827-8, $468; expenditures, $86. Receipts in 1829, $563; expenditures, $465. For company rolls, accounts,

As a port Santa Bábara was visited frequently by foreign traders, as narrated in another chapter devoted to commercial annals, though at certain times this port, like San Francisco, was legally closed and could only be visited with a special license from the governor. Statistics are altogether insufficient to show the comparative extent of Santa Bárbara trade.[38] Of the girls' school of 1817 nothing appears in the records; but a school was maintained in the last years of the decade, when Diego Fernandez received fifteen dollars per month for teaching. In 1828 Echeandía declared this a useless expense since not a single scholar attended the school with all the alcalde's efforts. The comandante was ordered to compel parents to send their children.[39] The company's rancho of San Julian was a prosperous institution down to 1826 at least. It not only kept the troops supplied with meat and paid its expenses, but furnished $350 to buy an organ for the chapel, and left a cash balance of $940, besides 2,221 head of cattle.[40] The presidio buildings were somewhat damaged by repeated shocks of earthquake in January; but we hear nothing more of extensive repairs or of removal. In the spring of 1827,[41] when Duhaut-Cilly was here, Guerra was

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etc., see *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv.–lxxvi., passim; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 9; ii. 76; *Id., Ben. Cust. H.*, i. 27, 80; *Id. Presid.*, i. 29; *Id., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, i. 65–7, 81; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vii. 47, 160; xi. 80–1; *Dept. Rec.*, v. 38–9; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xi. 15; xii. 4; xiv. 31; xiii. 11–18; *St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 82, 93–4; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 4; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xvii. 120.

[38] See *Hist. Cal.*, chap. v. of vol. iii. and passim, this series. Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 19, describes the obtaining of water for vessels at Santa Bárbara as a very tedious process. Guerra in 1827 says that the inhabitants of the jurisdiction maintain themselves as a rule by the production of tallow and hides, raising also some grain and vegetables. A few engage in trade, but they will probably have to abandon it to foreigners, with whom it is impossible to compete. At the missions some coarse woollen clothing and hats are made. The production of wine and brandy might be made profitable if foreign liquors could be excluded or heavily taxed. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 2–4.

[39] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 105; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xiv. 1–2.

[40] Habilitado's report on the rancho from 1817 to 1826. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 52–3.

[41] *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, i. 271–2. This writer says: 'The presidio of Sta Bárbara is, like that of Monterey, a closed square surrounded with houses of a single story. Near the north-west corner rises an edifice a little more

about to finish a house for himself outside the presidio walls, where there were already from sixty to eighty houses, each with its little garden.

In a note I append a few items from the criminal record of the decade,[42] though that record was by no means an unusually exciting one. In another note I close the record of Santa Bárbara presidio with a chronological statement of local events, most of which are presented more or less fully in other chapters of this volume.[43]

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prominent than any other and ornamented with a balcony. It is the residence of the comandante. At the opposite corner protecting the way to the shore, it was evidently the intention of the Californian engineers to build a bastion; but to believe that they had succeeded would be great good-nature.' Earthquakes in Jan. 1821. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 71. April 1821, the governor is on the lookout for a man to build a mill with a view to utilize the water of the reservoir to be constructed. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 63. Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 44–8, briefly describes Sta Bárbara and vicinity as they appeared in 1829. He says that there were three or four large buildings at Ortega's rancho, but this establishment had never regained its prosperity since Bouchard's visit of 1818. The armament at Sta Bárbara in 1830 was seven guns, five iron and two brass, one of 8-pound calibre, five 6-pounders, and one 3-pounder. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxii. 24.

[42] In 1821, a soldier having publicly asserted that he had been criminally intimate with a young lady, she was subjected to an examination by order of the governor and declared to be a virgin. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., lv. 7–8. A soldier condemned to two years' work in shackles for rape of a child. *Id.*, lii. 6. 1822, some proceedings against soldiers of the Mazatlan company for desertion. Penalties from four to six years in chain-gang. *Id.*, liv. 11, 20–1. 1825, a soldier sentenced to three months in shackles for raising his bayonet against Sergt. Tobar; and Tobar reprimanded for use of abusive language and being drunk when on duty. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xi. 21. An alcalde complained that a private and innocent game of *monte* at his house had been broken up by the military. *Dept. St. Pap., Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., vi. 34–5. 1827, soldier sentenced to seven years' of hard work for rape and desertion. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 38. Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio*, ii. 10–13, tells the story of Valerio, who escaped from the mission and lived in a cave, coming at night for food, etc. According to this author Valerio was hunted down and killed some months before April 1827; but efforts to capture the 'famoso ladron' are recorded in Feb. 1828. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 186; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 100. In April 1830 a negro soldier wounded an English sailor, and declared at his examination that he would kill a Gachupin foreigner whenever he had a chance; 'and this proof of patriotism was so favorable to him that Sr Pacheco acquitted and released him—I do not know if with thanks!' says Guerra. *Carrillo (J.), Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 23. In May a neophyte convicted of killing another in a gambling quarrel, 10 years of hard labor at S. Diego. *Id.*, 23–4; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxii. 7. Sixteen prisoners in December. *Id.*, lxxii. 1.

[43] In 1821 there were charges of connivance in smuggling against Lieut. Fabregat of the Mazatecas, who sold some otter-skins to an American schooner called the *Sigloe*. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 294; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xlvi. 25; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 67. An epidemic fever killed many Indians from June to August, as is stated by Guerra in a detailed diary of changes in the weather from Feb. 8th to Dec. 18th. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 495–501.

1822. In April an oath of allegiance to the imperial regency was taken by

Changes in missionaries at Santa Bárbara Mission during this period were as follows: Antonio Jaime came in 1821; Francisco Suñer left the mission in 1823; Juan Moreno came in 1827; Antonio Ripoll fled at the beginning of 1828; in 1829 Moreno was succeeded by Antonio Jimeno, and Jaime died.[44] Under the

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the authorities, citizens, padres, and neophytes. chap. xxi. In June Alf. Maitorena was appointed to examine witnesses, and in conjunction with commissioners named by the padres, to fix definite bounds between the presidio and mission. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 569–71. In September the American schooner *Eagle* attempted to seize the Mexican brig *San Francisco de Paula*, but was instead seized by the officers of the brig, run on a sand-bank, and sold at auction. chap. xxi.

In 1823 the leading event was the employment by Guerra of William Burroughs to furnish medical treatment to the troops for 4 years at a salary of $240. Dr B. by the terms of his contract was to make two visits daily at 9 A. M. and 5 P. M. to the sick at the presidio; but might also visit the missions with a permit. After this year nothing more is heard of Burroughs, or Boris as he is called. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 197–8; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 651.

In 1824 there occurred the exciting episode of the great Indian revolt. chap. xxiii. In May 1825 the Spanish ship *Aquiles* visited this port, greatly to the scandal of Sta Bárbara society. *Hist. Cal.*, chap. i. vol. iii., this series. For the next two years there is nothing to be noticed.

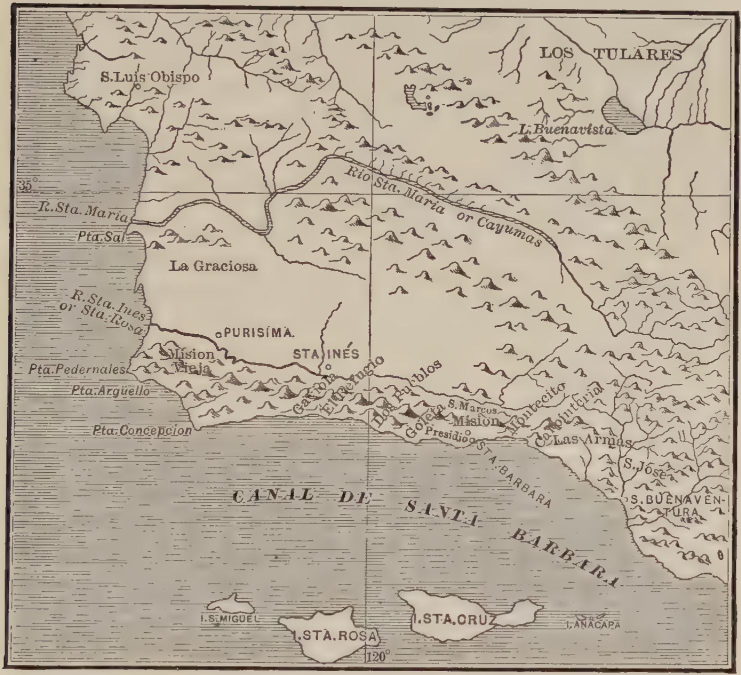
1828. Padre Ripoll ran away in January; and Gov. Echeandía honored Sta Bárbara with his presence both in spring and autumn. *Hist. Cal.*, chap. ii. and iv. of vol. iii., this series. A Mexican newspaper of Nov. 1828 contained a communication from Capt. Miguel Gonzalez, in which it was narrated that three cadets, José Antonio de la Guerra and Raimundo and Joaquin Carrillo, had dressed themselves as Spanish officers one day in June, pretended to have just landed from a Spanish ship, rung the bell, and had been saluted by various sentries—in fact had been very near capturing the whole presidio for Spain, much to the terror of a few true Mexicans in the garrison, who hastened to load the cannon, when the cadets declared it all a joke. This matter was investigated next year, was found to be somewhat exaggerated, and the three culprits by reason of their youth were pardoned—or at least the fiscal recommended that the charge be dismissed. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxx. 3–6.

1829. Padre Luis Martinez was imprisoned and tried here in February. *Hist. Cal.*, chap. iv. of vol. iii., this series. The first vessel built in California, except at Ross, was built here this year and probably gave a name to La Goleta. chap. v. of vol. iii. In the autumn took place the exciting events of the Solis revolt with its bloodless battle near this presidio. *Hist. Cal.*, chap. iii. of vol. iii., this series.

1830. In January the diputacion met here though only to adjourn; and in March a colony of convicts arrived, to be sent over to Sta Cruz Island. *Hist. Cal.*, chap. ii. of vol. iii., this series. The celebration of the national anniversary on Sept. 16th is said to have been rather a noisy occasion, the convicts and a band of Acapulco soldiers guarding them shouting in the exuberance of their patriotism, 'Long live Pacheco! Death to the Gachupines and foreigners!' *Carrillo (J.), Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 29. A man named Gallegos was drowned in the creek late this year. *Id.*, 32.

[44] Antonio Jaime, or Antonio Mariano Francisco Miguel Gaspar Jayme de Segúras, was born at Palma in the island of Mallorca in 1757. In a letter written by him in 1816 he gives many details of his school days and especially of his association with Juan B. Bestard, who, induced by Jaime's example,

superintendence of the padres named the mission declined rapidly in nearly every element of prosperity, especially after the Indian troubles of 1824. The mission buildings were in excellent condition, and manufacturing industries under Ripoll had been more successful here than in most other establishments; but in population, live-stock, and agricultural products the figures were far from encouraging. Minor local



SANTA BÁRBARA DISTRICT, 1830.

took the habit, and later became comisario general of his order in Spain. Jaime took the habit in 1774 at the convent of Jesus *extra muros* at Palma, where he was for some time a teacher. At his own request he was assigned to Mexico, but at Barcelona on his way was detained by an appointment as collector of alms for San Fernando college. He finally sailed with the alms collected in June 1794, arriving at the college in August. Appointed to California in Feb. 1795, he landed at Monterey August 25th. He served at San Cárlos till February 1796, and at Soledad for 25 years until October 1821, when he was transferred as invalid to Sta Bárbara. He was a kind-hearted, indulgent man, beloved for that reason by the neophytes; and the reader will remember how events, of which few are recorded, have naturally not been separated from the presidio annals.[45]

At San Buenaventura José Señan, president of the missions, died in August 1823, and his place as minister was taken by Francisco Suñer. Vitoria

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well they treated him at the revolt of 1824 when the insurgents had possession of Sta Bárbara Mission. He was, moreover, a very earnest missionary in the earlier times, though regarded by his superiors as one of somewhat mediocre abilities. His name is inseparably connected with the mission of Soledad. In later years he was confined to his room by the torments of rheumatism, seeking alleviation in snuff and cigars, and in dreams of revisiting his native island and meeting again his old friend Bestard, dreams never to be realized, for he died Dec. 2, 1829, and his remains were deposited in the vault of the Sta Bárbara church. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 61–2, 133; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 277–8; *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 399; *Sta Bárbara, Lib. Mision*, MS., 35–6; *Soledad, Lib. Mision*, MS.; *Cantua*, in *Taylor's Discov. and Found.*, ii. 27.

Padre Antonio Ripoll was, like Jaime, a native of Palma in Mallorca, where he was born in 1785, becoming a Franciscan in 1799. He sailed from Cádiz in March 1810, and arrived at the college of San Fernando June 20th. A year later he was assigned to California, but on account of revolutionary troubles did not reach Lower California till April 1812, coming up to San Diego in July. He was minister at Purísima until May 1815, and at Santa Bárbara till Jan. 1828, when he fled secretly in an American vessel under circumstances that are fully related in chap. iv. of vol. iii. of this history. Padre Ripoll was noted for his enthusiasm in any cause to which he gave his attention, particularly in the improvement of manufacturing industries and of mission buildings, in which he was very successful. At the time of the Bouchard attack his enthusiasm took a military form and he organized a neophyte force of 180 men, a 'Compañía de Urbanos Realistas de Santa Bárbara,' in the patriotism and fighting qualities of which body of men the padre had unlimited faith. In the revolt of 1824 Ripoll could see nothing but the act of Indians in respecting church property and the padres. All dangers sank into insignificance before that act, and the subsequent killing of neophytes was, in his eyes, murder. From that time he was discontented and had no patience to endure the later troubles to which the padres were subjected as Spaniards and royalists. He determined to leave the country, and to go secretly that he might escape detention and annoyance. He probably took with him such money as was within his reach, but not more than a few thousand dollars, the taking of which under the circumstances was not a very discreditable act. In 1832 he was residing in good health at his native town. *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 402–3; *Arch. Sta B.*, x. 437; *Sarria, Informe sobre Frailes, 1817*, MS., 51, 128–9; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 35; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 17–18; *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 10–11. Autograph, in *S. Antonio, Doc. Sueltos*, MS., 97–100; *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, i. 275; ii. 143–4; *Autobiog. Autóg.*, MS.

[45] Statistics of Sta Bárbara mission: Decrease in population, 1,132 to 711. Baptisms, 321; largest number, 50 in 1826; smallest, 22 in 1825. Deaths, 743; largest number, 103 in 1828; smallest, 47 in 1826. Decrease in large stock, 4,620 to 3,259; horses and mules, 1,120 to 759; sheep, 8,300 to 3,480. Largest crop, 10,698 bushels in 1821; smallest, 948 in 1829; average, 3,792, of which 2,866 wheat, yield 10 fold; 576 barley, 9 fold; 262 corn, 38 fold. In 1827 Ripoll had 200 Indians employed in his woollen factory. *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, i. 278–80. April 19, 1827, sight draft of Habilitado Maitorena on the habilitado general in favor of padres of Sta Bárbara for provisions furnished; amount, $8,725. *Arch. Misiones*, MS., ii. 177–8; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 38–9. Tithes of 1826, $724; besides $894 supplied to troops. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt. ii. 107. In 1822 there were still some pagans on Sta Catalina Island, and

left the mission in 1824 and José Altimira came in 1826. The latter ran away from California in 1828; but Francisco Javier Uría had come in 1827; so that Suñer and Uría were left as associate ministers at the end of the decade.[46] The decline of San Buenaventura was even more marked and rapid in some respects than that of Santa Bárbara. In the number of its cattle it dropped from the head of the mission list to the fifteenth place; and in its crops there was a great falling-off. As early as 1822 the padres presented a discouraging report respecting the mission lands and the agricultural and stock-raising prospects. The Indians, however, had a number of gardens along the

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it was the opinion of the friars that the islands ought to be settled by the remnants of their original people. *Misiones, Cuaderno de Estados, 1822*, MS., 270. We have seen that the new church was dedicated in 1820, but considerable improvements were made in different mission buildings during the first half of this decade, especially in the reservoir and fountain. Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio*, i. 271–80, gives a good description of the mission as it appeared in 1827, including the fountain with its stone bear spouting water, and a water-mill to which Ripoll was at the time giving his whole attention, though it was not yet in running order. In a scrap in *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 343, it is stated that about 1824 the padres laid the corner-stone and prepared adobes for a church at San Emilio, but the work was abandoned on account of the revolt. I find no other record on this subject. Description of church in *Id.*, 473, with mention of a road over Mt S. Marcos by which timber was brought. In 1822 the mission lands are described as extending 7–8 l. E. to W., and 3–4 l. N. to S. Pasturage insufficient. Soil good, but no irrigation. Locusts troublesome. Grain sufficient to feed the neophytes with the aid of meat, fish, and fruits. *Misiones, Cuaderno de Estados, 1822*, MS., 240, 278–9; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 130–2. In 1828 four ranchos are mentioned, three used for sowing and one for stock. They were San José, 4 l. away; Cañada de las Armas, 4 l.; Los Pueblos, 6 l., and S. Marcos, 8 l. *Pico, Papeles de Mision*, MS., 1–2.

[46] For biographical sketch of Señan see chap. xxii., this vol. Padre José Altimira was a native of Barcelona, where he also entered the Franciscan order; and he was 32 years of age when in 1819 he came to the Mexican college. He arrived at Monterey Aug. 18, 1820. He served at San Francisco in 1820–4; at S. Francisco Solano in 1824–6; and at S. Buenaventura in 1826–7. This padre brought from Spain and Mexico a good reputation for talent and application, a reputation which he sustained during his short stay in California; but he showed also a spirit of independence which led to much chafing under the restraint of superior orders, and he made enemies even among the friars. His fame in California rests upon his foundation of S. Francisco Solano in 1823, at which time he had a bitter controversy with his superiors and associates; and on his flight in company with Ripoll in January 1828—both of which topics are fully recorded elsewhere. See chap. xxii. of this vol. and iv. of vol. iii. On account of his brief service in the country, his independence of character, and the resulting controversies, his flight was less to be wondered at than that of Ripoll. As late as 1860 he is said to have been living at Teneriffe. On his early life and coming to California, see Payeras' report of 1820, in *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 140; *Autobiog. Autóg.*, MS.

banks of the river, where they successfully raised vegetables for sale; and the gardens of the mission were much more thriving than the grain-fields. Some local happenings in chronologic order I append with statistics in a note.[47]

At Purísima Padre Sanchez was succeeded by Antonio Rodriguez in 1821; and the latter, dying, by Marcos Antonio Vitoria in 1824. Vitoria seems to have served alone, for Prefect Payeras, as we have seen, had died in April 1823.[48] The great event of the decade at this mission was the Indian revolt of 1824 and the battle by which the place was retaken after having been for some time in possession of the rebels; but this affair has been fully described in another chapter.[49] In the revolt the buildings were much damaged, and it would seem that the church, though a new structure, had to be rebuilt; at least a new church was dedicated on October 4, 1825.[50] Purísima showed a gain in cattle for this decade, and in this respect was in 1830 excelled by only San Luis and San Gabriel; but in other respects this mission was advancing toward ruin as rapidly as any of its neighbors.[51]

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[47] A severe shock of earthquake Jan. 1, 1821. Extreme cold, snow, and frost, in February. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 85. May 16, 1822. Padres and neophytes take the oath to the imperial regency. chap. xxi. this vol. Fabian, a neophyte, honored by being buried in Franciscan robes by Señan, March 16, 1822. *S. Buenaventura, Lib. Mision*, MS., i. 65. In letters of Joaquin de la Torre, the governor's secretary, the quarrel between Guerra and PP. Señan and Ibarra, Padre Calma and Padre Napoleon, about the ranchos of Pirú and Sespe. Sola is said to have been very angry with Señan, who wrote an insulting and threatening letter. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vi. 102–5. The exact result of this quarrel is nowhere recorded. Oct. 5th, Señan complains of outrages of the escolta on the neophytes. *Id.*, v. 90–2. In June 1822, apparently the eventful year of the decade at this mission, a neophyte killed his wife for adultery. As he had been a Christian 'only seven years,' and was yet ignorant in matters of domestic discipline, the fiscal only asked on the trial for a penalty of five years in the chain-gang with banishment. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liii. 64–7. In 1827 George Coleman was *llavero* of the mission. chap. vi. vol. iii. this history. In 1827–8 the measles carried off many Indians. *Arch. Obispado*, MS., 48. Statistics: Decrease in population, 1,127 to 726; baptisms, 258; largest number 38 in 1823; smallest, 16 in 1827. Deaths, 662; largest number, 144 in 1822; smallest, 35 in 1827. Decrease in large stock, 18,741 to 4,860; horses and mules, 3,451 to 360; sheep, 10,730 to 3,350. Largest crop, 8,472 bushels in 1821; smallest, 1,230 in 1827; average, 5,991, of which 2,376 wheat, yield 10 fold; 985 barley, 15 fold; 954 corn, 104 fold. Report on mission lands in 1822. *Misiones, Cuaderno de Estados, 1822*, MS., 274–6. Lands extend 5 l. N., used for sheep, but exposed to bears and lions; 9–10 l. E. Little rain, strong winds, abundant grasshoppers, sandy soil. Forty head of cattle per week killed for food. Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 49–50, mentions a small chapel near the beach besides the church; also a fine fountain in the garden, in 1829. This mission supplied $26,155 to the presidio in 1822–7. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 38–9.

[48] For biographical sketch of Payeras see chap. xxii. this vol. Antonio Catarino Rodriguez was one of the few Mexican friars in California before 1830, having been born at San Luis Potosí in 1777 on Jan. 1st. He took the habit of St Francis at the convent in his native city, where he served as convent preacher, vicar, master of novices, and professor of moral philosophy. He became a member of the college of San Fernando in August 1808, and arrived at Monterey June 22, 1809. His missionary service was at Sta Cruz till 1811, at S. Luis Obispo till 1821, and at Purísima till his death in 1824. He died, however, at San Luis Obispo on Nov. 24th and was buried in the church of that mission. As a missionary Rodriguez was rated according to the Franciscan standard, not always identical with that of common sense, as of but moderate talent; but he excelled greatly as a preacher to gente de razon. His virtues and kindness of disposition caused him to be well liked

At Santa Inés Padre Rodriguez served till 1821; Uría until 1824; and Blas Ordaz from 1823, being therefore alone in his ministry for the last half of the decade. In the revolt of 1824, which first broke out at this mission, a large part of the buildings are said to have been destroyed; but I find no record of repairs or rebuilding.[52] Like its neighbor Santa Inés

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by the Indians. In person he was very corpulent, with prominent eyes and heavy face. Early in the year of his death, already ill and infirm, he was taken by the rebel neophytes and kept for some weeks a prisoner; but was treated with great respect, and worked faithfully for the interests of his flock at the time of their surrender. He went to San Luis soon after his release. *S. Luis Obispo, Lib. Mision*, MS.; *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 400-1; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 437; *Sarría, Informe sobre Frailes, 1817*, MS., 56-7, 131; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 246; *Valdés, Memorias*, MS., 14; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 67, where the death is dated Nov. 25th.

[49] See chap. xxiii. this vol. Some trouble with Indians also in 1830. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxviii. 4.

[50] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 29.

[51] Statistics: Decrease in population, 840 to 413. Baptisms, 167; largest number, 28 in 1821; smallest, 9 in 1826. Deaths, 484; largest number, 85 in 1824; smallest, 13 in 1830. Increase in large stock, 11,061 to 13,430; decrease in horses and mules 1,543 to 430; sheep, 12,716 to 6,070. Largest crop, 7,992 bushels in 1821; smallest, 1,353 in 1829; average, 3,135, of which 2,254 wheat, yield 12 fold; 93 barley; 540 corn, 75 fold. Excessive cold in 1821. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 89. In 1825 a freshet destroyed much wheat already sprouted. Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 49, says that in 1829 the mission had been much neglected and the Indians were ill-clothed and apparently in a most abject condition. Mission lands in 1822 extend N. and S. 14 l.; E. and W. 4-6 l. Soil good; irrigation necessary, but cannot be extended. Frosts, grasshoppers, squirrels, troublesome. An anchorage 1.5 l. below Pt Concepcion. No mines, but plenty of *abalon* and other shells. *Misiones, Cuaderno de Estados, 1822*, MS., 284-5; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 115-19. Purísima furnished to the presidio $12,921 of supplies in 1822-7. *Dept. Rec.*, v. 38-9.

[52] See chap. xxiii. this vol.

gained in its herds of cattle. It very nearly also held its own in agriculture; and its percentage of loss in population was less than at Purísima. There is nothing to be noticed in the matter of local events.[53]

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[53] Statistics: Decrease in population, 635 to 408. Baptisms, 176; largest number, 28 in 1823; smallest, 10 in 1828. Deaths, 367; largest number, 53 in 1824; smallest, 20 in 1830. Loss in large stock, 7,720 to 7,590; loss in horses and mules, 720 to 390; sheep, 5,100 to 2,160. Largest crop, 8,917 bushels in 1821; smallest, 1,734 in 1829; average, 3,562, of which 2,181 wheat, yield 18 fold; 195 barley, 36 fold; 951 corn, 130 fold. Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 48–9, describes the buildings in 1829 as similar to those at Sta Bárbara. In front was a large brick enclosure used for bathing and washing; to the right, gardens and orchards; to the left, Indian huts and tiled houses. Mission lands, 1822, between two branch ranges of the sierra, Buchon 6 l. N. and Pedernales ¾ l. S. joining 12 l. E. Lands extend 7–9 l. N. and S.; 5–13 l. E. and W. Good pastures in south; rocky with oak timber in north. Only small extent of tillable land on the stream, requiring irrigation, and nearly exhausted. *Misiones, Cuad. de Estados*, MS., 241, 281–3. Names of some localities, 1824. chap. xxiii. this vol., 1827. Padre Ordaz refuses to sell saddles except for cash to S. Francisco. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., i. 78. From 1822 to 1827 Sta Inés furnished $10,767 of supplies to Sta Bárbara presidio. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 38–9. Francisco Gonzalez in command of the escolta in 1824; Manuel Cota in 1828. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lvii. 27; lxvi. 69.

CHAPTER XXVI.

LOCAL ANNALS—SAN FRANCISCO DISTRICT.

1821-1830.

San Francisco Presidio—Officers—Pedro Amador and his Son José María—Military Force and Population—Buildings and Surroundings—Chart of the Bay—Yerba Buena Anchorage—Foreign Visitors—Chronologic Summary of Events—Private Ranchos of the District—Mission San Francisco—Ministers—Statistics—Lands—Buildings—San Rafael—Aboriginal Names—Proposed Suppression—Marin and Quintin—The Tamales—Mission San José—Statistics of Progress—Petty Events—Santa Clara—Magin Catalá—New Church—Pueblo of San José—Gain in Population—Descriptions by Visitors—School—Municipal Government and Criminal Record—Attached to San Francisco.

Luis Antonio Argüello was captain of the San Francisco company until his death, which occurred March 27, 1830.[1] During Argüello's absence in Monterey as acting governor in 1822-5, till his return in 1827, and after his suspension in February 1828, Lieutenant Ignacio Martinez was comandante. Santiago Argüello, though absent at San Diego, was company alférez until 1827, when Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo was promoted from cadet in the Monterey company to fill the place. Vallejo, however, did not come to San Francisco till 1830. José Sanchez was brevet alférez throughout the decade. Luis Peralta was company sergeant until 1826, when he left the service to become a ranchero, and was succeeded by Francisco Soto in 1827. Soto was brevet alférez in 1829, and in 1830 José Berreyesa succeeded him as sergeant. José Joaquin Estudillo was cadet in this company till 1822, and Raimundo Estrada from 1823. The accounts were kept successively by Argüello, Martinez, Estrada, and Vallejo as habilitados.[2]

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[1] For biographical sketch of Gov. Argüello, see chap. i. of vol. iii., this history. How much of the time he was actually in command at San Francisco after giving up the governorship I am unable to say exactly. He could not have returned from the south much before the end of 1827, and early in 1828 he was suspended from the command. There is no evidence that he was ever reinstated, and of him in 1828-30 nothing is known except that he had some business quarrels with Capt. Cooper. He probably spent much of the time at his rancho of Las Pulgas. Lieut. Martinez, whose later conduct at the time of the Solis revolt in 1829 was not very creditable, was not popular with his men, who in 1822 petitioned for his removal. An investigation was ordered, as appears from a letter of Acting Gov. Argüello of Dec. 31st; but of the result nothing appears. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 52. In the same year there was an order of Gov. Sola to reprimand Lieut. Antonio del Valle for disrespect to Martinez. *Id.*, i. 48.

So far as I can determine from numerous but contradictory rosters and accounts, the presidial company of San Francisco had dwindled to fifty men or perhaps less in 1830. There were also seven invalids,[3] most if not all of whom lived at San José, and seven artil-

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[2] The habilitado was also postmaster and in the last years also comisario subalterno in charge of the revenues. There was no ayuntamiento at San Francisco. The electores de partido were Francisco Castro in 1822, Francisco de Haro in 1827, and José Peña in 1830.

[3] Among the inválidos in the early years of the decade was the old ex-alférez of the company, Ramon Lasso de la Vega, who had disappeared from official life before 1790, who died at San José in 1821, and whose biography may be found in vol. i. chap. xxii. of this history.

Another was the venerable Sergeant Pedro Amador, brevetted alférez in retirement, who died at S. José April 10, 1824. Amador was a native of Cocula, in what is now Jalisco, and was not a Spaniard as has sometimes been stated. He enlisted in April 1764 (or in Aug. 1765 more likely) and rose to be a sergeant in the Loreto company. Certificate of Lieut. Sal, 1791, in *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., x. 86. He was in the first expedition to Alta California in 1769, receiving on May 27, 1771, a certificate of faithful and cheerful service from Capt. Rivera y Moncada. *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., i. 52-3. His name appears as that of a sergeant of the garrison at San Diego in 1771, *S. Diego, Lib. Mision*, MS., 9; but he returned to Loreto, where in December 1773, having to visit his wife at Cocula under circumstances not very clearly explained, but reflecting no discredit on him, he was dismissed from the service, receiving from Gov. Barri a certificate of good conduct with a pass to travel where he pleased, but forfeiting his rank as sergeant and his eight years of service. In October of the same year he is mentioned as having been in command on the frontier. *Palou, Noticias*, i. 180, 183. In 1774 after eight months' absence he returned, probably with his wife, and re-enlisted as a private in the Loreto company. Ten years later, in 1784, he returned to California by changing places with a soldier of the Sta Bárbara company, in which he was soon made corporal. In 1787 he was transferred to S. Francisco as sergeant, and in 1791 he petitioned successfully that the eight years and four months of his first term of service be added to his record. *Amador, Espediente de Servicios, 1765-91*, MS.; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, ix. 17; xv. 4; xxi. 5; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., i. 4, 55; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xxii. 24. At various times between 1791 and 1800 Sergt. Amador was proposed in second or third place for promotion, and once is said to have lerymen. The infantry detachment of the San Blas company numbered 32 in 1821–2, and was only 14 in 1823; but there are no later records, though as small sums were paid to account of the detachment down at least to 1828, I suppose there may have been ten or twelve infantrymen left in the country as late as 1830. Thus the effective military force was not

been offered the place of alférez at Loreto. In all reports he was accredited with courage, application, good conduct, and average capacity. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., v. 76–7; i. 56; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., v. 113–14; *S. José, Lib. Mision*, MS., i.; *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxi. 5; *Amador, Memorias*, MS. The nature of his military services during this period is indicated by the titles of documents from his pen in my list of original authorities. He failed to get his promotion in active service, but in 1802 we find him on the list of inválidos as brevet alférez with $200 a year. For the last 10 or 12 years of his life he was nearly blind, failed to get his pension, and was supported at S. José by his son. He died April 10, 1824, at the age of 82 years, and was buried by P. Viader next day in the cemetery at Sta Clara. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xxxi.; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxiii. 28; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., i. 55; *Amador, Memorias*, MS. The old sergeant was one of the most worthy of California's earliest settlers, and it is well that one of her counties bears his name, or rather that of his son. Amador was twice married, first to María de la Luz, by whom he had a son and a daughter, the former of whom once in later years came to Monterey as a courier; and next to a widow María Ramona Noriega, a woman of some attainments for her circumstances, who could teach her children—of whom four were born in Lower California, and seven in California—to read and write. She died in 1801. None of the descendants acquired any special prominence, and but little is known beyond their names. One of the daughters was the mother of Rafael Pinto. *S. Francisco, Lib. Mision*, MS., 24–5, 28, 32, 59–60; *Sta Bárbara, Lib. Mision*, MS., 5; *Amador, Memorias*, MS., 1–6; *Pinto, Apuntaciones*, MS., 1; *Perez, Recuerdos de Una Vieja*, MS., 7.

One of Amador's sons, José María, who, like two of his brothers, became a soldier, was living in 1883, aged 89 years, as he was born at S. Francisco on Dec. 18, 1794. *S. Francisco, Lib. Mision*, MS., 28. He served as a private soldier in the S. Francisco company from about 1810 to 1827, *S. Francisco, Cuentas*, MS., being for the last three years in the escolta of the Sonoma mission. He is proud of his experience as an Indian fighter, boasts of many acts of barbarous cruelty, shows the scars of many wounds, and declares he received for his service nothing but scanty rations and an occasional garment. He accompanied Capt. Argüello in his famous campaign 'to the Columbia,' and went to Bodega and Ross with Gabriel Moraga. After his discharge in 1827, he became majordomo of San José Mission. In 1834 he obtained the rancho of San Ramon, in the valley that bears his name, in what is now Contra Costa county, where he lived most of the time until after 1850. He went to the mines at the time of the gold excitement, and added to his wealth, which in his case, as in that of so many others, rapidly disappeared in later years. He was friendly to the Americans in the troubles of 1846. His first wife was a daughter of Francisco Alviso; and his second, Josefa Ortega, of Sta Bárbara, whom he married in 1828. I know nothing of the reasons why his name was given to Amador county beyond Hittell's statement, *Resources of Cal.*, 425, that in 1848 he went with a number of Indians to mine in that region. It is more agreeable, if less exact, to be reminded of his father by the name. José María is also credited by the newspapers with having named Mt Diablo in 1814, *Oakland Daily News*, June 19, 1874, but this is very over 70 men, of whom 25 were absent from the peninsula on escolta duty. The total population de razon of the presidio and mission in 1830 was at most 200, and of the whole jurisdiction, including five missions, but excluding Santa Cruz, not more than 300, a decline from 430 during the decade.[4] Adding the population of San José we have for the presidial district of San Francisco a total of 840, a gain from 670 ten years before. Very many soldiers had left the service and gone to live at the pueblo. During the same period the neophyte population had increased slightly from 4,360 to 4,920. There were no foreigners known to have been residing on the peninsula at the end of the decade, though there were half a dozen at San José.[5]

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doubtful. The current newspaper stories to the effect that he is a centenarian, a Spanish officer, living with his fifth wife, the first white child born at S. Francisco, the founder of Sonoma, etc., are without foundation in fact. In 1877, poor, crippled with paralysis, residing with his youngest daughter at S. Andrés—Whiskey Hill, or Liberty—near Watsonville, he dictated to Mr Savage, for my use, 229 pages of his recollections of early times, the *Amador, Memorias sobre la Historia de California*, a manuscript often cited in my work. The author's memory was still unimpaired and he has contributed a most valuable and interesting fund of anecdotes about events and men of the past, though as might naturally be expected the old soldier 'draws the long bow' in relating adventures of Indian warfare, and is very inaccurate in his dates.

[4] There are no official figures except for 1827-8, which vary from 228 to 280. *Bandini, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 6; *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., v. passim; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xiv. 209; *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explor. Exped.*, v. 555, and one for 1830 in *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., v. 34, which makes the total 229, so that 300 may be too large a figure. See a later note for the figures of S. José, which are yet less satisfactory.

[5] For the official list and statements of the presidial force from 1821-30, the best authority is the *S. Francisco, Cuentas del Habilitado*, MS., tom v.-xxiii., containing complete lists of men and officers each year. For similar information in company rosters, etc., as for various financial and other statistics for the period, I have consulted chiefly the original records of the company in my possession, *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. xvii-xx., xxix.-xxx.; but also *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liii.-lxxii. passim; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., iii. 15; x. 6-7, 87; xi. 15-18, 71; xiv. 35, 41; xviii. 23-4; *St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., ii. 1; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust. H.*, MS., i.-iii. passim; *Dept. St. Pap. Mont.*, MS., iv. 88; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 68, 291; vii. 187. The habilitado's accounts of revenues, or duties collected on imports on foreign goods, with names of vessels and amounts paid by each are very complete in comparison with those of other presidios, in *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. xvii. xx. passim; but the statistics have been utilized as far as is practicable in the chapters devoted to commercial and maritime affairs. A few items on financial affairs, gathered from records that are sufficiently voluminous but not equally satisfactory, are as follows: Pay-roll of the company, $15,000 to $18,000 per year; annual debt to company, from $4,000 to $10,000; total debt increased from $19,000 in 1821 to $50,000 in 1829. An invoice of

In 1821 Governor Sola called upon the padres through Prefect Payeras to send a boat with timber and laborers to execute certain repairs of which the quarters and defences at San Francisco were sadly in need. The response was prompt from the five missions.[6] Kotzebue on entering the port in 1824 found "St Joachim on his rocky throne, truly a very peaceable and well-disposed saint; no one of his cannon in condition to fire a single shot." According to his statement he had to lend powder with which to fire a salute in his honor; but there is a record in the archives that 40 kegs of powder had been received at the fort two months before.[7] Kotzebue found the presidio "in the same state in which I found it eight years before; and, except the republican flag, no trace of the important changes which had taken place was perceptible. Everything was going on in the old, easy, careless way." The Russian voyager predicted a brilliant future for San Francisco; and in connection with his trips to Santa Clara, San Rafael, and up the Sacramento, he gave in his book much interesting information on the whole region round about the bay.[8]

$3,011 received in 1825. Inventories of goods on hand in 1827 and 1829, $342 and $302. Supplies to infantry detachment very irregular, from $69 to $1,200 per year. Supplies to artillery detachment in 1830, $6,548. Received from Monterey in 1824, $3,674. Received from other presidios, 1828–30, $6,823. Average net postal revenue $16. Net proceeds of tobacco sales, 1827, $690; 1828, to March, $100; April 1828 to Nov. 1829, $587; 350 lbs. were burned as rotten this year. Liquor tax collected, 1821–4, $174; 1829–30, $24. Average yearly expense of the presidial barge, or lighter, over and above its earnings, $130. Stamped paper sent to S. Francisco in 1826, $874; in the office 1830, $109. Mission supplies were as follows: S. Francisco, 1821–30 (except 1827), $6,288; Sta Clara, $14,068; S. José, $15,125; Sta Cruz, $5,690; Solano, 1828–30, $593; S. Rafael, 1822–6, 1828–30, $1,311.

[6] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 59–60. Two carpenters, 12 axemen, and 2 boats loaded with material were sent in May.

[7] *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xiv. 12 (72?).

[8] *Kotzebue's New Voyage*, ii. 75–150. See also chap. xxiii. this vol. for an account of this visitor's observations in general. Padre Amorós in a letter of 1823, speaking of a Russian visit to the port, says: 'Puede que S. Francisco cobre fama entre muchas naciones, y asi visitas no faltarán.' *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 83. Echeandía on his first visit to S. Francisco is said to have exclaimed, after gazing on the bay from the summit of Telegraph Hill, 'Esto es muy portentoso. Mejico no sabe, no, lo que tiene!' He spent some days in making plans for fortifications—castles in the air. *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 69.

Captain Morrell was here in 1825. He describes the presidio as "built in the same manner as Monterey;" that is, "surrounded by a wall of ten feet in height, built of freestone, but much smaller, comprising only about 120 houses and a church. The fort mounts 10 guns, which would be sufficient to command the passage were the works kept in any kind of order." This American captain was very enthusiastic in his admiration of the bay region.[9]

In 1826 occurred the visit of the English navigator, Beechey. Of the buildings he says: "The governor's abode was in a corner of the presidio, and formed one end of a row of which the other was occupied by a chapel; the opposite side was broken down and little better than a heap of rubbish and bones, on which jackals, dogs, and vultures were constantly preying; the other two sides of the quadrangle contained storehouses, artificers' shops, and the gaol, all built in the humblest style, with badly burned bricks, and roofed with tiles. The chapel and the governor's house were distinguished by being whitewashed." Beechey made a careful survey of the bay, discovered and named Blossom rock, and in one of the books resulting from his visit there appeared a chart which I reproduce.[10]

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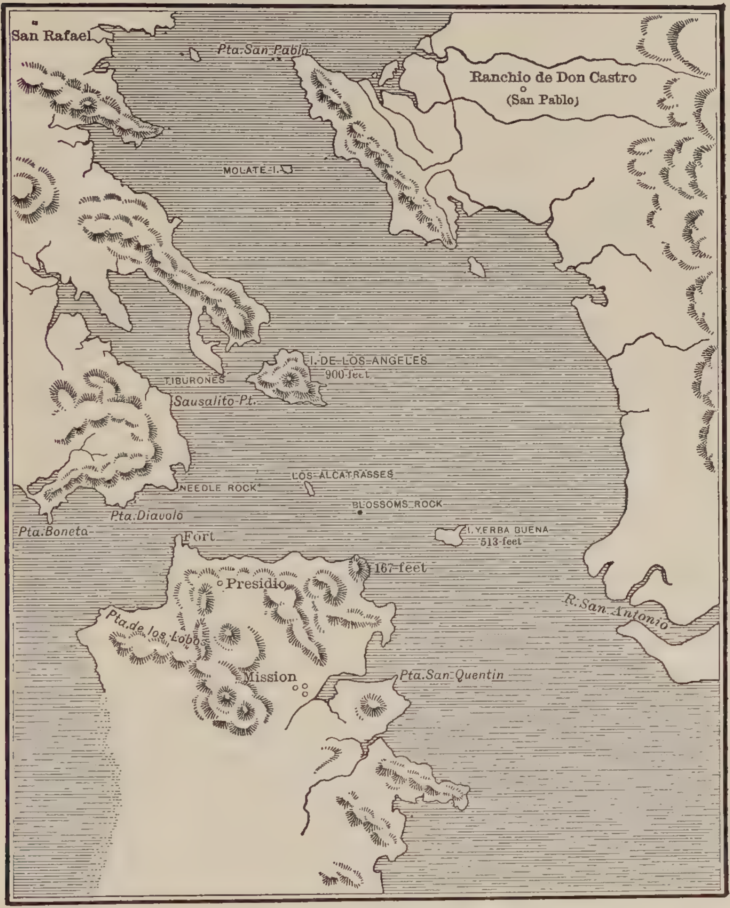
[9] 'It presents a broad sheet of water of sufficient extent to float all the British navy without crowding; the circling grassy shores, indented with convenient coves, and the whole surrounded by a verdant, blooming country, pleasingly diversified with cultured fields and waving forests; meadows clothed with the richest verdure in the gift of bounteous May, etc. Man, enlightened, civilized man, alone is wanting to complete the picture and give a soul, a divinity to the whole. Were these beautiful regions which have been so much libelled, and are so little known, the property of the United States, our government would never permit them to remain thus neglected. The eastern and middle states would pour out their thousands of emigrants until magnificent cities would rise on the shores of every inlet along the coast of New California, while the wilderness of the interior would be made to blossom like the rose.' *Morrell's Narrative*, 210-12. Morrell had evidently read Beechey before his book was published.

[10] *Beechey's Voyage*, ii. 1-65. See also chap. v. of vol. iii., this history, for a general account of Beechey's visit. The chart intended to illustrate chiefly the geological features of the region round the bay, but which I use for geographical purposes only, is taken from *Richardson's Zoölogy of Beechey's Voyage*, p. 174. It will be noticed that the chart contains several names besides that of Blossom rock, which now appear for the first time in print. Such are Sauzalito, R. San Antonio, Pt San Quentin, Molate Isl., Needle Rock, Pt Diablo, Tiburones, and Pt Boneta. There is a view of Needle Rock, not copied.

Finally the Frenchman, Duhaut-Cilly, anchored in the port in January 1827; but in his narrative he added nothing of a descriptive nature to what had preceded.[11]



San Francisco Bay in 1826.

All the navigators named moored off Yerba Buena in preference to the presidio anchorage. It is not quite certain from the narrative that any of them anchored within what is now North Point; yet I suppose that the Frenchman at least did so, and that the name Yerba Buena was applied after 1827 rather to the region between North Point and Rincon Point than to that between the former and Point San José as in earlier years.[12] While there is some uncertainty about the date, it is certain that the change in common usage was made either at the end of this or early in the following decade. It would seem that the eastern anchorage was not deemed altogether desirable from a revenue collector's point of view; but in November 1827 the governor gave orders for the construction of a guard-house on the beach, to be occupied by a corporal and three soldiers, after which precaution the comandante might allow vessels to anchor at Yerba Buena. This guard-house, if it was built, was probably the first structure on the site of the city of later years, though Duhaut-Cilly erected a tent and built some boats on the shore of Yerba Buena earlier in the year. Nothing is recorded in these years respecting the battery of 1797.[13]

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[11] *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, i. 224-47. On March 11, 1828, the padre of Sta Clara is asked to send laborers to work on the presidio buildings. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 189-90. In December 1830 the armament of San Francisco was 14 guns; 6 of brass and 8 of iron; 3 of 24 lbs. calibre, 2 of 12 lbs., 8 of 8 lbs., and 1 of 4 lbs. The esplanade is said to have been in good condition. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxii. 24.

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[12] See chap. xxxi. of vol. i., this history, for the earlier location of Yerba Buena and the battery of 1797. Kotzebue says he sailed 'some miles farther eastward into a little bay surrounded by a romantic landscape, where Vancouver formerly lay'—thus he did not go beyond North Point, or else was in error about Vancouver's anchorage—'and which is perfectly safe at all seasons; the Spaniards have named this bay Herba Buena, after a sweet-smelling herb which grows on its shores.' *New Voyage*, ii. 136. Morrell writes: 'The best anchorage is on the west side of the bay, in from ten to four fathoms, near the shore, and nearly abreast of the mission, which is in full view' (impossible). *Narrative*, 210. Beechey 'anchored off a small bay named Yerba Buena, from the luxuriance of its vegetation, about a league distant from both the presidio and the mission.' *Voyage*, ii. 5. Rather strangely the location of Yerba Buena is not indicated on Beechey's chart. Duhaut-Cilly was piloted by Richardson 'to Hierba Buena, situated in a bay farther inland behind a big point, which was seen a league eastward.' To reach it he 'advanced first two miles E., keeping near the shore; then one mile E. 15° S., when we arrived at the *gomito* (elbow—point or cove?) of the Yerba Buena, where we cast anchor in five fathoms of water, the northern point of the *gomito* covering entirely the entrance of the port (Golden Gate).' *Duhaut-Cilly*, *Viaggio*, i. 226, 228–9. This description applies nearly as well to the anchorage west as south of Telegraph hill.

[13] Nov. 14, 1827, Echeandía's order to comandante; Nov. 15th, call on Mission S. José for building material and men. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 107–8. Alfred Robinson and Charles Brown state that when they came to California in 1829

There are the usual vague and fragmentary records that a school of some kind was kept up during this period, as at the other presidios.[14] The company's stock-farm, or rancho de la nacion at Buri-buri, continued to furnish meat for the soldiers, but declined rapidly in usefulness;[15] until in 1827 it seems to have been granted provisionally to José Sanchez. Events of the decade at San Francisco, of minor importance except such as are presented elsewhere, I append in fine print for economy of space, including also in chronologic order some items connected with the administration of justice in this presidial district, one of these items, that of the Rubio murder case, having some historical importance in connection with the annals of the following decade.[16]

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there was not a building at Yerba Buena, nothing but the natural chaparral; and it was not until later that vessels were allowed to anchor there. *Robinson's Statement*, MS., 14–15; *Brown's Statement*, MS., 3–4. Beechey in 1826 saw seven whalers anchor at Sauzalito. José Ramon Sanchez, *Notas*, MS., 17–18, thinks the anchorage of Yerba Buena was first mentioned when in 1823 Gov. Argüello allowed the ships of Hartnell & Co. to anchor there.

[14] José Peña, an artilleryman, was teacher in 1822. *S. Francisco, Cuentas*, MS., vi. 52, 55. Sergt. José Berreyesa was paid in 1830 at the rate of $10 per month for services as teacher in 1823. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xx. 221. School-master's salary ordered paid by Echeandía in 1829. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 142.

[15] Cattle at end of 1821, 749 head; 1822, 711 head; proceeds of sales—that is meat furnished to soldiers—$1,039; 1823, 336 head; proceeds, $1,365; 1824, 250 head; proceeds, $439; 1825, 158 head; proceeds, $634; 1826, 85 head; proceeds, $358; 1827, proceeds, $235. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xvii. 113, 254; xviii. 94, 184, 325; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxiv. 8. I shall speak later in this chapter of private ranchos round the bay.

[16] 1821. Excessive cold in January, water freezing in the ditches. Two Russian frigates in port since December, the officers spending their money freely. A soldier was sentenced to public works at S. Blas for crim. con., the woman, his sister-in-law, being sentenced to exposure with shaven head in the plaza. In the course of the proceedings the man accused one or two of the friars of illicit relations with his wife. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lii. 5–6; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xiv. 33–4; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 287–9. In October Capt. Argüello with a part of the presidial company started on his famous expedition 'to the Columbia.' chap. xx., this vol.

1822. The oath to independence—the imperial regency—was taken in April; Wm. A. Richardson, who may be regarded as the first foreign resident of San Francisco, landed from a whaler; the canónigo Fernandez honored the presidio with a visit in October, going on to visit Ross with Capt. Argüello and Prefect Payeras; and in November the comandante left his post for Monterey to become governor. In January 4 Indian boys aged from 9 to 11 years, employed as *pajareros* to scare birds away from the mission fields, deliberately killed a young companion by strangling, striking with stones, jumping on his stomach, and filling his mouth with earth. They buried the body but it was dug up by wild beasts. They were sorry for the act, and

There were now several ranchos occupied by private individuals in the San Francisco district. On the peninsula was that of Las Pulgas, or San Luis, which had been granted to Don Luis Argüello before 1824. Also perhaps Buri-buri granted to José Sanchez in

the penalty is not recorded. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liii. 72-4. In May five adult neophytes were tried for the murder of three others; result not given. *Id.*, liii. 75-6. In December two soldiers were sentenced to two years of hard work at Monterey for robbery. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 47.

1823. The empire was formally proclaimed and the oath of allegiance taken on March 27th. chap. xxii., this vol. The Russians hunted otter in the bay from October under contract with Argüello; and the presence of two Russian frigates which wintered in the port caused some fear of hostile intentions. The current topic of interest at the mission was the proposed transfer of the establishment to Sonoma. The change was not entirely carried out, but over 300 neophytes were lost by the foundation of S. Francisco Solano. chap. xxii., this vol. In May an infantryman sentenced to two years' labor on the lighter for theft. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liv. 12. In June an infantryman killed another and was condemned by court-martial to 6 years in the chain-gang. *Id.*, liv. 18; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., x. 19.

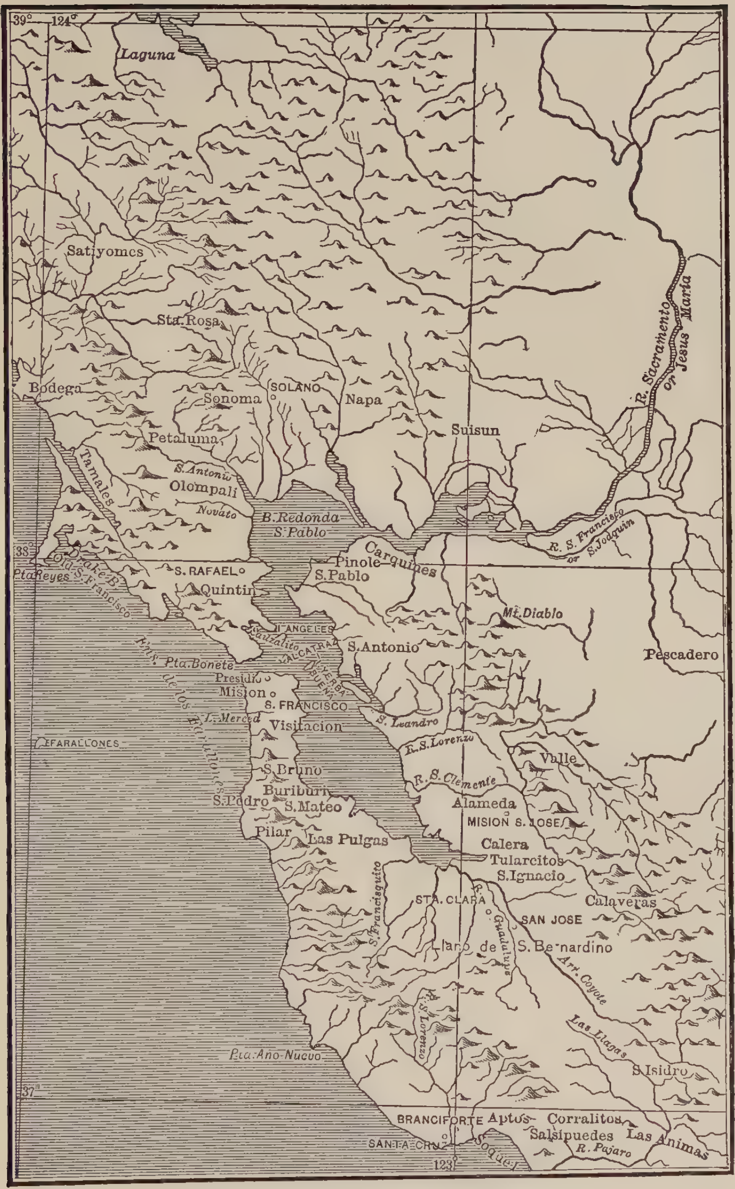
1824. Kotzebue's visit was from October to December. chap. xxiii. During his stay a terrific storm on Oct. 20th uprooted trees, unroofed buildings, and injured things in general. *Kotzebue's New Voyage*, ii. 134-5.

1825. The federal constitution of Mexico was ratified on April 24th. chap. i. of vol. iii., this history. Benjamin Morrell in the *Tartar* was here in May. Wm. A. Richardson this year married the acting comandante's daughter.

1826. April 30th was a day of celebration, on which, being Sunday, despatches were read announcing the surrender of San Juan de Ulúa and the pope's recognition of Mexican independence. Salutes were fired and vivas shouted; but the festivities were much marred by the refusal of the padre missionary to take part in them, and by the failure to obtain $400 from the treasury for distribution among the troops. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lvii. 10-11, 13-14. Beechey's visit was in Nov.-Dec. of this year. chap. v. of vol. iii.

1827. On Jan. 1st, a popular election took place for the choice of 12 municipal electors. The following citizens were chosen: J. J. Estudillo, Francisco Castro, Francisco Sanchez, Pedro del Castillo, Francisco Higuera, Ignacio Peralta, José Águila, Ignacio Alviso, Francisco Soto, Francisco Haro, and Petronilo Rios; Jan. 4th, the 12 met, organized, produced credentials, and adjourned; Jan. 7th, at a new meeting the acts of the preceding were approved; and finally on Jan. 8th, at the 2d ballot they elected Francisco Haro as elector de partido to vote for congressman. Comandante Martinez presided at every meeting. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 99-102. In March or on April 22d, or perhaps on both dates, there was an earthquake, throwing down statues at the mission, and damaging the presidio somewhat. *Beechey's Voyage*, ii. 321; *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, i. 246; neither writer being present at the time. The French voyager's first visit was in January. At the end of the year Gov. Echeandía is said to have made his first visit to S. Francisco. chap. ii. of vol. iii.; though there are some indications that it was in 1830. *Fitch, Proceso*, MS. In September a neophyte was tried for sodomy. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxviii. 5-6.

1828. In August the little daughter and infant of a soldier, aged 5 and 1 years respectively, were found by their parents returning from a fandango, dead in their bed. The little girl had been outraged, and both brutally murdered. Francisco Rubio, a soldier in the same company, was accused of the murder, and in the proceedings at the time the circumstantial evidence of his



San Francisco District in 1830.

1827.[17] Across the bay Sergeant Luis Peralta had in 1820 obtained San Antonio, including the present sites of Oakland and Alameda, and had had a quarrel the same year with the padres of San Francisco who tried to encroach on his northern boundary; but he could not have resided on his rancho until 1826 when he left active military service. Francisco Castro secured the San Pablo rancho, adjoining Peralta's grant on the north, in 1823 from the diputacion, and was living there as early as 1826. El Pinole, still farther north, was held by Don Ignacio Martinez in 1829, and perhaps earlier. In the region of San José farther south the only private ranchos clearly mentioned in the annals of this decade are those of San Isidro, owned by Ignacio Ortega, and Las Ánimas, or the old La Brea, owned by Mariano Castro. A rancho of San Ignacio, three leagues north of San José, is also mentioned in 1828; but I do not understand what tract is meant. Also Los Tularcitos was granted to José Higuera in 1821.[18]

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guilt were strong if not conclusive, though he protested his innocence. The testimony is given in full in *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxvi. 2-61. Rubio was kept in prison for three years and then shot, as we shall see in a later chapter, this case having become somewhat famous in connection with the opposition to Gov. Victoria in 1831. Another soldier was convicted of rape on a little girl in 1828, and was by some suspected of having been the guilty party instead of Rubio. *Id.*, lxvi. 82-9.

1829. The Solis revolt, and the surrender of the presidio to the rebels, was the leading event of this year. chap. iii. of vol. iii., this history. A neophyte was accused of having killed an American by dragging him from his saddle with the reata. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 79.

1830. Capt. Luis Argüello died in March. Late in the year a whale-boat was capsized while crossing the bay, and three or four of the crew were drowned, as was one Californian, Francisco Higuera. *Carrillo (J.), Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 32. A neophyte of Sta Clara was arrested in September for the murder of another Indian. No evidence was found against him; but the proceedings dragged along, the Indian remaining in prison until 1833, when he was released by order of Gov. Figueroa. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxiv. 1-4. Only one soldier and one Indian in prison Sept. 15th. *Id.*, lxxii. 1.

[17] *Cal. Land Com.*, No. 774, claimed to have been granted provisionally Dec. 11, 1827, and in 1827-9 Sanchez is on record as owning a rancho not named. See following note.

[18] *Cal. Land Com.*, Nos. 148-9. It was also claimed that the Llano del Abrevadero was granted to Higuera in 1822. Las Pulgas paid $103 in tithes from 1824 to 1830; and in 1823 had 350 cattle and 90 horses, producing also 160 fanegas of grain. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i, 167; xiv. 209, xx. 278. Martinez paid $132, the rancho not being named, but in 1829 he owned Pinole. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 78; the S. Antonio paid $53, had 60 horses and

At San Francisco Mission Padre Blas Ordaz was succeeded in October 1821 by Tomás Esténega, who served alone after José Altimira went to New San Francisco in 1823. The registered population fell from 1,252 to 219, but after making deductions for San Rafael and Solano, the real decline was from 340 to 219; in fact there was a slight apparent gain from 1823, when the separation was effected, though caused by the return of old neophytes from Solano. Large live-stock increased slightly; but sheep decreased eighty per cent, and crops on an average were about one third of those raised in the preceding decade.[19] Of the buildings nothing new is learned. Duhaut-Cilly noted that in 1827 the quadrangle had been

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20 mules, and raised 280 fanegas of grain; José Sanchez had a rancho (Buriburi), not named, paying $22; and there was a farm of S. Bernardo, whose owner is not mentioned. *Vallejo, Doc.*, ut supra. Francisco Haro seems also to have got a grant of Salsipuedes, and wished in 1829 to give it up in exchange for the Isla de Los Angeles. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 78. There is much in the newspapers and in the court records respecting S. Antonio, S. Pablo, and Pulgas. In 1828 S. Francisquito creek is named as the boundary between Pulgas and Mission Sta Clara; and S. Leandro Creek as that between S. Antonio and Mission S. José. *Register of Brands*, MS., 5, 6. Grant to Francisco Castro April 15, 1823. *Id.*, 8, 9. A report of names in 1828, with details of population, products, etc. S. Pablo, 18 inhabitants, 16 l. N. of San José; S. Antonio, 12 inhabitants, 12 l. N.; S. Ignacio 3 l. N. with 9 inhabitants, 200 cattle, etc.; S. Isidro, 26 inhabitants, and Las Ánimas, 24 inhabitants, each 14 l. S. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 72. In a report of 1830 S. Pablo, S. Luis, and S. Antonio are mentioned as the S. Francisco ranchos. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., v. 34. Mention of Pulgas and Las Ánimas, in *Beechey's Voyage*, ii. 44–5, 48; *Register of Brands*, MS., 14. References to S. Isidro, or Ortega's rancho, in 1822–28. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 55, vi. 19; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 19–21. This rancho had over 600 head of stock and 66 inhabitants in 1823, but only 26 in 1828. In 1828 Wm. Willis tried unsuccessfully to get the Laguna de los Bolbones near S. José. *Hall's Hist. S. José*, 117.

[19] Statistics: Decrease in population, 1,252 (590 at S. Rafael and 322 went to Solano in 1823) to 219. Baptisms, 535 (85 after 1823); largest number, 364 in 1821 (11 in 1828 the largest after 1823); smallest, 7 in 1829. Deaths, 439 (134 after 1823); largest number, 148 in 1822 (22 in 1825, largest after 1823); smallest, 8 in 1830. Gain in large stock, 4,695 to 5,132; horses and mules, 806 to 932; decline in sheep, 10,280 to 2,000. Largest crop, 6,190 bushels in 1822; smallest, 358 in 1829; average, 2,454, of which 1,605 wheat, yield 9 fold; 334 barley, 13 fold; 286 corn, 61 fold. The tax on products paid by the missions was about $300 per year. The most complete collection of mission statistics for this period is found in *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. xvii.–xix. In 1821 the mission furnished the presidio $1,200 in soap. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 77. According to one set of accounts the total of mission supplies to the presidio in 1821–30, except 1827, was $6,288; but other accounts make the sum over $8,000 for 1821, 1824, and 1829.

In 1822 the mission lands are described as extending 6 l. N. to S. and 3 l. E. to W., hilly, but sufficient with hard work to maintain half the neophytes.

completed and a large church had been built since Vancouver's visit; but respecting the church he has misunderstood the English voyager, and there is no evidence that any new church had been built. Many of the buildings were in a ruinous condition; but the Indians' houses were regularly arranged in streets, and a fine stream of water flowed through the plaza. According to the Frenchman's opinion the mission ruin had been due to the want of capacity and energy on the part of the friars; and Esténega, being in ill-health, was not likely to restore prosperity. The most important event in mission history of the decade was the proposed transfer to Sonoma, which was begun in 1823, but was partially suspended; so that San Francisco Solano became a separate mission and took only half instead of all the neophytes from the old establishment.[20]

San Rafael, under the care of Padre Juan Amorós, was in every respect, save in the item of sheep, prosperous throughout the decade, though on not a very large scale. Baptisms outnumbered deaths more than two to one; and population, notwithstanding the 92 neophytes sent to Solano, was nearly doubled, reaching its highest limit of 1,140 souls in 1828. It appears even that a house was built and a beginning of conversion made in the far north, between Petaluma and Santa Rosa perhaps.[21] In 1821 Captain Argüello

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No irrigation. Also a piece of land 3 l. N. to S. and ½ l. E. to W. across the bay, 'en la costa de un gran canal.' *Misiones, Cuad. de Estados*, MS., 313–14. In 1829 the mission claimed the rancho of Buri-buri. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 53, 98.

Description of the mission buildings in 1827. *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, i. 230–2. Morrell's visit in 1825. *Narrative*, 212.

[20] On the foundation of San Francisco Solano see chap. xxii. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 209–16, narrates that there was a great lack of women at the mission; and after doing his best to keep the domestic peace and restrain the wrath of hoodwinked husbands, Esténega was obliged to let the single take the lancha and go across the bay on a hunt for wives, furnishing also various gifts with which to win the pagan girls. The party succeeded well and started back with a boat-load of girls; but the padre of S. Rafael, on complaint of a pagan who had been robbed of his sweetheart, started in pursuit, overtook the San Francisco boat near Angel Island, rescued the girls, and gave the kidnappers 50 lashes each!

[21] Statistics: Increase in population, 590 to 970; 1,140 in 1828. Baptisms, 1,182; highest number, 228 in 1824; lowest, 17 in 1829. Deaths, 504; highest

arrived at this mission from his northern expedition, in which, as in those of Padre Payeras and the canónigo on their way to Ross in 1822, and of Altimira on his way to Solano in 1823, quite extensive explorations were made in the region about San Rafael. In December 1822 an oath of allegiance to the national congress, the only instance of the kind recorded in California, was taken by padre and neophytes.

In 1823, in connection with the foundation of San Francisco Solano, there was a proposal to suppress this mission, which in the end had to contribute nearly a hundred neophytes, but at the same time became an independent establishment instead of a mere *asistencia* of San Francisco as before; this is shown by the statistical reports, though there is no direct record of the fact.[22] In 1824 Kotzebue visited the mission, misnaming it San Gabriel, "which peeped from among the foliage of its ancient oaks," and was most enthusiastic in praise of its location and natural advantages, though silent respecting artificial improvements.[23] It was this same year that the famous Indian bandit Pomponio was captured at the Cañada de Novato,[24]

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number, 70 in 1825; lowest, 29 in 1830. Increase in large stock, 504 to 1,548; horses and mules, 104 to 448; decrease in sheep, 2,000 to 1,852. Largest crop, 4,713 bushels in 1822; smallest, 333 in 1829; average, 2,454; of which 1,165 wheat, yield 7 fold; 837 barley, 8 fold; 219 corn, 37 fold. Supplies to presidio, 1826–30, $1,311. Crop of 1829 a very light one, and spoiled besides by rats, locusts, etc. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 181. Description of lands in 1822. *Misiones, Cuad., Estados,* MS., 316–19; in 1828. *Register of Brands*, MS., 3–5. I give the substance of the latter for the sake of the names. In the west beyond the range of hills is an *estero* from the port of Bodega, called Tamales. The range extends N. 9 leagues, then the plains of Livantonomé, where the gentiles are being reduced, a house having been built and lands marked out (Sta Rosa to Petaluma region). Mission lands from the ranchería of Annamus, called San Pedro Alcántara, in the Corte de Madera, and the Rinconada del Tiburon. The grain lands *de temporal* begin in the cañada of Arangues or San Pedro Regalado. Live-stock feeds northward to the ranchería of Olompali, or Santísimo Rosario, the chief being a Christian and farmer. Cattle graze in the cañadas of Las Gallinas, Arroyo de San José, Novato, Colomache, Echatamal, and Olompali; the horses go farther to Olemochoe, or San Antonio, the stream, dry in summer, rising in the laguna of Ocolom, or San Antonio, the lands of which join those of Novato, Colomache, and Echacamal, 'going round the hill.' Laguna of Ocolom seems to belong to the mission, but the natives are warlike.

[22] Chap. xx. xxi. xxii. this vol.; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 361–2.

[23] *Kotzebue's New Voyage*, ii. 111–14.

[24] Chap. xxiii.

and taken to Monterey to be tried and shot. About the same time occurred certain hostilities with Marin and Quintin, two gentile chieftains who were destined to give their names to the county and one of its best known points. I have been unable to find any contemporary evidence of these events, or of the existence of any such chieftains. There is no special reason for doubt respecting the names, though little reliance can be placed on the circumstances under which the chieftains were captured.[25] San Rafael was excepted from the operation of Echeandía's secularizing experiments of 1826–30. Duhaut-Cilly in 1827 did not deem this poor establishment worth stopping at for purposes of trade, as he passed in sight of it on his way to Sonoma. Finally in 1827–8 orders were issued in Mexico for the founding of a frontier fort in this region, issued but not carried out.[26]

Padre Buenaventura Fortuni left Mission San José in the autumn of 1825, and from that time Narciso Duran served alone, being also president of all the missions in 1825–7. In population this mission still stood second in the list, excelled by San Luis Rey alone, declining but very slightly in these ten years, and showing its maximum of 1806 souls in 1824. Its number of baptisms and deaths greatly exceeded that of any other mission, a result due perhaps to Duran's zeal in forcible conversions. There was a large gain in cattle and sheep, San José standing fourth on the list in this respect; and in its average crop of grain this mission was surpassed by four only of the southern establishments.[27] In 1821 a neophyte attempted to chastise his wife, who, with the aid of a neighbor, succeeded in killing him. In 1823 a woman was murdered, and another in 1824. The sentence in these cases is not recorded.[28]

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[25] *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 146–9, says that in 1824 the chief Marin, hard pressed by Martinez and Sanchez, took refuge on the little island which took his name, and successfully resisted the Spaniards, who then went to attack Quintin, a sub-chief, at another point. Quintin was captured at this time and kept a prisoner for two years, afterward becoming a boatman in the service of the padres and of Vallejo. Marin was taken later and liberated after a year, dying in 1834. The same version in substance is given on the authority of Gov. Alvarado in *Gift's Marin Co.*, 8—a work which is full of errors in all that is said of the 'first settlement and early history'—where an attack on S. Rafael is mentioned, and the bravery of Rafael García the *cabo de escolta*, who sent his wife and children to S. Francisco on a *balsa* with Padre Amorós. Some versions have it that the island of Marin was his habitual resort for years, during which he continued his depredations, and not the site of any particular battle. Some say that Marin was several times captured. He died all the way from 1834 to 1848, and he was chief of the Lacatiut, Cainamero, or Tamaleño tribes. *Marin Co. Hist.*, passim. *Cronise's Nat. Wealth of Cal.*, 163–4; *Taylor in Cal. Farmer*, March 2 (or 20,) 1860; *Alta California*, March 30, 1865; *Hayes' Scrap-book, Cal. Notes*, iii. 25; *S. Rafael Tocsin*, Jan. 17, 1879.

The Californians are disposed to ridicule the Americans for 'sanctifying' the name of an Indian chief by adding the 'San' to the name of the point. The error, however, was a very natural one, and not be classed with 'Santa Sonoma,' 'San Branciforte,' or 'San Diablo,' because Quintin, though applied to a chief by the Californians, was a Spanish name, and that of a well known saint, whose name was often applied to localities—instance, San Quintin Bay below S. Diego, and San Quintin Point in S. Francisco Bay according to Beechey's chart of 1826. The name, however, should be written either San Quintin or St Quentin, Quentin being the English form of the word. The Tamales Indians doubtless furnished the origin of the name Tomales Bay, and of the mountain Tamal-pais.

[26] *Hist. Cal.*, chap. iv. of vol. iii. this series; *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, ii. 79.

In 1826 Beechey visited San José, but he gives no descriptive matter respecting the mission, confining his attention to an expedition against the Indians, as elsewhere related.[29] It was in May 1827 that Jedediah Smith appeared in the vicinity and wrote his famous letter to Duran. Four hundred Indians ran away about the same time, and Duran unjustly suspected the American hunters of having enticed the fugitives.[30] In 1829 eight neophytes, absent with leave, were killed by the Ochejamnes; and the Indian alcalde of the mission was condemned to a year of work at Monterey. The same year the padre refused to furnish supplies for Solis and his rebels, though everywhere else in the north their authority was acknowledged.[31] In July 1830 Ewing Young, the New Mexican trapper, came to the mission; and later in the year a grand *paseo marítimo* on the San Joaquin and its branches was planned to explore the country and inspire respect among the Indians.[32]

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[27] Statistics: Decrease in population, 1,754 to 1,745; highest number, 1,806 in 1824 (or 1,886 (?) in 1831). Baptisms, 1,922; largest number, 332 in 1824; smallest, 65 in 1829. Deaths, 1,864; largest number, 254 in 1828; smallest, 116 in 1830. Gain in large stock, 6,859 to 13,300; horses, 859 to 1,300; sheep, 12,000 to 13,030; 15,000 from 1822–8. Largest crop, 11,206 bushels in 1821; smallest, 777 in 1829; average, 5,409; of which 4,069 wheat, yield 13 fold; 411 barley, 11 fold; 567 corn, 49 fold. Complete statistics in *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. xvii.–xix. xxix.–xxx. this series. Supplies to S. Francisco presidio in 1821–30, except 1827, $15,125. Tithes and taxes in 1824, $1,846; in 1828, $1,167. The only item about buildings is that three adobe rooms were erected in 1827, for soap-making, tanning, and storing hides. *Id.*, i. 113. In April 1829, Virmond ordered a bell of 1,000 lbs. bearing the name of S. José mission. *Fitch, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 11. Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 75–6, mentions a large reservoir in the rear, pipes carrying the water to buildings and gardens, fountain with conveniences for bathing and washing in front. Buildings were inferior in beauty to those in the south, but durable and convenient. In 1822 the lands extend 9 l. with a width of 1–3 l. Toward the N. the mission claims to the rivers 15 l. *Misiones, Cuad. de Estados*, MS., 311–12. In 1828, separated from Sta Clara and S. José pueblo lands by the *punta del Estero* about 2 l. from the mission; N. W. boundary, S. Leandro Creek. The centre of the 9 l. of extent is the rancho and stream of San Lorenzo, 5 l. N. W. 5 l. N. of the mission is the Valle de S. José, with the Cañada del Ingenio stretching 5 l. N. Here is the stock rancho of El Valle; and in winter the cattle and sheep go to the Roblar de los Chupcanes 4 l. from the mission, and adjoining Monte del Diablo. *Register of Brands*, MS., 6–7. This is the earliest use of the name, in writing, of Mt Diablo that I have seen. Salvio Pacheco was corporal of the guard in 1824; Bernal was majordomo in 1826, and José María Amador later.

[28] *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lii. 4–5; liv. 12; lvii. 39–42. In 1825 Duran and a neophyte performed the cesarean operation. The child was baptized though giving no signs of life. *San José, Lib. Mision*, MS., 26–7.

At Santa Clara Padre José Viader served throughout the decade; but Magin Catalá, one of the oldest of the California friars, died in November 1830 after a ministry of thirty-seven years at this mission.[33]

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[29] Chap. iv. of vol. iii. this history. June 29th, Duran sends interpreters for the use of the ayuntamiento, hoping they will be kindly treated. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., vi. 22. April 25, 1827, Duran to Hartnell, asking him to thank Beechey for his gift of fireworks. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxix. 130.

[30] Chap. vi. of vol. iii. this history. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt. i. 27-9.

[31] Chap. iii. of vol. iii. this history. *S. José, Lib. Mision*, MS., 27; *Dept. Rec.*, vii. 80.

[32] Chap. vi. of vol. iii. this history. *S. José Arch.*, MS., i. 38-9.

[33] Magin Catalá was born about 1761 at Monthblanch, Catalonia, Spain, becoming a Franciscan at Barcelona in 1777. He sailed from Cádiz for San Fernando college in October 1786. He went to Nootka in one of the king's vessels and served there as chaplain for more than a year, subsequently returning to the college. Being assigned to California he came up as chaplain on the *Aranzazu*, and having landed at Monterey in July 1794, refused to go on to Nootka as was desired. He was sent immediately to Santa Clara, where he served continuously as long as he lived, attending also to the spiritual care of San José pueblo. In 1800 and 1804 Catalá asked and obtained license to retire on account of ill-health. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 62-3; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 40. At different times his zeal, gentleness, experience, and all the desirable qualities of a missionary save that of robust health, were attested by his superiors. He suffered from inflammatory rheumatism, and for years before his death could not mount his horse. Among the common people Padre Magin was believed to be gifted with prophetic powers; and there are cur-

Under the care of these missionaries Santa Clara showed a decline for the decade in all respects save that of cattle. The crops, notwithstanding the broad and fertile lands, were considerably less than those of 1811–20. In population the maximum of 1,464 souls was reached in 1827, after which date the decline was rapid, deaths exceeding baptisms for the whole period.[34]

We have seen that a new mission church had been contemplated in 1818. Hall, who knew nothing of that fact, tells us that the old church was so badly injured by an earthquake in 1822 that it was thought best to take it down rather than attempt repairs; and a new church, the one still standing, was built in 1825–6. As Hall gives no exact date for the earthquake, and therefore apparently obtained his information from no definite document; as he does not imply that a new church was taken down; as I find no contemporary record whatever of either destruction or rebuilding; and as visitors of the period would

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rent traditions, traceable to no definite source, that he foretold the discovery of gold in immense quantities in California. On one occasion he paused in his sermon and called upon the congregation to pray for the soul of a man who had died; ere the prayer was ended news arrived that a soldier had been thrown from his horse and killed. He died Nov. 22, 1830, and was buried in the mission church by Viader and Duran, the former of whom testifies to the exemplary, laborious, and edifying life which had made his associate beloved of all and his loss deeply deplored by the community. *Sta Clara, Lib. Mision*, MS.; *Autobiog. Autog. de los PP.*, MS., 397; *Sarría, Informe sobre frailes*, MS., 67–8, 138; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 62–3, 221; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xii. 160, 164–5; *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 257–9.

[34] Statistics: Decrease in population, 1,357 to 1,256; highest number, 1464 in 1827. Baptisms, 1,107; largest number, 153 in 1822; smallest, 30 in 1830. Deaths, 1,173; largest number, 189 in 1828; smallest, 68 in 1830. Increase in cattle, 5,024 to 9,788; horses and mules, 722 to 788; sheep, 12,060 to 8,035. Largest crop, 7,755 bushels in 1,821; smallest, 1,359, in 1829; average, 4,888; of which 2,952 wheat, yield 12 fold; 906 barley, 31 fold; 738 corn, 74 fold. Taxes on mission products in 1824, $721; in 1828; $1,561. Monthly supplies to escolta in 1829–30, from $40 to $125 per month; generally about $70. Sergt. Berreyesa commanded the escolta in 1829–30. At times the pueblo had to furnish citizens to fill up the guard. Many statistics in *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. passim. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xvii.–xx. xxx. Supplies to presidio, 1821–30, $14,068. Description of the mission lands in 1822, 1827–8, in *Misiones, Cuad. de Estados*, MS., 254, 308–9; *St. Pap. Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 22; *Register of Brands*, MS., 4–5. The lands extended N. to S. 6 l., and E. to W. 3 l. in the widest part. Soil good but pasturage limited, especially after the loss of Las Pulgas. Irrigation sufficient for 25 fan. The limits were the Rio Guadalupe, the sierra, and S. Francisquito creek in the N. W.

be very likely to notice such events, I suppose that nothing of the kind occurred. As a mere conjecture, however, it may be that after the church was completed, or nearly so, in 1818, it was damaged by an earthquake, and not fully repaired until 1822.[35]

The pueblo of San José, connected with Santa Clara by the alameda, or tree-shaded promenade, which is noticed by nearly all the visitors of this period, increased in white population during the years 1821–30 from 240 to 540, including five or six foreigners.[36] Kotzebue says of San José in 1824: "This pueblo lies in a beautiful spot. The houses are pleasant, built of stone, and stand in the midst of orchards and hedges of vines bearing luxuriant clusters of the richest grapes. The inhabitants came out to meet us, and with much courteousness, blended with the ceremonious politeness of the Spaniards, invited us to enter their simple but cleanly dwellings. All their countenances bespoke health and contentment, and they have good cause to rejoice in their lot. Unburdened by taxes of any kind, and in possession of as much land as they choose to cultivate, they live free from care on the rich produce of their fields and herds."[37] Beechey found it, though "the largest settlement of the kind in Upper California, to consist of mud-houses miserably provided in every respect."[38] Duhaut-Cilly describes it as a town of eighty houses, and not prosperous; and Robinson speaks of a church, court-house, jail, grist-mill, and about one hundred houses in 1830.[39] There are no statistics of agriculture or of commerce that are even tolerably reliable, though the settlers like the missionaries traded to some extent with the vessels and the presidios. There were at this period about 3,000 cattle and 1,200 horses. Ignacio Ortega's rancho of San Isidro and Mariano Castro's Las Ánimas were, as elsewhere stated, the only ones in the region definitely recorded to have been in private possession.[40]

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[35] *Hall's Hist. S. José*, 114, 423–4. A scrap in *Levett's Scrap Book* says the church was destroyed by an earthquake in 1818 (see also chapter xviii.) and the new one completed in 1822, being dedicated on Aug. 11th. Kotzebue in 1824 says 'the buildings of Santa Clara, overshadowed by thick groves of oaks, and surrounded by gardens, etc., are in the same style as at all the other missions. They consist of a large stone church, a spacious dwelling-house for the monks, a large magazine for the preservation of corn, and the rancherías, or barracks, for the Indians, divided into long rows of houses, or rather stalls, where each family is allowed a space scarcely large enough to enable them to lie down.' *New Voyage*, ii. 94. Beechey in 1826 found the buildings to 'consist of a church, the dwelling-house of the priests, and five rows of buildings for the accommodation of 1,400 Indians, comparatively comfortable dwellings.' *Voyage*, ii. 46. Duhaut-Cilly says in 1827: 'Gli edifizj di Santa Clara non sono splendidi come quei di San Luis-Rey.' *Viaggio*, ii. 69. Le Netrel, *Voyage*, 158, says: 'L'église de la mission est assez bien tenue... Rien de plus misérable que la demeure des Indiens de la mission.' Hepworth Dixon, *White Conquest*, i. 112–16, expatiates on the past glories of Sta Clara.

[36] Population in 1822, about 300. *Misiones, Cuad. de Estados*, MS., 255. In 1823, 391, and 66 at S. Isidro rancho; total, 457, but doubtless including Indians. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 19–20. In 1827, 577. *Bandini, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 6. In 1828, 524. *Wilkes' Narrative*, v. 555. According to reports in *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., ii. v., four hundred and seventeen in 1828; 545 in 1830. According to *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 72, 506, including the ranchos, in 1828. About 500 inhabitants in 1826, according to Beechey. *Voyage*, ii. 47–8. About 650 in 1827. *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, ii. 72. Foreigners: John Burton, Thomas Lester, and William Willis.

The village school seems to have been taught by Joaquin Buelna and his brother Antonio in 1821; by a one-legged soldier named Labastida in 1822; and by José Antonio Romero in 1823, and probably for several years later. The salary was fifteen dollars a month from 1823 to 1830.[41] The successive visits of Kotzebue, Beechey, and Duhaut-Cilly have been sufficiently referred to, since none of these travellers met with any noticeable adventures in this region, or devoted more than a few pages to the pueblo and its surroundings. On May 10, 1825, the people assembled in the plaza to take an oath of obedience to the federal constitution of Mexico. The oath was administered by Alcalde Higuera, after an address from Juan Miranda; the national code was formally deposited in the *casa consistorial*, and arrangements were made for three days of bull-fighting and other festivities to celebrate so notable an event.[42] San José adopted the 'plan' of Joaquin Solis in November 1829, but abandoned his cause as soon as it seemed likely to fail. The pueblo sent a force to Monterey in January 1830 to aid in retaking the capital and restoring the legitimate rulers.[43]

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[37] *Kotzebue's New Voyage*, ii. 180–1. This author erroneously speaks of another pueblo near Mission S. José.

[38] *Beechey's Voyage*, ii. 47.

[39] *Duhaut-Cilly*, *Viaggio*, ii. 71–2; *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, 72–3. García, *Hechos*, MS., 22, says he paid for a lot of land, 15 by 300 feet, $100 and a pot of soap in 1828. Boundaries of pueblo lands not very clearly expressed, in *Register of Brands*, 19. The northern limit seems to have been La Calera and Punta de los Esteros, and the south-western the Puerta de los Capitancillos. Above the source of the Guadalupe were six suertes of land, and at Laguna Seca, 4.5 l. off, 10 suertes.

[40] In 1822 the governor granted the settlers' petition to be relieved from paying 33 per cent of tallow on account of a failure in crops; though he said the people had squandered in vice the abundance of former years. He had made an arrangement with Hartnell & Co. to take their tallow at $2, thus affording them a market. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 49. Duties on produce sold the *Sachem* in 1824, $143 at 6 per cent. *S. José Arch.*, MS., v. 36. In 1827 the farmers offer to pay grain-tithes in money at $2 per fanega, on account of scarcity. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., vi. 45.

[41] *St. Pap.*, *Sac.*, MS., vi. 32, 48; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 134; *Id.*, *S. José*, iv. 5–6; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 151.

Such records as are extant of local affairs at San José, as at Los Angeles, for this decade are largely connected with the municipal government and administration of justice, and I economize space by presenting the items in fine print.[44] The list of town officials

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[42] *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 116–17; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., vi. 22.

[43] See chap. iii. of vol. iii., this history.

[44] 1821. Luis Peralta, comisionado; alcalde, Agustin Narvaez. Ignacio Ortega was *juez* at his rancho of S. Isidro continuously to 1828 and perhaps later. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., vi. 1, 19. Pio Pico put up a hut of hides and opened a dram-shop, drinks being two bits. The quantity taken at a drink seeming excessive, he introduced the use of ox-horns with false wooden bottoms, which contained less than the tumbler but were thought by the drinkers to contain more. These 'horns' had long been used in the south, but were new in the north. *Pico, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 179.

1822. Peralta on Oct. 22d gave up to the alcalde the archives, etc., of his office, and S. José had no longer a comisionado. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 18. Francisco Castro was elected alcalde; and the regidores were Juan Hernandez and Leandro Galindo. Eleven citizens, however, complained to Canónigo Fernandez of Castro's illegal election and arbitrary acts, and he consented to a new election. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 53. The diputacion also decreed the establishment of an ayuntamiento. chap. xxi.; *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 262. Of the result, we only know that Juan Alvires was alcalde from October. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 18; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 31. In May Gov. Sola had ordered Comisionado Peralta to prevent the scandalous disorders said to be prevalent at the pueblo. One third of the tallow from cattle and deer must be devoted to the building of a prison and casa real. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 46–7. In July Sola issued a kind of sermon and reproof to the alcalde, on the evil ways of the vecinos, their neglect of their lands, failure to clothe their wives and children, their gambling and other vices. All these evils must be rooted out and delinquents punished; and especially any citizen causing scandal in church must have 25 blows in public and a month is not complete, though more nearly so than that of the preceding decade. There seems to have been in 1822 a conflict respecting the *fuero militar* of soldier citizens, similar in its nature to that noticed at Los Angeles. A single document gives us no idea of the result, but there was no attempt to continue a comi-

in the stocks. *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., i. 102–5. The immediate occasion of Sola's displeasure and also of the petition against Castro was the evil deeds of one Bernardo Mojica, who failed to attend mass, and stabbed the regidor Hernandez whom the alcalde sent to put him in the guard-house. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liii. 69–71. Dec. 6th, the ayuntamiento complained to the diputacion that the authorities of Monterey had claimed jurisdiction over certain persons as inválidos, who were really subject to the civil authority of the pueblo officials. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 51.

1823. Juan Alvires was still alcalde. On July 19th, Gov. Argüello wrote to the alcalde that Antonio Suñol had introduced into the pueblo a quantity of rum and honey to sell at retail, concocting therefrom a drink that was causing much harm. He called for an investigation. *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., iv. 8.

1824. Alcalde, Ignacio Pacheco; regidor, Bartolo Bojorges; secretary, Matias Guerrero; síndico, Tiburcio Vasquez. Trial of a citizen for crim. con. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liv. 18–19.

1825. Alcalde, Joaquin Higuera; Juan Miranda, secretary; Bojorges and José María Flores apparently connected in some way with the municipal government. Dec. 9th, complaint against citizens for having bought blankets, etc., from neophytes; with orders from commandant of Monterey that such abuses be corrected; for the Indians, though citizens, could not yet sell what had been given them from the mission stores. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., vi. 24.

1826. No record of members of the ayuntamiento. Antonio Suñol, postmaster. Postal revenue $9. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lvii. 8; lxxxviii. 58. Nov. 13th, Echeandía informs the commandant of Monterey that San José belongs to the military jurisdiction of San Francisco. *Id.*, lvii. 20. Dec. 15th, the governor orders an election of ayuntamiento, specifying the method. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., v. 37.

1827. Alcalde, Mariano Castro; regidores, Agustin Narvaez, and Hermenegildo Vasquez; síndico, Manuel Duarte; secretary, José Antonio Robles, and later Salvio Pacheco. Duarte's accounts showed a deficit of $46, which his bondsman had to pay. *St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 78. A militia artilleryman refused admission to the pueblo on account of immorality in former years. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., vi. 26. Nov. 24th, choice by the ayuntamiento of nine municipal electors, who on Nov. 30th elected the ayuntamiento of 1828. *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 22–3.

1828. Alcalde, Salvio Pacheco; regidores, Cornelio Bernal and José Antonio Alviso; síndico, Cárlos Castro; secretary, Francisco Sanchez. Miguel Gonzalez de Álava, elector de partido October. July, the alcalde sends to the governor a list of 18 *sujetos vagos*. *Dept. St. Pap., Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., i. 42. Wm. Willis applied to the governor for a grant of land at Laguna de los Bolbones, and was refused; then he applied to the commandant of S. Francisco who granted the petition; whereupon the governor fined Willis $50 and declared the commandant had no right to grant lands. *Hall's Hist. S. José*, 117. Municipal finances: receipts, $297; expenditures, $213. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 76. Criminal process for adultery. Guilty person liberated after a year's imprisonment. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxvi. 61–2.

1829. Alcalde, Florentino Archuleta; síndico, Domingo Peralta; secretary, Salvio Pacheco; postmaster, Antonio Suñol. This year the ayuntamiento sionado in office. The citizens, if we may credit the general tone of the records, were distinguished neither for their good order nor for their industrial thrift. In 1826 San José was declared to belong to the military jurisdiction of San Francisco, as indeed I have always regarded it in my classification for motives of convenience.

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sent a petition to the supreme government in Mexico in behalf of the Spanish missionaries. chap. iv. vol. iii. this history. In April three persons were exiled from Monterey to San José for theft, vagrancy, and failure to *cumplir con la iglesia*. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., iii. 10. Municipal receipts for the year, as tax on brandy, $213, of which $17 was paid for stationery and a padlock, and the rest to the secretaries of 1827-8 for salary. *Id.*, vi. 18.

1830. Alcalde, Mariano Castro; síndico, Pedro Chaboya; elector de partido for October election, Luis Peralta, rejected for want of proper credentials.

CHAPTER XXVII.

LOCAL ANNALS—MONTEREY DISTRICT.

1821–1830.

Monterey Presidio—Military Officers—Force of the Garrison—Population—Statistics—Buildings—Municipal Affairs—Official List—Petty Events—Private Ranchos of the District—San Cárlos Mission—Statistical View—Mission Ranchos—San Luis Obispo—Padre Luis Martinez—Bad Investments—Crops and Live-stock—Lands—San Miguel—Death of Father Martin—Statistics of Decline—San Antonio de Padua—Juan Bautista Sancho—Population and Industries—Soledad Mission—Changes in Ministers—A Neophyte Election—San Juan Bautista—Life of Estévan Tapis—Santa Cruz—Retirement of Olbés—Agricultural Prosperity—Villa de Branciforte.

The record of officials and of forces at Monterey for this decade, and especially during the later years, is rather complicated; but may be unravelled with approximate accuracy as follows: Governor Sola until 1822, and Argüello from that time until October 1825 resided at the capital and held the chief military command. Echeandía, as we have seen, made only occasional visits to the capital in 1827–30. Other officials residing here, but belonging to the province and territory rather than the presidial district, were Surgeon Manuel Quijano in 1821–4; José María Herrera, sub-comisario de hacienda, in 1825–7; Manuel Jimeno Casarin and Antonio María Osio in charge of the revenue department in 1828–30; and finally José María Padrés, adjutant inspector, and Rafael Gomez, *asesor* or legal adviser, who arrived in 1830. José Antonio Navarrete, captain of the San Blas infantry company, outranked the highest officers of the presidial company, and was thus comandante militar until his departure with Sola in 1822; again Captain Miguel Gonzalez of the artillery company was comandante of the post in 1826–8 until his suspension by the governor; and finally lieutenants Romualdo Pacheco and Agustin V. Zamorano, coming up from Santa Bárbara after the Solis revolt, were in command for short periods in 1830,[1] though not belonging to the company.

I come now to the presidial company. José María Estudillo, though absent at San Diego in 1820–1, and perhaps at Santa Bárbara in 1822–3, was its lieutenant until 1825, and remained from that time to October 1826 as comandante of both company and post. José Mariano Estrada, alférez, brevetted lieutenant for gallantry at the time of the Bouchard affair in 1818, and made full lieutenant in 1824 for his services in the Purísima revolt, commanded the company in Estudillo's absence, and the post perhaps for a time after the suspension of Gonzalez in 1828–9, in which latter year his name was dropped from the rolls and I suppose he retired from the service. Rodrigo del Pliego succeded Estrada as alférez in 1825, but was absent at Santa Bárbara from August 1827 to August 1830; and in his absence Mariano G. Vallejo, promoted from cadet at the end of 1827, served as alférez in 1828–9, though belonging to the San Francisco company. Vallejo also acted as comandante in 1829. The command in 1830 was held by Pliego after his return from the south. Estrada was habilitado and postmaster in 1821–9; Vallejo and Pliego in 1829–30.

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[1] Of Capt. Navarrete I know nothing beyond his arrival in 1819 in command of the San Blas company, and his departure in November 1822 with Sola, expecting a lieutenant-colonel's commission in Mexico. For what is known of Capt. Gonzalez see *Hist. Cal.*, chap. ii. vol. iii., this series. On Argüello's departure, in November 1825, the officers met and chose Estudillo comandante de armas, a position which he held until Oct. 17, 1826, when by the governor's order he gave it up to Gonzalez. Lieut. Estrada was soon after put under arrest by Gonzalez. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 108–9; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xiv. 15–16; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxix. 82; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 99. José Fernandez del Campo, lieutenant of artillery, was also acting comandante for a time in 1829.

The company sergeants were: Ignacio Vallejo throughout the decade, though unfit for active duty in later years; José Dolores Pico, in charge of the rancho nacional until about 1827, when he probably died; and Sebastian Rodriguez, in 1828–30. Of municipal officers more a little later. I may add that Father Antonio Menendez came up from San Diego in 1830 to serve as chaplain at thirty dollars a month.[2]

The presidial cavalry company, with officers and mechanics, decreased from about ninety in 1821 to seventy-five in 1826, after which, in consequence of troubles at the capital, the figures are very contradictory, varying radically from one month to another. Many men were discharged temporarily, to get their living as best they could, and to be recalled when needed. The infantry detachment, commanded by Lieutenant Valle after Navarrete's departure in 1822, also declined rapidly in numbers; but the artillery force was considerably increased after 1826. So far as I can determine from the intricate records the force of the Monterey district in 1830 was 60 cavalry with 20 invalids, 20 infantry, and 20 artillery; or a total force of 120, of whom 40 or more were scattered in missions, pueblos, and ranchos.[3] The white population of the district, including Santa Cruz, I put at 950, a gain from 720 during the decade. Nearly half the number were living at the various ranchos.[4] There were about 50 foreigners, half of whom may be regarded as permanent settlers. If we add the population of Branciforte, we have a total of 1,100, with a neophyte population that had decreased from 4,500 to 3,500. For the two districts of Monterey and San Francisco, or northern California, the total is 1,940 white persons and 8,400 Indians, against 1,465 and 8,900 in 1820, and against 2,310 and 9,600 in the south.[5]

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[2] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 144–5; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 106.

[3] In *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lix. 14; lxvii. 2; lxxxvii. 70, the force of the garrison is given as 112, 122, and 128 in 1826–7–9. Some reports put the cavalry company as low as 35 men in 1829–30.

[4] Different statements are: 406 for 1824; 790 for 1826–7; 708 for 1828; 867 for 1829; and 978 for 1830. In 1829 the population of Monterey is given as 502, and of the ranchos, 365. *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., vi. 6. In 1826 there are said to have been 114 at Monterey presidio, besides the military. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 131–2. List of 44 foreigners in the jurisdiction in February 1829. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 115. Among the permanent residents of the town were W. E. P. Hartnell, David Spence, J. B. R. Cooper, Geo. Allen, Ed. McIntosh, Wm. Gralbatch, John Martin, James Wilson, John Littleton, Tim. Murphy, and Geo. Kinlock.

There were occasional references in 1826–8 to the ruinous condition of various buildings, and even one or two orders for laborers and adobes for repairs, with unknown results. Morrell in 1825 found "the village and presidio of Monterey situated upon a plain which is terminated by a range of wood-crowned heights. The town is about one mile from the landing; being as is usual with the Californian missions, surrounded by a wall of ten feet in height, built of free-stone, and enclosing about two hundred houses. There are also one church and a nunnery. The residence of the governor, his excellency Don Miguel Gonzalez, is a very handsome edifice"! Beechey, from whom Morrell took such part of his own matter as is not absurdly inaccurate, says "the presidio is in better condition than that of San Francisco; still as a place of defence it is quite useless." Duhaut-Cilly, coming in March 1827, says: "Whoever should arrive at Monterey expecting to see a considerable town, would suppose he had made a mistake about the anchorage. The first buildings seen on rounding Point Pinos are those of the presidio which present a quadrangle of two hundred yards, and which, being of a single story, resemble long warehouses covered with tiles. On the right of the presidio, on a little verdant plain are seen some forty scattered houses of quite a pretty appearance, also covered with tiles and whitewashed. This, with a few straw huts, is what constitutes the capital city of Alta California." This navigator gives us a view of the town as it appeared from the water, and notes that the houses outside of the walls belonged chiefly to foreigners.[6]

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[5] For company rolls and statistics of finance, etc., see *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv.–lxxii.; lxxxviii.; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 103; xix. 43; xx. 175, 187; xvii. 53; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., iv. 10, 19; vi. 42; x. 5, 8; xii. 10; xiii. 6–20; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., x. 1–3; xi. 2; xx. 296; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 198–9; vii. 77; xi. 63, 66; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iii. 44. 83; *Id., Cust. H.*, i. 28–31; *Monterey, Cuentas de la Comp.*, MS., i. Financial items: receipts from customs, 1820 to 1825, $52,867. See also lists of vessels and commercial items for each year in other chapters. Payroll from $23,000 to $16,000 per year. Amounts due to persons discharged or dead, $2,800 to $6,000. Deducted from pay for funds of Montepio and Invalidos, $650 to $450 per year. Amount paid to the revolted troops in 1829, $2,809. Specimen monthly account—of which only a few exist—for November 1827: balance from Oct., $777. Anchorage of two vessels, $20; tonnage on *Andes*, $430; duties from *Franklin*, $299; *internacion* duty on butter, $19; loans, $954; cattle from rancho nacional, $40; stamped paper, mails, and tobacco, $25; supplies from S. Juan, $412; total, $2,975. Expenditures, $2,632; balance, $343. Postal revenue about $6 per month. Tobacco, $12 in May, and $27 in July 1827; no other records. Tithes, 1820–4, $1,965. Stamped paper, 1827, $3 to $8 per month. Proceeds of rancho nacional, $468 in 1821, $144 in July 1827. At the end of 1827 the presidio according to one record owed the seven missions only $2,224 for supplies since 1820.

Municipal affairs, for Monterey was now a town, demand some attention at this time. In 1820 there seems to have been issued an order on the formation of an ayuntamiento for purposes largely experimental; but save that Teodosio Flores is mentioned as alcalde in that year, Mariano Soberanes in 1823, and Juan Alvires in 1826, we know nothing of the results. In May 1826 fifteen citizens petitioned the governor for the appointment of a judge to have civil jurisdiction over the one hundred and fourteen citizens not connected with the army. The governor's action is not recorded; but in December an election was held and a full ayuntamiento, the names of whose members are known, served each year from 1827 to 1830. In December 1828 this body issued a series of municipal regulations for the preservation of good order in the town; and in July 1830 the territorial diputacion took up the matter and proceeded to designate the extent and boundaries of the town lands.[7]

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[6] *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxii. 24; lviii. 1; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 204; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xiv. 19; *Morrell's Narrative*, 207-8; *Beechey's Voyage*, ii. 85-6; *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, i. 252-64; ii. 94-5. The cut does not show so large a number of buildings as the author mentions. The armament in 1830 was 7 brass and 13 iron guns of 4 to 8 pounds calibre. Pattie was here in 1828-30, *Narrative*, 206, 222, etc., but gives no descriptive matter. In the inventory of naval property turned over by Herrera to Estrada in Oct. 1827, *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xix. 43-4, there are mentioned a new house near the landing of timber, mud, and tiles, with two rooms used for storehouse and for the guard, a wood and tule hut near by for the sailors, a shed to protect boats, and two boats with oars, etc. The documents give also a list of miscellaneous articles belonging to the postoffice and presidio.

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[7] May 8, 1826, petition for the appointment of an alcalde. The 15 petitioners were José Tiburcio Castro, Miguel Gonzalez, Mariano Soberanes, Inocente García, Nicolás Alviso, Feliciano Soberanes, José Antonio Romero, Juan María Meligen (Mulligan), José Ignacio Taforó, Ramon Antonio Navarrete, Faustino German by Juan Buelna, Raimundo de la Torre, José Joaquin de la Torre, Juan Alvires, alcalde, in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 131–2.

1827. Ayuntamiento elected Dec. 1826, and installed by Lieut. Estrada April 19, 1827; alcalde, José (T.) Castro; regidores, José Ignacio Taforó and Antonio Fernandez; síndico, Mariano Soberanes. *Ashley's Documents*, MS., 1–2; *Dept. St. Pap., San José*, MS., v. ii. Account of the síndico, Mariano Soberanes, of dues on liquors, timber, and wood, collected by Santiago Moreno, depositario, from July to November, $737. *Dep. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 46–8. Tax on liquors for May, $80. *Dept. St. Pap. Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxii 12.

1828. Alcalde, Juan José de Soria; regidores, Antonio Fernandez and Francisco Cázares; síndico, Santiago Moreno; Secretario, José Castro. Dec. 6th, *Monterey, Ordenanzas Municipales espedidas por el Ayuntamiento*, MS. Art. 1. Church duties must be strictly performed; nor must any one leave church when the sermon begins, as is customary. Art. 2. Liquor not to be sold on *dias festivos* before mass, nor after the drum-beat at night; fine, $4, $6, $8, and confiscation of liquor. Art. 3. Every kind of game of hazard prohibited; penalty, imprisonment at hard work; or fine of $5, $10, etc., for having a game in one's house. Art. 4. No offensive weapons to be carried. Art. 5. A drunken man 'scandalizing the pueblo' will have 15 days of *obras públicas* the first time; 30 days the second; and the third, 'whatever the judge may deem proper.' Art. 6. No person to be out of his house after the hour of *la queda*, except for urgent necessity; penalty, eight days of arrest. Art. 7. Fine of $6 for taking a horse without the owner's consent. Art. 8. No person can have company in his house after *la queda* without previous consent of the ayuntamiento. Art. 9. Debts for liquor and gambling cannot be legally collected. Art. 10. Suit for money can be instituted from 8 to 11.30 A. M., and from 3 to 7 P. M., except on feast-days. Art. 11. Indian servants must be called home at *la queda*, and employers will be responsible for their doings. Art. 12. Entering taverns or houses on horseback strictly prohibited; fine of $1, $2, $3. Art. 13. Discharge of firearms from evening prayers to the reveillé, or within the town at any hour, prohibited; fine, $1, $2, $3. Art. 14. Any person who will not work will be considered as a vagrant, and employed on the public works. Art. 15. No person shall take any article in pawn, 'since it is a way of robbing with usury.' These regulations apply to all persons not engaged in actual military service. Municipal finances for 1828: Receipts, $1,716; expenditures, $537. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 76; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 47.

1829. Alcalde, José Tiburcio Castro; regidores, Francisco Soria and Feliciano Soberanes; síndico, Santiago Moreno; secretary, José Antonio Gajiola. Municipal finances: receipts on wood, $17, on liquors, $1,379; expenses, $687 for síndico's 3%, and salaries of teacher, $15; secretary of diputacion, $25; and secretary of ayuntamiento, $20. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., v. 307–8. This year the ayuntamiento sent a petition to the supreme government in behalf of the Spanish friars in California. See chap. iv. of vol. iii. this history.

1830. Alcalde, Mariano Soberanes; regidores, José Espinosa and Antonio Castro; síndico, Marcelino Escobar; secretary, José Castro. Feliciano Soberanes was at first elected 1st regidor, but claimed to be unable to read and write. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxix. 512. In the sessions of July 23d, A school was maintained at Monterey, but here as elsewhere educational records are exceedingly meagre. We know, however, that the teacher's salary was raised in 1829 from fifteen to twenty dollars a month; that the alcalde received thanks from the governor for having taught awhile in the absence of a regular pedagogue; and that the school effects at the end of the decade consisted of a table, one arithmetic, and four copy-books.[8] Events at the capital have for the most part been recorded elsewhere, having a bearing upon territorial rather than purely local annals; but I append as for the other presidios a chronological summary, into which I introduce a few items of the criminal record and other matters not elsewhere noticed.[9]

24th, 28th, 29th, the diputacion fixed the bounds of the *ejidos* or vacant suburbs, commons, and of the pueblo jurisdiction as follows, the distances and courses being estimates for want of skilled surveyors: Ejidos, from the mouth of the Rio de Monterey (Salinas), up that river southward to Los Pilarcitos, 6 leagues; thence westward to Laguna Seca on the main road to the presidio, 2.5 l.; thence along the summit of the sierra to Cypress Point, 5 l.; and along the coast, 10 l. (?) to the starting-point. Jurisdiction, from mouth of the Rio del Pájaro, up that stream, eastward, 5 l. to the sierra; thence southward along the sierra, 8 l., to a point between Chualar and Encinal; thence westward to the house of Sanjones, 2.5 l.; thence north-eastward (N. W.?) 2 l. along the summit to a point half a league south of Corral de Tierra; thence in same direction, 3 l., to Laguna Seca; and to Cypress Point, 5 l.; and thence following the coast to the Pájaro, 11 l. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 145–51. Municipal accounts in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 167–74. Electores de partido: José Aruz, May, 1822, and member of the diputacion in November; Estévan Munrás in 1827; José T. Castro in 1828, and Juan Malarin in 1830. chap. xxi. and ii. of vol. iii.

[8] *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., v. 308; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 63. Rafael Pinto, *Apuntaciones*, MS., names Manuel Crespo and Antonio Buelna as teachers during this period.

[9] 1821. Heavy snow-storm on Jan. 18th followed by excessive cold, the like of which the oldest inhabitant had never seen. Holy water frozen at the mission. Estrada to Guerra, *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 185. In April an imprisoned artillery sergeant was so violent as to demolish three houses in which it was attempted to confine him. He was finally chained in the battery. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xi. 63–4. In July Capt. (of the?) Kutusof vaccinated 54 persons. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 188–9. An amusing incident illustrating the Spanish inability to distinguish 'b' from 'v.' Three good-for-nothing soldiers went to Tio Armenta's shop and sold four *vaquetas*, or sides of sole-leather, getting some money and drinking large quantities of brandy. Armenta went to the barracks for his leather, and was offered by one of the men his *baquetas*, or drum-sticks; and by the others their *baquetas*, or ramrods. A fight ensued and all were put in the stocks; in fact there was almost a revolution until Gov. Sola stopped the trouble by paying Armenta the money out of which he had been tricked. *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 266–72.

1822. The foreign commercial firm of McCulloch, Hartnell, and Co. was

There were in 1830 twelve or fourteen ranchos owned by private individuals in the Monterey district, with nearly four hundred inhabitants. Six of these ranchos came before the U. S. land commissioners in later years partially on the strength of grants made

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established at Monterey; and W. A. Gale in the *Sachem* began a direct trade between Boston and the Californian capital. chap. xxi. April 9th, junta held to acknowledge the imperial regency; oath taken on April 11th. May 21th, junta of electors met and chose Sola as diputado to congress. July 14th, first news of Iturbide's empire. Sept. 26th, arrival of the canónigo Fernandez. End of September, change of flag. Oct. 8th, informed junta on the government. Nov. 9th–11th first territorial diputacion met and elected a governor. Nov. 22d, Gov. Sola departed and Gov. Argüello took command. chap. xxi. passim. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 324–7, describes a foot-race between José Góngora and Gabriel Espinosa as part of the ceremonies attending the canónigo's reception. Góngora, the favorite, finding that he could not win, left the track and ran into a corral, insisting afterward with his friends that the rule 'a bolting horse makes a dead heat' applied to a foot-race as well. And this view was sustained by the judges because a majority had bet on Góngora. This ruling made trouble; but the cánon took advantage of the opportunity to increase his popularity by paying the losses. There was this year a trial for homicide, one soldier having killed another in a quarrel. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., liii. 4–6; and also a very complicated case, in which a man was accused of incest with his daughters. *Id.*, liii. 7–64.

1823. In April the diputacion was in session, and on April 2d the empire was formally proclaimed. The fall of Iturbide was announced in November. It was in the spring of this year that Capt. Cooper arrived from China and sold the schooner *Rover* to Capt. Argüello. chap. xxii. passim.

1824. In January a junta general deliberated on the political future of the province; and on Jan. 8th issued a plan de gobierno, or constitution. McCulloch, Hartnell, and Co. began the business of salting beef for Peru. Pomponio, a famous outlaw, was shot in September. chap. xxiii. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 40–6, tells us that the young men of the capital formed a kind of historical society, the aim being to preserve the records of their fathers' achievements. Only one meeting was held, at which unfortunately politics forced history to take a back seat.

1825. The federal constitution was received in January; the diputacion met to ratify it March 26th, held its last session April 7th, and was suspended in May. The Spanish men-of-war, *Asia* and *Constante*, surrendered in April. In July came Sub-Comisario Herrera, Capt. Gonzales, and a band of convicts, also the news of Echeandía's appointment as governor, Oct. 28th, Gov. Argüello started south to deliver the office. chap. i. vol iii. Capt. Morrell was at Monterey in May.

1826. A quiet year politically, the governor remaining in the south. There was, however, some trouble between Capt. Gonzales and the officers of the presidial company. The most exciting item in the criminal record was the theft of a barrel of brandy, for which both thief and Tia Boronda, the receiver, had to pay a fine of $40. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxiv. 1. Inventory of prison material. *St. Pap.*, *Sac.*, MS., viii. 18. In November a party from Beechey's ship at San Francisco came overland to Monterey.

1827. Gov. Echeandía came to the capital for the first time in May. His controversies with Capt. Gonzalez and with Lieut. Col. Herrera, with the sessions of the new diputacion from June to September, are the leading topics of the year. *Hist. Cal.*, chap. i.–iv. vol. iii. this series. The town was illuminated on the night of June 14th, after the swearing-in of the new assembly. Duhaut-Cilly anchored at Monterey in March; and Beechey of the *Blossom* between 1820 and 1830. Respecting the ownership of some of the others at this early period I know nothing. The fourteen ranchos were Alisal, Buenavista, Llano de Buenavista, Escarpin, Moro Cojo, Potrero, Bolsa Nueva, Natividad, Pájaro, Pilarcitos, Salinas, San Cayetano, Sauzal, and El Tucho, though Tucho and Salinas were probably mission ranchos.[10]

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in December. Joaquin Solis, of later fame, was charged with smuggling two bales of Virginia tobacco found on a cart in charge of an Indian. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxiv. 10, 11.

1828. There was a revolt of the garrison; but the malcontents were persuaded to return to their duty. chap. iii. vol. iii. this history. It was probably in connection with this affair that two soldiers, Becerra and Félix, and two civilians, Vazquez and Escamilla, were sentenced to 8–12 years of work in the Vera Cruz navy-yard. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxvi. 78–81.

1829. Great want among the troops in May. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 80. In June a plot of revolution was revealed, but there was no outbreak, and very little is known of the affair. In November the Solis revolt broke out, and Monterey fell into the hands of the revolted troops. chap. iii. vol. iii. this history.

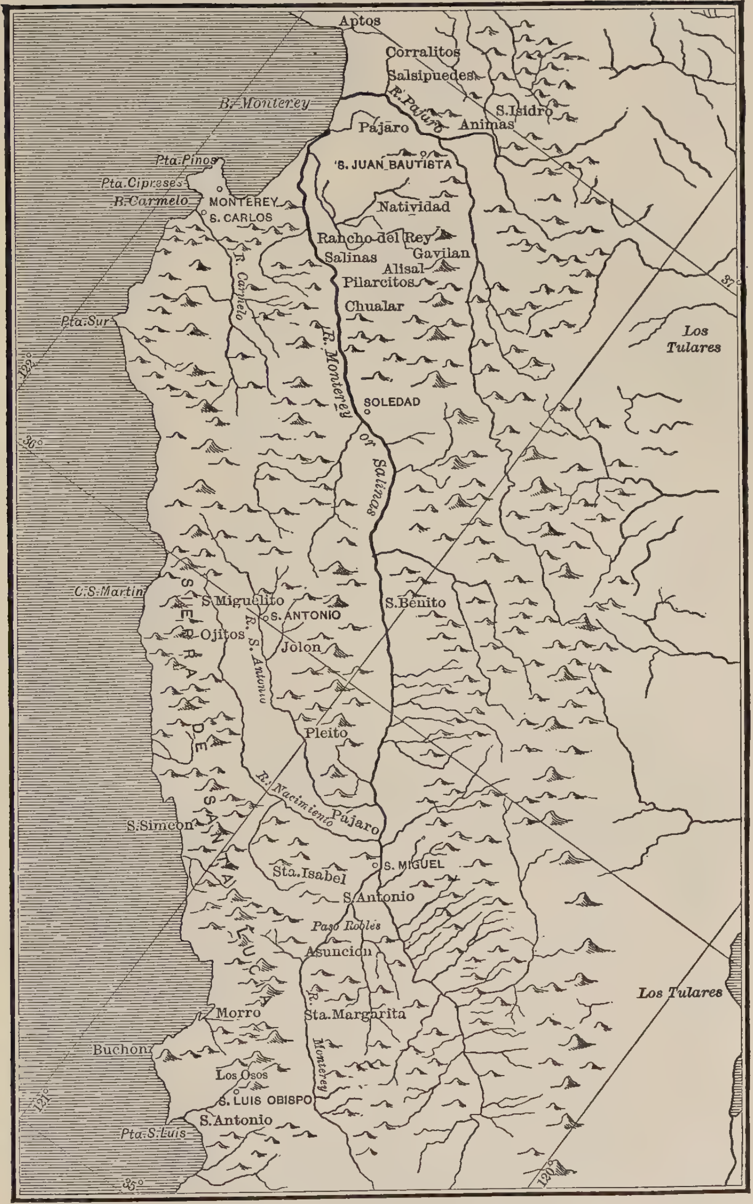
1830. The capital was retaken and the legal authorities were restored in January; and on May 9th the prisoners were despatched for San Blas. May 1st, a meeting was held to protest against the sending of convicts to California. From July 10th to Oct. 7th the diputacion was in session. Capt. Fitch and his wife were under arrest from August to October. Sept. 16th, there was a fight between Californians and Mexicans at the national *fiesta*. Aug. 15th, nine municipal electors were chosen, *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 6, and Oct. 3d Cárlos Carrillo was elected to congress. See chap. ii. vol. iii. this history. Dec. 15th, 40 persons in prison, including 12 Indians. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxii. 2.

[10] Reports of 1830 in *Legislative Rec.*, MS., i. 149; *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., vi. 6–7. The latter unites Potrero and La Nueva with Moro Cojo; both unite the two Buenavistas in one; and the former mentions also the Rancho Nacional and another where the company kept its horses as distinct. Buenavista and Llano de Buenavista, two *sitios* each of 2 sq. l. forming one rancho, were granted to Santiago and Mariano Estrada on May 28, 1822, and June 10, 1823. *Cal. Land Com.*, Nos. 153, 518; *Hoffman's Repts Land Cases; Register of Brands*, 21. The Bolsa del Potrero, 2 sq. l. was granted on June 22, 1822, to José Joaquin de la Torre; and the Bolsa del Moro Cojo, 2 sq. l., adjoining the Potrero, on Feb. 14, 1825, probably to Simeon Castro. *Cal. Land Com.*, Nos. 138, 606. The Potrero, also called La Familia Sagrada, was sold by Torre to Capt. Cooper in Oct. 1829, at which time the adjoining ranchos Moro Cojo and Bolsa Nueva were owned by Simeon Castro and Francisco Soto respectively. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxix. 428. The rancho de la Vega del Pájaro had been granted to A. M. Castro in 1820. Chap. xvii. *Cal Land Com.*, No. 279. The Bolsa de San Cayetano, 2 sq. l., is said to have been granted to J. J. Vallejo on Oct. 25, 1824; and a claim founded on a grant to Ignacio Vallejo and Dolores Pico was rejected. *Cal. Land Com.*, Nos. 85, 689; *Hoffman's Repts Land Cases.* I have an original petition of J. J. Vallejo, dated Oct. 27, 1826, in which he asks for two sitios at S. Cayetano, stating that his father had put cattle there 11 years before, and that four years later Don Ignacio and Dolores Pico had asked for the grant and obtained it; but Pico by failing to fulfil the conditions imposed had forfeited his rights, while the petitioner had use for the whole tract. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxix. 161. On Sept. 30, 1830, the diputacion confirmed the grant to Ignacio

At San Cárlos Mission Ramon Abella served as minister throughout the decade, with Prefect Sarría as an associate until 1829, the latter being under arrest for some years as a recalcitrant Spaniard. Morrell, Duhaut-Cilly, Beechey, and Pattie visited the mission successively; but none of their narratives contain information of value or interest respecting this establishment, unless it may be Beechey's mention of crosses standing along the road from the presidio, each with its special history, not related, and of the painting of La Pérouse's landing, which the English navigator tried in vain to obtain from the padre. San Cárlos, though declining rapidly, no longer stood at the foot of the list in population, as it had ten more neophytes than San Francisco. Its decline in live-stock and agriculture was less marked than in many other missions.[11]

Vallejo, and, for a small tract, to Pico, in accordance with the regulations of 1828. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 169. In 1828 the ranchos of Alisal and Sauzal in the Cañada de Natividad are mentioned as belonging to Butron and Alviso. *Register of Brands*, MS., 14; but in *Id.*, 22, the Sauzal is said to have been granted in 1823 to Soberanes; and it appears to have been re-granted in 1834 to José T. Castro. *Cal. Land Com.*, No. 557; while Natividad was granted in 1837 to Butron and Alviso. *Id.*, No. 565; and Alisal in 1834 to Hartnell. *Id.*, No. 264. I suppose the name Alisal, and perhaps Sauzal also, may have been applied to two different tracts, which causes this confusion. Espinosa's rancho in 1828 is called San Miguel. *Register of Brands*, MS., 14. This may have been another name for Escarpin or Salinas, since these ranchos were granted or re-granted to an Espinosa in 1837 and 1836 respectively. *Cal. Land Com.*, Nos. 355, 370. The others of the 14, Pilarcitos and Tucho, were granted, the former to Miramontes in 1841, and the latter in 1841-4 to Castro, Gomez, and Coal. *Hoffman's Repts Land Cases.* It is also stated that Joaquin Solis and J. A. Botiller got possession of the rancho de S. Antonio in 1829 from Echeandía, having before Argüello's permit; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi, 146-7. And there was made in 1827 an agreement between Wm. Welsh and Capt. Cooper about Los Corralitos, implying that this rancho also had been granted. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxix. 110. Moreover, Corralitos was in later years granted to José Amesti. *Cal. Land Com.*, No. 174; and in 1828 Amesti's rancho was mentioned as a boundary of Branciforte. *Register of Brands*, MS., 20.

[11] Statistics: Decrease in population, 381 to 229; baptisms, 217; largest number, 50 in 1828; smallest, 12 in 1822; deaths, 301; largest number, 62 in 1828; smallest, 16 in 1829. Loss in large stock, 3,438 to 2,600; horses and mules, 438 to 450; sheep, 4,032 to 3,800. Largest crop, 2,757 bushels in 1830; smallest, 705 in 1829; average, 1,905, of which 570 wheat, yield 5 fold; 603 barley, 13 fold; 31 corn, 28 fold; 246 beans, 22 fold. A statement has been current that S. Cárlos had in 1825, 87,600 cattle, 1,800 horses, 365 yoke of oxen, 7,500 sheep, etc.! In 1823 the padres received from Sta Bárbara $1.802 which had been due since 1804. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 45. Members of the Indian ayuntamiento of 1823 and 1826. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS.,



MONTEREY DISTRICT, 1830.

At San Luis Obispo Luis Martinez served as minister, generally alone, until he was banished in the spring of 1830,[12] Padre Rodriguez having left the mission in 1821. Martinez was succeeded by Luis Gil y Taboada, though it is said that Padre Jimeno

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iv. pt. ii. (668); v. pt. i. (2). In 1822 the mission lands were 2.5 l. wide at the mouth of the Rio Carmelo, gradually narrowing as they extend 6 l. up the river. As the only good land was in the valley and in the little tracts of Francisquito and Tularcitos, the governor in 1801 had given the mission also a cattle rancho 2x2.25 l. at S. Bernardino, or Sanjones, or Ensen, between the rancho del rey and Soledad. At Salinas, south of the river, a sheep rancho 1.5x.75 l. had been established in 1798. *Misiones, Cuad. de Estados*, MS., 296–301. According to the report of 1828, places up the river were Laureles, Chupines, Tularcitos, and Corral de Padilla. The fields were in front of the mission extending to S. Francisquito; the oxen and tame cattle on the hills toward S. Clemente. The rancho of S. Bernardino was 6 l. east, between the Soledad lands and Buenavista. Sheep rancho at Las Salinas, called by the natives Tucho, 1.5x.75 l. No irrigation. Springs at S. Francisquito, but frost prevents cultivation. *Register of Brands*, MS., 11–13.

[12] Luis Antonio Martinez was born on Jan. 17, 1771, at Briebes in Asturias, Spain, became a Franciscan at Madrid in 1785, sailed from Cádiz for America in May 1795, and was assigned at S. Fernando to the California missions, arriving at Sta Bárbara May 9, 1798. He served at San Luis Obispo from June 1798 until the time of his arrest in February 1830. On his arrest and banishment see chap. iv. vol. iii. this history. In July 1830 he was at Lima; and in October had arrived at Madrid, where he was still living in 1833. Martinez was always highly spoken of by his superiors, but rather for his zeal and skill as a business manager than for his excellence as a missionary proper. He was, however, familiar with the language of the San Luis Indians and kept them in order. He took great pride in the prosperity of his mission. It was his ambition that the cattle, horses, and especially the mules of his 'San Luisito' should be nowhere excelled, and that no other mission should set a better table or treat visitors with greater hospitality. He always wore the plain habit of his order, but in all other respects was fond of display. It is related that he took great pleasure in entering Monterey with a load of mission produce drawn by sleek mules, with gayly decked Indian drivers, himself in a cart at the head of the procession. He was always liberal and sometimes recklessly so in furnishing supplies to the presidio. At the time of the Bouchard invasion he showed great courage and zeal in preparing for defence and in aiding to repair damages; for which services he was thanked by Gov. Sola and also by the viceroy in the king's name. His shrewdness as a man of business was known throughout the province, and the belief was general that he was largely engaged in smuggling; but though Gov. Sola shared this belief and a strong friendship between the two was broken up by a quarrel on the subject, it must be admitted that Martinez if not innocent was very careful, since there is no record that his contraband operations were detected in any particular instance. Of his troubles as a Spanish friar with Gov. Echeandía enough is said elsewhere. His position was like that of most of his associates, but he was somewhat less cautious than they in the expression of his views. That he was directly interested in the Solis revolt, or had any intention of a revolution in the interest of Spain, the offence for which he was exiled, there is much reason to doubt. In person Martinez was of medium height, but thick-set, with dark complexion, and a very prominent nose which had been permanently twisted to one side by a fall from a carriage. He was hasty in temper, and addicted to the use of very plain language when offended. A few of the Californians speak of him as haughty and affected,

made an effort to get the place. San Luis, like the other way ports, was open to foreign vessels during a part of this decade, and many traders touched there with or without the governor's permit. Notwithstanding the proverbial shrewdness of Father Martinez in matters of trade, the mission seems to have been badly swindled in two instances. As late as 1841 an effort was being made to ascertain the whereabouts of one Antonio Arana who had failed to account for a consignment of produce worth $12,000 sent to him twenty years before, and in 1836 no settlement had been effected for another cargo worth $9,400, shipped to Sanchez of Mazatlan by the *Santa Apolonia* in 1826.[13] Events at the mission were neither numerous nor exciting; the buildings are described by Alfred Robinson as having been already in a state of decay with marks of neglect in every direction in 1830; and the statistics show a marked decline in every branch of mission industry, it being noticeable that the number of baptisms was smaller and the death-rate larger here than at any other establishment.[14]

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but there is abundant evidence to show that he was kind and benevolent to inferiors. With his intimate friends, chief among whom was Capt. José Antonio de la Guerra y Noriega, he adopted a jocose tone. He was more richly endowed with the qualities of a popular man and jovial companion than with those of a Franciscan friar; yet he never scandalized his order by irregular or immoral conduct. In his letters from Spain to Capt. de la Guerra he showed a deep interest in California, and no bitterness against those who had driven him away. *Autobiog. Autog. de los PP.*, MS., 401; *Sarría, Informe sobre Frailes, 1817*, MS., 55–6; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 130; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 47; iv. pt. i. 21–2; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 5–17; iv. 21; *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 562–3; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxxvi. 288; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 61; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlix. 34; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 51; 113–14; vii. 32; *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 31–6; *Pico, Acontecimientos*, MS., 16–17; *Torre, Reminiscencias*, MS., 188–92.

[13] On the Arana affair. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 1105. Long record with much correspondence on the Sanchez matter in *S. Luis Obispo, Arch.*, MS., i. 17. Sanchez, who appears to have been a scoundrel, claimed that the cargo, with $6,000 in money, was part of $50,000 sent out of the country by Martinez on his own account. On San Luis as a port see commercial annals in chap. v. of vol. iii. this history. Sept. 1821, a foreign ship was seen approaching S. Luis, but seeing a Spanish ship in the harbor was frightened away. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 295. On the danger of Indian revolt, Sergt. Vallejo's visit, and the quarrel of the padre with the soldier Ávila, in 1824, see chap. xxiii. this vol. In 1830 a mate of the *María Ester* is said to have been drowned in the harbor, which seems to have borne the name of Puerto Real. *Carrillo (J.), Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 32.

[14] Statistics: Decrease of population, 504 to 283. Baptisms, 86; largest

At San Miguel Juan Martin continued in his long ministry until his death in 1824, when his place was taken by Juan Cabot. The mission had but one minister save in 1821–2, when Tomás Esténega and after him Blas Ordaz were here, as was Uría 1824.[15] San Miguel was but slightly more prosperous than its neighbor San Luis; its herds and flocks dwindled rapidly, death largely exceeded baptisms, soil was reported as poor and pasture limited, though vines flourished and timber was abundant.[16]

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number, 24 in 1823; smallest, 4 in several years. Deaths, 309; largest number, 43 in 1825; smallest, 20 in 1828. Decrease in large stock, 8,971 to 3,760; increase in horses and mules, 1,279 to 1,560; decrease in sheep, 6,800 to 1,022. Largest crop, 5,220 bushels in 1821; smallest, 186 in 1829; average, 2,152, of which 1,992 wheat, 9 barley, and 103 corn. The crop of 1826, except wheat and barley, was destroyed by *ratones*. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt. ii. 105. In 1821 80 horses, 80 saddles, and 50 blankets were sent to the troops as a gift. Acknowledged by Gov. Sola. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xxiii. 40; noticed in the *Gaceta de Mex.*, xliv. 591–2; and thanks from guardian of S. Fernando. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 343. Condition in 1830. *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, 84–5. Padre Gil says the mission has become very poor since the removal of Martinez. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 10. In 1822 the mission lands are described as lying in a cañada 1 l. wide and 14 l. long, bounded by ranges of mts. on E. and W. Two ranchos, Sta Margarita. 4 l. away on the Monterey road, where wheat is raised; and the other for corn and beans 3 l. away. Horses are kept beyond the cañada. Locusts and squirrels very troublesome. *Misiones, Cuad. de Estados*, MS., 244, 286–9.

[15] Juan Martin was born at Villastar, in Aragon, Spain, Jan. 12, 1770, took the Franciscan robes at Zaragoza Jan. 16, 1787, studied theology at Teruel, sailed from Cádiz June 11, 1793, arriving at S. Fernando college in September, and he came to California early in 1794. He served at S. Gabriel as supernumerary from March 1794 to July 1796, at Purísima until August 1797, and at S. Miguel until his death, which occurred on Aug. 29, 1824, after a painful illness resulting from a dropsical disease of the chest. He was buried in the church on Aug. 20th, on the gospel side of the main altar, by the side of Padre Ciprés. Martin may be regarded as the *ministro fundador* of S. Miguel to the advancement of whose interests he gave all his energy. He acquired a thorough knowledge of the native language, and was regarded by his prelates always as the right man in the right place. He has left a diary of his vist to the *gentiles Tulareños* in 1804; and in 1818 and again in 1821 he accompanied the prefect as secretary on a tour of inspection to the different missions. Padre Uría, who records his death, certifies to his exemplary devotion and conformity to the divine will in his last days and hours. *S. Miguel, Lib. Mision*, MS., 12; *Autobiog. Autog. de los PP.*, MS., 400; *Sarría, Informe sobre Frailes, 1817*, MS., 57–8; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 131.

[16] Statistics: Decrease in population, 975 to 684. Baptisms, 313; largest number, 43 in 1821; smallest, 18 in 1828. Deaths, 581; largest number, 104 in 1828; smallest, 45 in 1826. Loss in large stock, 9,449 to 4,960; horses and mules, 1,349 to 1,120; sheep, 14,160 to 7,506. Largest crop, 4,627 bushels in 1821; smallest, 309 in 1829; average, 2,352; of which 1,970 wheat, yield 8 fold; barley, 304, 7 fold; corn, 109, 31 fold.

Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 82, describes S. Miguel as a poor establishment in 1830. The heat was so great as to be almost insufferable—so that it was said that the fleas might be seen in the heat of the day gasping for breath on the

At San Antonio de Pádua at Los Robles, Pedro Cabot and Juan Bautista Sancho served together as they had done since 1804, until the death of the latter in February 1830.[17] We hear nothing of the new church, which had very likely been dedicated before the beginning of the decade, except that it was standing in 1830, built of brick and with arched corridors. Population decreased here as elsewhere, as there were no more gentiles to be converted within 75 miles. Statistics show a gain in horses and sheep, and only a small decline in cattle and crops; while we learn from Mr Robinson that this mission in 1830 had an air

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brick pavements! In 1829–30 John Bones, an Irishman, was living here; and Wm. Trevethan was majordomo at the mission. *Hist. Cal.*, chap. vi. vol. iii., this series. In 1822 the mission lands were reported as extending 14 l. N. to S., and 34–6 l. E. to W. Sta Isabel and Asumpcion were apparently mission ranchos. *Misiones, Cuad. de Estados, 1822*, MS., 290–1. In 1828 the boundaries were the tulares on the E., 25 l.; the sea-shore on the W., 12–14 l.; S. Luis Obispo lands on the south, 7 l.; and S. Antonio lands on the N., 7 l. On the northern boundary was the rancho of S. Bartolomé, or Pleito; eastward were pastures for horses; toward the shore was the rancho of S. Simeon, with an adobe house, where grain was raised and 800 head of stock were kept; southward the sheep and soldiers' home were kept; also in this direction were the ranchos, Sta Isabel, with a vineyard, 3 l.; S. Antonio, with barley-fields, 3 l.; Paso de Robles, 5.5 l.; and Asuncion, 6 l., with wheat-fields. North-west 2 l. is a hot spring with a vineyard. In dry seasons the sheep are kept at Rio de Nacimiento, 2 l. away. Droughts and frosts troublesome. *Register of Brands*, 17–18.

[17] Juan Bautista Sancho y Lliteras was a native of Artá, Island of Mallorca, where he was born on Jan. 1, 1773. He took the habit Feb. 9, 1791, at Palma, and after receiving holy orders was made master of the choir, and was employed as preacher. Embarking at Cádiz June 20, 1803, he reached S. Fernando in September; started for California in February 1804, and landed at Monterey on Aug. 4, 1804. His only ministry was at San Antonio, where he served continuously from Oct. 1804 to Feb. 1830, the date of his death. An illness of 1829 left his blood in bad condition, and the immediate cause of his death was blood-poisoning from a tumor in the thigh. Outside of his own local field of labor Padre Sancho was not much heard of, though he was one of the most radical loyalists and not backward in expressing his opposition to republicanism; but for his management at San Antonio he received and deserved much praise. Cabot, his veteran associate, who buried him in the presbytery of the mission church near the remains of Puyol and Sitjar, pays an eloquent tribute to his memory in the death-register of the mission. He says of him that he had a constitution of iron, and was constantly busy either in work afield or in attending to the bodily and spiritual necessities of the sick and dying. In bad weather he prepared books of music and catechisms for the neophytes, with whose language he was perfectly familiar. Engrossed in such occupations he often forgot to eat. He was ever a foe to idleness, alleging that those who would eat must work. His burial was on the anniversary of his becoming a Franciscan. *S. Antonio, Lib. Mision*, MS.; *S. Antonio, Doc. Sueltos*, MS.; *Autobiog. Autog. de los PP.*, MS., 309; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 132; x. 439; *Sarría, Informe sobre Frailes, 1817*, MS., 59.

of thrift not observable at many of the others. Everything was kept in perfect order; the buildings were in good condition; the Indians clean and well dressed.[18]

There were several changes in the missionaries of La Soledad. Padre Jaime left the mission in 1821, and Juan Cabot in 1824; Francisco Javier de Uría served in 1824–8; Pedro Cabot in 1828–9; and Prefect Sarría came here to live in the middle of 1829. On May 5, 1822, the padres and neophytes met to take the oath of independence, and on November 19, 1826, the Indians formally elected one of their number to go to Monterey and represent them in an *eleccion de partido.* The decline of Soledad was less rapid than that of other northern missions in several respects, and in population it now surpassed four of the others.[19]

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[18] Statistics: Decrease in population, 878 to 681. Baptisms, 298; largest number, 43 in 1825; smallest, 22 in 1824. Deaths, 538; largest number 83 in 1826; smallest, 31 in 1821. Large stock, 6,596 to 5,000; gain in horses and mules, 796 to 1,000; sheep, 9,910 to 10,134. Largest crop, 5,437 bushels in 1821; smallest, 547 in 1829; average, 2,830; of which 2,173 wheat, yield 10 fold; barley, 216, 8 fold; corn, 223, 106 fold. Supplies sent to Monterey in Nov. 1829, $1,162, including 81 pairs of shoes. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxix. 469. Mention of S. Antonio, in *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, 80–1. On Nov. 26, 1826, the mission ayuntamiento met and chose the neophyte Eugenio Nactré as elector de partido, or probably to go to Monterey and vote for an elector de partido. Padre Cabot served as secretary at the election and signed Nactré's credentials, the alcalde and regidores signing with a cross. Thus were the Indians being trained for the duties of citizenship. *Hist. Cal.*, chap. ii. vol. iii.; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lix. 17–19. No school in 1829, because no teacher could be found, says the padre to Echeandía on April 22d. *S. Antonio, Doc. Sueltos*, MS., 76. This collection of fragments, dug up from the earth in the old church, contains many petty items of mission affairs.

In 1822 the mission lands were said to extend 13 l. N. to S., and 8–9 l. E. to W. Soil, rocky; but pretty good crops were obtained by irrigation. Frosts, squirrels, and insects troublesome. *Misiones, Cuad. de Estados*, MS., 292–3. In 1827 the padres reported that it was very difficult to find pasturage for the stock. West 3 l. was the rancho of S. Miguelito; another at Los Ojitos in the south; another at S. Benito 6 l. E. on the river; and one for sheep at El Pleito, or S. Bartolomé, 7 l. S. Northward to the Sierra de Sta Lucía, 3 or 4 l., were pastured horses; southward the mares, 10.5 l.; westward, across the river, 5 l., broken horses. There were three ditches carrying water from the Arroyo de S. Antonio to a distance of 2 l. S. of the mission; but the water lasted only until June or July. *Register of Brands*, MS., 15–17.

[19] Statistics: Decrease in population, 435 to 342. Baptisms, 302; largest number, 134 in 1822; smallest, 5 in 1827. Deaths, 356; largest number, 55 in 1826–8; smallest, 18 in 1829. Decline in large stock, 6,030 to 5,007; horses and mules, 1,080 to 1,007; sheep, 9,040 to 5,274. Largest crop, 5,467 bushels in 1825; smallest, 528 in 1829; average, 2,829; of which 1,429 wheat, yield

At San Juan Bautista Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta continued his ministry; but Tapis, his associate, died in 1825, being succeeded by Buenaventura Fortuni in 1825–6, while Juan Moreno came here at the end of 1830.[20] This mission reached its highest figure of

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10 fold; 433 barley, 12 fold; 399 corn, 100 fold. The mission furnished $1,150 to Monterey in 1829. Current items in books and newspapers credit Soledad with 36,000 cattle, 70,000 sheep, and more horses than any other mission, in 1826! Lands in 1822, extending 9–20 l. E. to W. and 3 l. N. to S. Soil poor, and yielding tolerable crops only in wet seasons. Some irrigation. No opportunities for extending agriculture. Frosts and locusts bad. *Misiones, Cuad. Estados, 1822*, MS., 294–5. In 1828, situated at the end of the valley of Monterey, adjoining the S. Cárlos lands on the E. Two bands of mares between Laguna de los Palos and Cholar, 3 and 5 l.; and another 2 l. farther by permission of S. Cárlos. *Brands and Marks*, MS., 15. Apr. 22, 1829, Padre Cabot informs Echeandía that he cannot establish a school for want of a teacher, of funds, and of scholars, all being needed for work. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 99. The record of the election of 1826 is perhaps worth literal quotation as a curiosity in the way of state papers. 'At the mission of Nra. Sra. de la Soledad, this day, Sunday Nov. 19, 1826, I, the Chief Alcalde Gerónimo, last night summoned the people for them all to come to the church; and all being assembled, we attended our mass and commended ourselves to the Virgin to give us a good heart, that we may do what the comandante of the presidio has directed us. After hearing the mass we went out of the church, and being together with all the people, I named Sr Simon Cota, who can write, as my secretary, and chose two scrutators, Odilon Quepness and Felipe de Jesus; and out of all the people eleven were set aside as the comandante prescribes, and then all the people retired except the eleven, whose names are...and they talked among themselves whom of all the men of the mission they would send to Monterey. Three wanted Fernando, one was in favor of Isidro, two preferred Valentin, and four Juan de Dios; and all the ten concluded that Juan de Dios was the one that God desires to go to the comandante of Monterey, and hold himself subject to his orders. And this is to be known by all the people, and this paper we all that are here present will sign, affixing thereto a cross because we cannot write; and Juan de Dios will carry it with him. (Here are the crosses.) Before me, Simon Cota, secretary of the junta.' Original in *S. Antonio, Doc. Sueltos*, MS., 105; also in *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lix. 16–17.

[20] Estévan Tapis was born Aug. 25, 1754, at Santa Coloma de Farnes in Catalonia, Spain, taking the habit at Gerona Jan. 27, 1778. He sailed from Cádiz June 4, 1786, and came to California in 1790. His service was at San Luis Obispo in 1790–3; at Sta Bárbara in 1793–1806; at S. Cárlos in 1807–11; at Purísima in 1811–13; at Sta Inés in 1813–14; and at S. Juan Bautista from January, 1815, to Nov. 3, 1825, the date of his death. At the death of Lasuen he was elected president of the missions in the middle of 1803, and held the position until 1812, having been reëlected in 1809. He was also the bishop's vicar. During his presidency he resided for short periods at many different missions. He received the last sacraments from Prefect Sarría, who with Viader, Fortuni, and Gil were present at his death, the latter burying him on Nov. 4th in the presbetery on the gospel side.

Father Tapis has left less of his individuality in the records than any other of the friars who filled the presidency and was so prominent among his associates. Notwithstanding his high office and his service at so many different missions, it is not easy to say what manner of man he was. In my list of original authorities will be seen several documents from his pen; but his term of office was not a period of contention, and his writings show but little population in 1823 with 1,248 souls; and it was the only one of the old establishments, except San Luis Rey, that gained in population during this decade. San Juan also maintained its average of crops; but in live-stock it was distanced by both San José and Santa Clara. During the earlier part of the decade many gentiles were brought in from the eastern valleys.[21]

of his peculiar weaknesses if he had them, or of his strength. Clearly, however, he performed his duties ably, and was popular with both missionaries and military officials. He is awarded the highest praise, albeit of a somewhat stereotyped order, in all reports of his prelates. At the time of his death he was the senior missionary in the Californian service. He was familiar with several Indian languages, was noted for his habit of studying the individual peculiarities of his neophytes, and fond of teaching boys to read and write. Gil in the record of his death speaks of him as a truly evangelical man, remarkably wise in his relations with his fellow-men, 'particularly with the superior officers and governors who lived here during the time of his rule; so that all, friars, military, civilians, and Indians, loved him.' *S. Juan Bautista, Lib. Mision*, MS., 34–5; *Autobiog. Autog. de los PP.*, MS., 396–7; *Sarría, Informe sobre Frailes*, MS., 63–4; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 136–7.

[21] Statistics: Increase in population, 843 to 964; largest number, 1,248 in 1823. Baptisms, 1,174; largest number, 359 in 1821; smallest, 42 in 1829. Deaths, 947; largest number, 226 in 1825; smallest, 47 in 1830. Decrease in large stock, 11,700 to 7,824; horses and mules, 700 to 324; sheep, 9,530 to 7,050. Largest crop, 5,904 bushels in 1821; smallest, 963 in 1828; average, 3,441; of which 2,518 wheat, yield 17 fold; 513 barley, 21 fold; 325 corn, 57 fold. Sheep increased until 1828 and then decreased rapidly. Jan. 22, 1821, the padre writes to the governor that last night 33 gentiles came in to ask for baptism. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 41. Feb. 24, 1821, Tapis says he has been obliged to suspend the Indian alcalde for having 'entregado las solteras á los hombres' during the padre's illness. He has appointed another man who was alcalde once before and 'cuidó bien de las solteras.' *Id.*, iv. pt. i. 41. Corp. Butron reprimanded by the governor for card-playing. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 28. April 21, 1822, oath to the imperial regency. chap. xxi. 1828, killing of a neophyte by another. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxvi. 81–2. Inocente García, *Hechos.*, MS., 24–36, who was majordomo of the mission, José de Jesus Pico, *Acontecimientos*, MS., 7–9, and Larios, *Vida y Aventuras*, MS., 2–5, tell some stories about life at San Juan at this period, including bear-fights and practical jokes played by or on the soldiers of the guard, respecting which events details do not seem desirable. García once hid the arms of the escolta which brought an officer from the capital and was very near causing serious trouble. At another time he was severely beaten by order of Capt. Gonzalez. The mission blacksmith was arrested for having robbed the warehouse of $1,000.

Mission lands in 1822 extend 6 l. E. to W. and N. to S. Mission on a plain 1 l. by .5 l., surrounded by mountains 4–6 l. off on the E., .5 l. on S., with low hills on W. extending to the sea 6–7 l. In the W. N. W., 3–4 l. is Antonio Castro's rancho (Pájaro), and 3 l. N. E., Mariano Castro's rancho of Las Ánimas; 4.25 l. N. E. is Ortega's rancho of S. Isidro. Good soil but scarce water. *Misiones, Cuad. de Estados*, MS., 250–1, 302–3. According to a report of 1828 the mission had in the E. a sheep-rancho, another in the N. E. and 2 in the N. N. E., one of the latter, 3 l. on the way to S. Francisco, having a sulphur spring and deposits of *brea;* W. N. W., 3 l. off are 2 sheep-ranchos adjoining the lands of the Picos, Castros, and Vallejos on the Pájaro. S. W, 6 l. off, is Espinosa's rancho of San Miguel; S. S. E. the mission has in

At Santa Cruz, still in the military jurisdiction of San Francisco, Luis Gil y Taboada was the minister until 1830. The three new-comers, Antonio and José Joaquin Jimeno and Juan Moreno, were here much of the time in 1827–30, Joaquin Jimeno being the minister in charge at the end of the decade. Padre Olbés had retired to his college in 1821. He was the only friar who retired legitimately during this period.[22] Population declined rapidly here as elsewhere; but in live-stock Santa Cruz nearly held its own, while in agriculture it actually showed a gain over the past decade, the average crops being larger than those of any other northern mission except San José. Notwithstanding the comparative prosperity of the mission its suppression was proposed in 1823, and there even seems to have been a vote of the diputacion in favor of it for reasons which, like the efforts of the padres against such a step, are not very clearly recorded, but seem to have grown partially out of the

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the Cañada de Natividad 3 l. off, a rancho adjoining the Alisal of Butron and Sauzal of Alviso. South is a great mountain called Gavilan from which water is brought in a ditch for irrigation. *Register of Brands*, MS., 13–14.

[22] Ramon Olbés was born at Ateca in Aragon, Spain, Feb. 8, 1786; took the habit at Zaragoza Jan. 1, 1802, and arrived at San Fernando college on June 10, 1810. He started for California July 1, 1811, but on account of sickness and troubles arising from the insurrection he did not reach his destination until a year later. He served at Sta Inés in 1812–13; at Sta Bárbara in 1813–16; at S. Luis Rey in 1816–18; and at Sta Cruz from June 1818 to November 1821. Olbés was regarded by his superiors as having much ability and energy; but his usefulness as a missionary was seriously impaired by his fitful and eccentric moods, amounting at times almost to insanity, and resulting partially perhaps from ill-health. Much of his time was spent during his ministry at Sta Cruz in peevish ravings against the settlers of Branciforte and against the provincial authorities who would not take his part in the quarrel. Even his sermons were not entirely free from his pet grievance. His eccentric conduct at the time of the Bouchard affair has been noticed elsewhere. chap. xi.; *Olbés, Cartas sobre el Tumulto de Sta Cruz, 1818*, MS. Investigation of charges against the padre of having preached a seditious sermon in *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., l. 17–19. In his treatment of the Indians he varied from extravagant generosity and indulgence to excessive cruelty. Asísara, an ex-neophyte of Sta Cruz, in *Amador, Memorias*, MS., says the padre would on a feast-day give the Indians 100 cheeses, a barrel of molasses, and other things in proportion; but for the slightest offence in his dark moods, 50 blows on the belly awaited the culprit. Asísara tells many stories of the friar's peculiarities which hardly merit reproduction here. Respecting the retirement of Olbés we only know that the license was granted for ill-health. *Autobiog. Autog. de los PP.*, MS., 405; *Sarría, Informe sobre Frailes*, MS., 42–3; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 137; x. 432; *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 485; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 35; xii. 122, 157–8.

mission claim for the rancho of Salsipuedes. Many vessels touched at this landing, where as at the other way-ports visits of foreign traders were at different times permitted and forbidden; and among others the *Héros* in 1827; but Captain Duhaut-Cilly confines his description to natural features.[23]

The Villa de Branciforte doubled its population in this decade, having about 150 inhabitants in 1830. There is a complete list of the 32 citizens, four of whom were foreigners, with the names of every member of their respective families in 1828—153 persons in all. The villa, not having a sufficient population for an ayuntamiento of its own, was attached in 1822 to the civil jurisdiction of San José; and with that pueblo was transferred in1826 from the military jurisdiction of Monterey to that of San Francisco; but in

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[23] Oath of padres and neophytes to the independence, April 21, 1822. chap. xxi. 7. Correspondence respecting the proposed suppression of the mission. chap. xxii.; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 361-2; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 5, 12. Dec. 31, 1824, Gil writes that the rainfall has been greater than ever before, for 24 years at least. Much damage was done to gardens and to buildings, including the church which threatened ruin as no laborers were obtainable for repairs. *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 12–13. In 1825 the padre was ordered to abstain from all dealings with vessels on the coast. He answered that he would obey, but had supposed his mission included in the port of Monterey and therefore open. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 149. 1827, visit of Duhaut-Cilly. *Viaggio*, i. 247–52; ii. 93. Statistics: Decrease in population, 461 to 320. Baptisms, 274; largest number, 91 in 1821; smallest, 10 in 1829. Deaths, 417; largest number, 62 in 1828; smallest, 29 in 1830. Decrease in large stock, 3,492 to 3,363; horses and mules, 492 to 363; sheep, 5,700 to 4,827. Largest crop, 7,350 bushels in 1821; smallest, 1,674 in 1829; average, 3,708; of which 1,410 wheat, yield 14 fold; 474 barley, 17 fold; 1,218 corn, 193 fold; 441 beans, 108 fold. I have the original statistical reports of Sta Cruz for nearly every year in *Arch. Misiones*, MS. The number of fugitives in 1825 is given as 31. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 500–1. Gil writes that the Indians were all impregnated with venereal disease, so that the slightest change in the temperature prostrated them and 60 or 80 were sick at the same time. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 774. Here as at other missions an Indian ayuntamiento was chosen in 1823. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. (478). Taxes on mission produce in the later years were about $380 per year. Supplies to the escolta averaged about $35 per month. Full accounts with presidio for most months in *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, xvii.–xx. xxviii.–ix. Amount of supplies 1821–30, except 1817, $5,690.

Mission lands extend 3 miles N. to S. and 7–9 l. E. to W., though only 3 miles are useful. Crops more than suffice for neophytes, leaving a surplus for the presidio. No lands for the further extension of agriculture; grasshoppers and insects very bad. *Misiones, Cuad. de Estados, 1822*, MS., 305–6. The rancho Matadero and the rancho Punta are mentioned in the live-stock reports.

1828 it was detached from San José, together with the ranchos of San Isidro and Las Ánimas, becoming again subject to the civil and military authorities of Monterey. I find no evidence that the office of comisionado was continued after 1819, but there was always an alcalde of subordinate rank. During the first half of the decade we have the name of the alcalde for 1822 only—Serafin Pinto; but the office was held in 1826 by José Joaquin Buelna; in 1827, by Serafin Pinto; in 1828, by Canuto Boronda; in 1830 by Francisco Rodriguez. Beyond the figures of population there are no statistics extant, except to the effect that the *villanos* owned about 2,500 head of cattle in 1830; and as for events, only one or two slight items of criminality are recorded, the most interesting case being that of a citizen who was accused of slandering Father Gil.[24]

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[24] On population see *Misiones, Cuad. de Estados*, MS., 253; *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., vi. 7–8; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xviii. 201; *Wilkes' Nar.*, v. 555; *Bandini, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 6; *Sta Clara, Parroquia*, MS., 57–8; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 19–20; and the lists in *Id.*, ii. 70, 74–5, from which I take the following names of citizens, omitting those of women and children:

José C. Boronda,
Juan José Castro,
Miguel Villagrana,
Joaquin Pinto,
José María Perez,
José María Solar,
Luis García,
Julian Wilson,
Francisco Gonzalez,
José Bolcof,
Francisco Juarez,
Joaquin Buelna,
José María Juarez,
Juan Pinto,
Joaquin Castro,
Martin Vela,
José Ramirez,
Marcos Amador,
Samuel (Buckle),
William (Buckle),
Francisco Soria,
Jaime Mendoza,
Juan José Félix,
Francisco Rodriguez,
José Antonio Robles,
Roman Rodriguez,
Joaquin Soto,
Manuel Montero,
Manuel Tego,
Joaquin Juarez,
Juan Gonzalez,
Macedonio Lorenzana.

And from another list, apparently additional: Serafin Pinto and Luz García.

On the successive changes of civil and military jurisdiction, see chap. xxi. 34; *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 50; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., iv. 25; vi. 189; *Bandini, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 8; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., i. 35; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, lvii. 22. In 1828 Branciforte is described as bounded by the bay of Monterey on the w., by Amesti's rancho on the s., by Sta Cruz and the Sierra on the n., and on the e. by Sta Clara Creek. *Register of Brands*, MS., 20. In the slander case, in 1824, José M. Perez was accused of saying to the mother-in-law of Gervasio Soto that Padre Gil had accused all the women of the villa of immoral conduct. The evidence is more complicated and amusing than convincing. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lvii. 26–31. In 1827 Joaquin Castro had to pay a fine of $18 for a slap or two and some blows with a stick by which the health of Macedonio Lorenzana was impaired. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 72.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ROSS AND THE RUSSIANS.

1821–1830.

Description of Ross—Site and Buildings—Population and System—Establishment at the Farallones—Otter-hunting—Statistics—Trade in Californian Ports—Exports—Agriculture—Stock-raising—Industries—Ship-building—Bibliography of Ross—Chronologic Record, 1821–30—Russian Policy—Fears in Mexico—Schmidt Succeeds Kuskof—Vessels—The Canónigo Fernandez at Ross, and Results—Argüello's Otter Contract—Kotzebue's Visit—Solano—Zavalishin's Negotiations—Mexican Policy—Fears of the Junta—Echeandía vs. Russians—Shelikhof Succeeds Schmidt—Salt Contract—Fears in Sonora—Visit of Duhaut-Cilly—Pattie's Visit—Echeandía's Question—Kostromitinof Manager.

The annals of the colony at Ross from 1821 to 1830 in respect of local and colonial events, or so far as Russian relations with Spain, Mexico, and California are concerned, require but a comparatively brief treatment. But there may appropriately be added a general description of the Russian establishment, with a statistical view of its condition and progress in respect of its different industries during the whole period of its existence, from 1812 to 1841, such a sketch as I have alluded to in a former chapter,[1] and such a one as obviously belongs to no one year or decade rather than to another. I begin with this general sketch, presenting the record of events later in the chapter.

The site of Ross, on the seaboard eight or ten miles above the mouth of the Russian River, was a tolerably level table of something more than a square mile in extent, terminating on the sea-shore in a precipice of seventy feet, and so protected naturally by ravines on the other sides as to be of difficult access to an enemy. All the structures of the establishment were of redwood, except a few earthen huts of the Indians. On the plateau near the shore was a quadrangular enclosure of about 250 by 300 feet, its angles very nearly facing the cardinal points, formed of thick beams set upright in the ground, twelve or fifteen feet high and surmounted by a horizontal beam on which was a kind of *chevaux-de-frise* of wooden and iron points. The stockade was conveniently pierced with loop-holes especially near the gateways, on three at least of the four sides; while at the corners diagonally opposite and facing approximately the north and south there were hexagonal towers, or block-houses, similarly pierced, commanding the whole structure, and terminating in a high sharp roof. In these towers,

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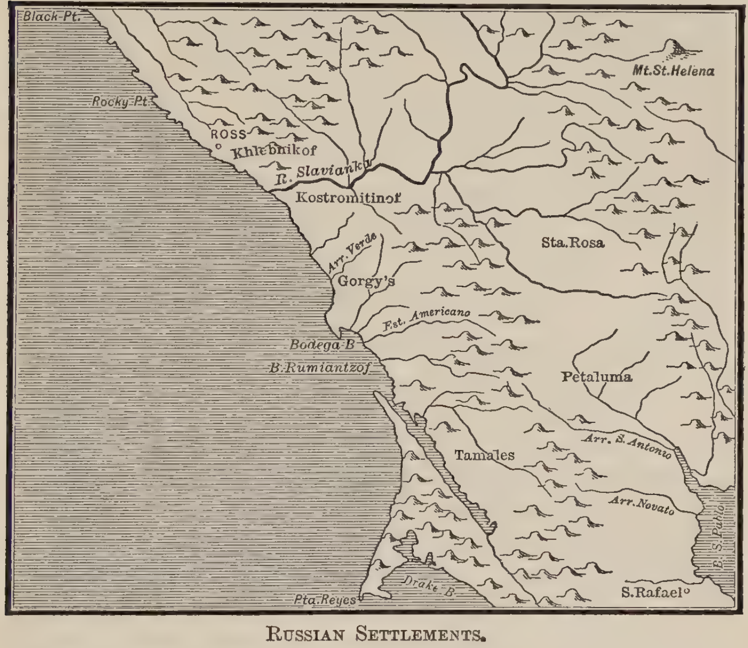
[1] See chapter xiii. of this volume, on Russian annals of 1810–20.



RUSSIAN SETTLEMENTS.

as at the entrances, and within the enclosure on carriages, cannon were mounted.[2] Thus the presence of these guns, with the natural strength of the site and the strict system of sentinels and drill never relaxed, gave to Ross the appearance of a military fortress rather than a fur-hunting and trading post. The fortress was impregnable to the aborigines and even to any force the Spanish Californians could have brought against it; but the occasion never arose of testing its strength against either foe. Within the quadrangle were the commandant's house, the officers' quarters, barracks for the Russian employés, a chapel, and various storehouses and domestic offices. Some of these buildings were of two stories; the commandant's house had glass windows and was comfortably furnished; the chapel was decorated with paintings; and all are described as having presented a very neat appearance. A well supplied water for cases of emergency, though the stream in the ravine furnished a supply for ordinary uses. Outside the stockade on the plateau were the huts of the Aleuts and natives, which they built for themselves mostly of redwood, and which they even made more or less effort to keep clean in imitation of the Russians; and scattered in the immediate vicinity were a windmill, farm buildings, granaries, cattle-yards, a tannery, and work-shops for the various industries carried on. Beyond lay the vegetable gardens. Down at the foot of the cliff on the beach at the mouth of the southern barranca was a small wharf and boat-landing, a shed for the protection of the skin boats, another for storing lumber and for work connected with the building of vessels, a blacksmith's shop, and finally a bath-house where the Russian might steam himself as was the custom in his country. At Bodega—the port of the Russian establishment, for there was no safe anchorage at Ross—there were some warehouses; and at the half-way point, on or near the river, there was a station, occupied like that on the bay by a few servants of the company.[8]

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[2] Kuskof brought eight pieces of artillery in 1812, which number was soon increased to 15 or 20, and even to 40 of various calibre by 1841 as it seems.

So far as I can judge from the complicated and contradictory statements of different writers, Russian and foreign, there were at Ross after the foundation was fairly effected, from 25 to 50 men of Russian blood, and from 50 to 120 Aleuts. No Russian women came to California, except perhaps the wives of one or two officers in the later years; but both Russians and Aleuts married or cohabited with native women, so that at the last the three races were inextricably mixed in the population of Ross. This population, including the native Californians who became permanent residents, may be estimated as having varied from 150 to 400.[4] All were to a certain extent in the service of the company, though many cultivated small pieces of ground and traded the products on their own account. The Russians were officers, chiefs of hunting parties, and mechanics; the Aleuts were hunters, fishermen, and laborers; the Californians were laborers and servants; all were to a certain extent farmers and traders and soldiers. The Russians, except a few officers, were originally of a low and often criminal class; but discipline was strict, temptations were few,

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[8] I make no attempt to notice the many discrepancies between authorities respecting the dimensions of the stockade, height of the cliff, etc. Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio*, ii. 174–9, gives a view of the fort and surroundings as they appeared in 1828, from a standpoint east of the fort; and I have before me a lithograph of late date from about the same point of view. Ingersoll, *In a Redwood Logging Camp*, in *Harper's Mag.*, lxvi. 194–5, gives a general view from the southern ravine of the fort as it appeared in 1882. The three views agree well enough, except that the last does not indicate a precipitous descent to the sea. Ingersoll also gives views of the old chapel and the old block-house, in the east and south corners respectively of the stockade. He says the chapel was in the S. E. corner, serving as an additional tower for defence, and this is also shown by the drawings of the ruins. Potechin, *Selenie Ross*, 6, who gives a careful description, speaks of 116 steps leading up from the barranca. According to Tikhménef, *Istor. Obosranie*, 208–12, the Indians built their huts where they pleased and not in regular streets. Golovnin, *Voyage*, 114, speaks of the well inside the fort. Khlébnikof, *Zapiski*, 137–8, 159, 169, says the buildings were all completed in 1814. Gabriel Moraga after his visit of 1814, *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 366–7, gave an accurate description of Ross. Gervasio Argüello, *Observaciones*, MS., 26–8, gave a still more minute one in 1816. He found seven buildings in the square. There were 37 huts for Aleuts, 47 skin-boats seen. Site two miles long and less than one mile wide. Only one place of access. Choris, *Voyage Pittoresque*, pt. iii. 7, 8, unfortunately had no opportunity to make drawings in 1816. Roquefeuil, *Voyage*, 39, briefly describes harbor and site in 1817. Payeras, *Noticias sobre Ross*, MS., 419–25, gave a minute description as the result of his visit with Fernandez in 1822. He says the commandant's house had three floors and eight rooms, describes the bath-house in which he tried a steam-bath, speaks of a cemetery; says most of the buildings were formed by placing square timbers one upon another, and furnished with steep board roofs. There is nothing requiring special notice in Kotzebue's description of 1824, *New Voyage*, ii. 121–6. Vallejo, *Informe reservado sobre el establecimiento de Ross*, MS., found in 1833 two warehouses at Bodega in care of a band of gentiles. At the fort he noted a water-power mill and 23 cannon, counting 59 buildings outside the enclosure and 9 within, or perhaps he means to say 59 in all. Belcher, *Voyage*, i. 313–16, says the square had but one entrance, by large folding gates toward the sea. He counted 20 Aleut huts, and noticed the buildings in the ravine. Laplace, in 1839, *Voyages*, vi. 69–86, found Ross to bear a strong resemblance, save in the absence of women, to a European farm. Sutter, *Autobiography*, MS., 23–6, describing the place as he found it in 1839, mentions a glass hot-house, and he speaks of the farm between Ross and Bodega with one of the two houses set apart for the use of travellers. Mofras, *Exploration*, ii. 13, briefly describes Ross in 1841; and Hastings, *Emigrant Guide*, 104, in 1842. The inventory by which the property was offered for sale in 1841 includes the following items, on the best possible authority: Square fort of logs, 1,088 feet in circumference, 12 feet high, with 2 towers; commandant's house of logs (old), 36x48 feet, double board roof, 6 rooms with corridor and kitchen; ditto (new) of logs, 24x48 feet, 6 rooms and corridor; house for revenue officers, 22x60 feet, 10 rooms; barracks,

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24x66 feet, 8 rooms; 3 warehouses; new kitchen; jail; chapel, 24x36 feet, with a belfry; and a well 15 feet deep. Outside of the fort: blacksmith-shop, tannery, bath-house, cooper's shop, bakery, carpenter's shop, 2 windmills for grinding, one mill moved by animals, three threshing floors, a well, stable, sheep-cot, hog-pen, dairy-house, 2 cow-stables, corral, 10 sheds, 8 baths, 10 kitchens, and 24 houses, nearly every one having an orchard. At Kostromitinof rancho, house, farm-buildings, corral, and boat for crossing the river Slavianka. At Khlébnikof Rancho, adobe house, farm-buildings, bath, mill, corral. At Tschernich, or Don Jorge's rancho, house, stores, fences, etc. At Bodega, warehouse, 30x60 feet, 3 small houses, bath, ovens, corrals. *Ross, Propuesta de Venta*, MS.

In the *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 363-78, 183, is a long description of the establishment written apparently from a personal inspection of the ruins, and information given by an old settler. There are many interesting details about the buildings and methods of construction for which I have no space. The size of the quadrangle is given as 288 by 312 feet. North of this was the village of cabins; also wind-mill and stamp for grinding bark. One of the mill-stones still preserved. South of the building in the gulch was another large one blown down in the storm of 1878. The cemetery was across the gulch eastward, and tradition says there was near it a church for the common people. Traces of a dozen graves yet remain, surmounted by a wooden structure but no inscriptions. A road graded through solid rock down to the shore, with iron bolts in the rock to which wharf timbers were fastened. Also a pit for sawing lumber. An enclosure of five acres about a mile east of the fort, containing an orchard still bearing. Remains of a building and of a lighter at Russian gulch. Old settlers say there was a settlement in the interior, just north of Bodega Corners; no traces left. The public road now passes through the old fort; the buildings are used for saloon, hotel, and storehouse, the chapel for a stable, and the bastions for pig-sties.

[4] See authorities named in the preceding note. Tuthill and Randolph put the total at 800 in 1841.

and the settlement was always quiet and orderly. All classes as a rule preferred life here to that in the far north. One of the officers was authorized by the bishop to baptize, marry, and read the funeral service, but I find no information respecting a chaplain or regular chapel services. The food of the masses was largely sea-lions and gulls from the Farallones, with fish and game; grain, vegetables, and beef being as a rule sold for the northern establishments. The general system and routine observed by the company in their trading and hunting operations as in their relation to employés, uniform in all the Russian American colonies, is fully treated in my *History of Alaska.*

From 1812 to 1840 the Russians kept up an establishment at the Farallones as well as at Ross. The chief object at first was to secure fur-seals, 1,200 or 1,500 skins being taken annually for five or six years, though Winship, Gale, Smith, and other Americans had taken the cream of this natural wealth a few years earlier. After 1818 the seals diminished rapidly until only 200 or 300 per year could be caught, and the business was no longer profitable; but still a Russian with from six to ten Aleuts was kept at the station to kill sea-lions and gulls, collect eggs, and prepare the products of this industry for use at Ross and Sitka. Annually from 5,000 to 50,000 gulls and about 200 sea-lions were killed. Of the latter the skins and sinews were used in making boats; the meat was salted or dried to be eaten at Ross; the bladders were made into water-tight sacks; while the blubber was tried for oil used both as food and for lamps. The meat of gulls and other birds was dried for food, and the down was also saved for exportation. The party lived in earthen huts on the storm-beaten rocks. Five or six times a year bidarkas were sent out to the station to carry water and wood, though oil-soaked bones largely took the place of wood for cooking. The same boats would bring back meat, oil, and skins. The trip in these frail vessels was often long, difficult, and even dangerous in unfavorable weather. Two bidarkas were always kept at the islands.[5]

The two leading objects of the company in founding the Californian establishment had been, as the reader is well aware, fur-hunting and the opening of an advantageous trade with the Spanish neighbors for provisions. Both these topics, and especially that of trade, have from their very nature been prominent and will be still in the chronologic narrative; but such general and statistical statements as are accessible may well be presented here. It was always believed by the Spanish Californians, and often by others, that the company was deriving an immense revenue from the furs taken by the Ross colony, but this was an exaggerated view. The post was profitable in this respect during but a very small part of its existence, if at all, and a part of the fur yield could have been obtained quite as well without the settlement. The catch on the New Albion coast, in a sense the legitimate hunting-ground of the Russians, never gave a large margin of profit; and, even with the poaching and contract operations in and south of San Francisco Bay, it may be doubted if such a margin was kept up much later than 1820.[6]

The total number of sea-otter skins definitely recorded as having been obtained in California by the company is about 13,600. There is, however, no reason to regard this record as complete, and valuable furs of other kinds were taken in considerable quantities.

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[5] Khlébnikof, *Zapiski*, 157-8, gives the best account of this station at the Farallones. Tikhménef, *Istor. Obos.*, 208-12, barely mentions the subject. Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio*, ii. 177-9, says 100 Kadiaks were usually kept at the islands. Captain Morrell found a Russian family with 23 Kadiaks on the North Farallon in May 1825. *Morrell's Nar.*, 209.

[6] Khlébnikof, *Zapiski*, ii. 138-9, gives statistics of the sea-otter catch from 1812 to 1823, and Tikhménef, *Istor. Obos.*, i. 211, 357-9, from 1824 to 1834, as follows: 1812-14, 877 skins; 1815, 153; 1816, 97; 1817, 55; 1818, 13; 1819, 71; 1820, 22; 1821, 35; 1822-3, 43; 1824, 475; 1825, 500; 1826, 287; 1827, 12; 1828, 1; 1829, 23; 1830, 34; 1831, 112; 1832, 1; 1833, 221; 1834, 255. Total, 3,287 skins. Tikhménef says that by 1817 the otters were exterminated from Trinidad Bay down to San Antonio cove near San Francisco. Hunting otter on shares in the south was given up before 1830; and no fur-seals were taken at the Farallones after 1834. From 1825 to 1830 the value of fur exports from Ross was 4,138 roubles. In Baránof, *Shizneopissanie*, 147, the catch from 1812 to 1817 is given as 1,000 skins. The recorded product of the contract hunting before 1812, described in other chapters, was 9,181 skins; while the hunting on shares in 1824-6 yielded 1,144 skins. According to *Choris, Voyage Pitt.*, ii. 7-8, the yearly catch was 2,000 otter. Alvarado,

The trade for supplies to be consumed in the far north was a more urgent motive by far than the getting of furs, and in this respect success was also greater. Notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in their way, with which the reader is familiar, the Russians obtained with tolerable regularity for years cargo after cargo of Californian grain and other provisions most welcome to the northern posts, and purchased with goods on which a very large percentage of profit was realized. Moreover for a time they had this commercial field, such as it was, largely to themselves; but later, when under Mexican rule the ports were thrown open, heavy duties had to be paid, and competition with traders of other nations not only reduced the price of Russian goods and raised that of Californian products, but so exhausted the market that there were years when the company's vessels could get no cargo short of Chile. It must be borne in mind, however, that the advantages of this trade were not altogether dependent on the existence of a settlement nearer than Sitka. I append some statistical and general notes.[7]

As the hunt for otter became less and less profitable, and as obstacles interfered with perfect success in the way of trade, the agents of the company turned their attention more and more to home industries at Ross. Agriculture was naturally one of the most important of these industries, and results in this branch

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Hist. Cal., MS., ii. 11, tells us there were months when 2,500 skins, worth $90 each, were exported; and Simpson, *Narrative*, 269, says that in 1814–42 the company sent to market 80,000 sea-otter skins. Chamisso, *Reise*, i. 132, took his statement from Choris that 2,000 skins per year were sold at an average price of $60.

[7] Lütke, *Narrative*, 142–4, gives a good account of the company's trade in California, with average prices paid for produce down to 1825. He says the yearly exports averaged $9,000 from 1817 to 1829. Khlébnikof, *Zapiski*, 78–84, 146–7, gives a much more complete statement, with full price-lists of goods sold in California from 1818 to 1825. On the cargo of the *Kutúsof* in 1817 254 per cent of profit was cleared; and 150 per cent was made on other cargoes; but later 35 to 70 per cent was deemed a fair gain, since some articles

are shown more or less completely in a note.[8] Except

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had to be sold nearly down to cost. This author gives the following table of provisions obtained in California:

		Wheat. fan.	Bar-ley. fan.	Pease and Beans. fan.	Flour. arr.	Tallow and Lard. arr.	Dried Meat. arr.
1817	At San Francisco, per *Kutúsof*......	358	256	109	180	203	.....
1818	Monterey and Sta Cruz, per *Kutúsof*.	3,140	500	904	114	1,083	540
1820	Monterey and Sta Cruz, per *Buldákof*.	1,376	250	163	242	390	260
1821	San Francisco, per *Golovnin*........	737	.....	24	.....	263	.....
	Monterey, per *Kutúsof*.............	1,160	300	306	.....	480	729
	San Francisco, per *Buldákof*........	1,880	.....	.....	15	258	.....
1822	Monterey, per *Volga*.............	129	280	25	.....	4	.....
	Monterey, per *Buldákof*............	1,026	200	152	163	318	180
	Sta Cruz, *Volga*..................	520	.....	120	.....	6	.....
1823	Monterey and Sta Cruz, per *Rurik*..	742	115	86	101	188	170
1824	Monterey, per *Baikal*..............	1,317	400	.....	.....	510	.....
	S. Pedro, per *Buldákof*............	1,885	.....	.....	.....	140	.....
1825	Monterey, per *Kiakhta*............	1,510	.....	39	.....	258	.....
	S. Pedro and S. Francisco, per *Baikal*.	530	6	.....	.....	22	.....
	Total.........................	16,310	2,307	1,928	815	4,123	1,879

Potechin, *Selenie Ross*, 14, adds for 1823 cargoes of the *Volga* and *Buldákof*, amounting to 1,268 fan. wheat, 170 pease and beans, 200 barley, and 250 arrobas of tallow. Tikhménef, *Istor. Obos.*, i. 221, 342–4, 359, gives much larger figures for 1822, viz.: 8,127 fan. wheat, 1,458 pease and beans, 1,192 barley, 1,135 arr. flour, 3,200 tallow, and 1,354 dried meat. Wheat cost the Russians 3 to 4.5 rubles per poud; barley nearly 4 rubles; and flour about 9 rubles. The shipments for 1837 amounted to about $7,300; 1838, $16,000; 1839, $10,000; 1840, $30,000; 1841, $8,000. I attach, however, very little value to these statistical fragments.

[8] Table showing yield of wheat and barley from 1815 to 1829, from *Khlebnikof*, *Zapiski*, 150–9, 169.

	Sown.		Harvest.			Sown.		Harvest.	
	Wheat.	Barley.	Wheat.	Barley.		Wheat.	Barley.	Wheat.	Barley.
	Pouds.		Pouds.			Pouds.		Pouds.	
1815	5	......	8	......	1825	201	39	1,815	198
1816	14	......	48	......		240	64	1,830	366
1817	15	......	8	......	1826	428	27	2,060	86
1818	29	9	106	46		350	80	1,016	609
1819	31	24	94	64	1827	507	42	2,333	141
1820	41	1	173	11		259	143	953	574
1821	37	11	235	26	1828	644	107	4,421	508
1822	54	12	420	34		220	107	604	428
	57	8	418	97	1829	857	......	3,450	....
1823	70	18	733	48		286	......	1,114	....
	114	15	1,118	88					
1824	103	......	927	......					
	217	33	1,200	350					
					Total.	4,779	740	25,084	3,674

as a source of home supply for the colony it was not regarded as a success. The land in the immediate vicinity of the fort was limited in extent and not remarkably fertile, while the prevalent coast fogs caused

The *poud* is 36 lbs. avoirdupois, or about four to a fanega. After 1822 the double figures show the results of planting both by the company and by private persons. Under Shélikof's rule every fertile spot of soil near the fort was cultivated, and there were fields two miles away. The area sown in 1828 in scattered fields is estimated at about 175 acres. Plowing and planting was done in November and December after the first rains. No manuring except for gardens, etc. Both oxen and horses were used for plowing, and in some rocky spots Indians were hired to dig up the soil with spades. Vegetables were raised in abundance in the gardens, including pumpkins and watermelons. Pickled beets and cabbages were sent to Sitka. Potatoes were planted twice in a year but the yield was only six or eight to a hill. Wild mustard-seed was gathered for exportation. Fruit trees did well. The first peach-tree brought from S. Francisco in 1814 bore in 1820. Other peach-trees were brought from Monterey, and also grape-vines from Lima in 1817, the latter bearing in 1823. In 1820 100 trees, apple, pear, cherry, and peach, were set out, bearing in 1828. The fogs were so dense that sometimes for three months the sun was not visible. All this from Khlébnikof. Tikhménef, *Istor. Obos.*, i. 211, 220–1, 353–6, 360–1, gives in addition the following items: The sowing in 1813 was 65 lbs., harvest 165 lbs.; 1814, 200 and 882 lbs. For the first 10 years the company derived no advantage from agriculture at Ross, save some little aid to vessels. Great efforts were made and great results expected in 1826, but a rust destroyed half the crop of wheat. In seven years, 1826–33, about 6,000 pouds of grain, or 800 pouds per year, were shipped to Sitka. In 1821 the field of operations was partially transferred from the foggy coast to sheltered vales further inland, but on account of the inaccessibility of the fertile spots and other reasons, very little was gained. In 1833 wild oats sprang up, and the old fields had to be pastured for several years. Mice and gophers did much damage. The same year Baron Wrangell transferred cultivation to the mouth of the river, with much success for two years. In 1835 and 1836 there was a failure of crops. All hope of profit to the company had been given up by the chief administrator. The shipments for the last four years, 1837–40, were wheat, 9,918 pouds; bread, 100 p.; barley, 939 p.; rye, 20 p.; pease, 243 p.; buckwheat, 246 p.; maize, 38 p.; tobacco, 4.5 p., besides seed of flax, hemp, mustard, and poppy. Potechin, *Selenie Ross*, 6–7, 14–15, says the yield in 1823 was 6,104 pouds of wheat and 942 p. of barley. Agricultural products in 1826 were worth 29,904 rubles; 1828, 3,619 r.; 1829, 16,233 r.; 1830, 3,097 r. Potatoes, according to this author, sometimes yielded 250 fold. Zavalishin, *Delo o Koloniy Ross*, 21–5, notes an effort in 1817 to bring a colony of 25 peasant farmers from Russia; and he quotes several reports in which the want of success at Ross is attributed to lack of skill on the part of the farmers. A good crop in 1829 and a failure in 1830 are reported. Golovnin, *Voyage*, 117–18, reports in agriculture no success down to 1818, except in vegetables. Potatoes in Kuskof's gardens yielded 100 fold, and at Bodega sometimes 200 fold. Vallejo, *Informe Reservado*, MS., found in 1833 that wheat was yielding only eight to one. A piece of ground had been cultivated on Tamalanica Creek, three leagues from Bodega, and 5 l. from Ross, but had been abandoned on the remonstrance of the comandante at San Francisco. The inventory of 1841, *Ross, Propuesta de Venta*, MS., names three ranchos: the Kostromitinof, Khlébnikof, and Gorgy's, a fruit-orchard 330x144 feet, with 260 trees, of which 207 were apple; another small one with 20 trees; a few trees to nearly every house; and a few vines. There was land for sowing 175 fanegas at the fort all fenced; 100 acres at Kostromitinof rancho on the river; sowing land for 50 fanegas, and also 2,000 vines at grain to rust. Gophers, squirrels, and mice were troublesome pests. Tillable soil was only to be found in small spots difficult of access. Wild oats sprang up in the old fields, which were, moreover, exhausted by constant cropping. True there were broad and fertile grain-lands in the interior, the occupation of which the Spanish Californians could not have prevented as the Russians well knew; but to have occupied those lands against the will of their neighbors would have endangered the profits of the Californian trade, especially after 1823. Besides, there was another reason for agricultural failure in the stupidity and ignorance of both Russians and Aleuts, who were perhaps the worst farmers in the world. Each farmed in his own way, which was, if possible, a little worse than that of another, so far as we may judge from results and from frequent complaints. They accomplished very little, as had to be admitted, even in comparison with the neophytes. The yield of wheat on an average was only five fold, and of barley the same. Ten fold was the highest result in any one year. The officers were discouraged before 1830, but efforts were kept up with irregular results until the end. Vegetables and fruits did better than grain, but only small quantities of the product were ever utilized for exportation to Sitka.

Stock-raising proved hardly more profitable, in proportion to what was expected of it, than agriculture, owing to the lack of pasturage near the fort, and the impossibility of herding the cattle effectually on the vast ranges over which they strayed during half the year.[9] A considerable quantity, however, of salt beef,

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Gorgy's rancho. Belcher, *Voyage*, i. 313–16, in 1837 mentioned a rancho between Ross and Bodega, claimed by a *ci-divant* Englishman (D. Gorgy?), yielding 3,000 bushels in good years. Bidwell, *Recollections*, 94–6, mentions D. George's vineyard in 1841, and also 100 apple trees, and 40 or 50 vines at the fort.

[9] Horned cattle were about 60 in 1817, 180 in 1821, 520 in 1829, 720 in 1833, and 1,700 in 1841; horses increased from 10 in 1817 to 250 in 1829, 415 in 1833, and 900 in 1841; there were 100 sheep in 1817, 800 in 1822, 614 in 1829, 605 in 1833, and 900 in 1841; and swine numbered 124 in 1821 and 106 in 1829. Between 1822 and 1823 there seems to have been a set-back in all kinds of live-stock. The flesh of swine was spoiled by their feeding on mus-

butter, and leather was sent every year to Sitka after domestic wants had been supplied; and at the last the company had about 2,000 cattle, 1,000 horses and mules, and 1,000 sheep to sell with the establishment. The first live-stock was obtained from Californians, not without some difficulty in the case of breeding-animals, which, as there is some reason to suppose, were secured through the aid of the Indians.

There was hardly any article of wood, iron, or leather which the mechanics of Ross in the early years could not make of a quality sufficiently good for the California market, and to the very last they received frequent applications from the Spaniards. But in the later years many minor articles were more cheaply obtained from American and English traders. Several boats were built for Spanish officers or friars. Timber and tiles were not only sent south, but north, and even in some instances to the Sandwich Islands. Pine pitch was also sent to Sitka in considerable quantities, in barrels which, like those for meat and other exports, were made by the Ross coopers. All these industries were of course by reason of the limited market more useful than profitable.

Again, ship-building, an industry for which the abundance of timber in the vicinity seemed to promise great results, proved in the end only an expensive failure. The wood, not well fitted perhaps for the purpose in the first place, was not properly seasoned before being used, and the workmen had not sufficient skill or experience. In vain redwood, pine,

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sels and sea-lion meat. There were about 50 mules in 1841. A few horses, but chiefly oxen, were used for work. Many cattle were killed by bears and Indians. Bulls used to come in to the fort with lacerated flesh and bloody horns after encounters with bears. In the last 15 years 216,000 lbs. of salt beef and 17,000 lbs. of butter were sent to Sitka. Very little tallow was saved, as the cattle were not killed when fat. Butter brought about 30 cents per lb. in Sitka. Excellent leather was tanned and exported. Of the wool very little use was made, since weaving was not successful. The total product in good years of cattle and sheep was valued at 8,000 rubles. See *Khlébnikof*, *Zapiski*, 153–6; *Tikhménef*, *Istor. Obos.*, i. 356–7; *Golovnin*, *Voy.*, 118; *Potechin*, *Selenie Ross*, 14–15; *Zavalishin*, *Delo o Kol.*, 24–5; *Ross*, *Propuesta de Venta*, MS.; *Bidwell's Recollections*, MS., 82–5; *Duhaut-Cilly*, *Viaggio*, ii. 177–9.

oak, and laurel were put to the test; the vessels built never lasted more than six years, and were in a bad condition long before that time had elapsed; so that in the end it was found cheaper to buy ships of the Americans than to build them at Ross. Yet four vessels of respectable dimensions were there constructed and launched before 1824, and three of them, the *Buldákof*, *Volga*, and *Kiakhta*, the reader meets more than once in the southern ports.[10] I have thought it best to present here a list of the Russian authorities consulted in my chapters on the Ross settlement, with bibliographical notes, which are very brief because most of the works, treating in general of the Russian American colonies and referring only incidentally to Ross, receive more extensive description in connection with the *History of Alaska*, and also because the character of the different works is largely indicated, so far as they affect California, in notes and citations scattered through the four chapters devoted to the present subject.[11]

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[10] The schooner *Roumiantzof*, 160 tons, was begun in 1816 and launched in 1818. It cost 20,212 rubles, besides labor, sailed in 1819, and was useless in 1823. The brig *Buldákof*, 200 tons, was begun in 1819, copper-bottomed and launched in 1820; cost, first and last, 80,000 rubles; and was in use only until 1826, except to be anchored as a store-ship. These two vessels were built chiefly of oak; but the later ones of pine and cedar (redwood?). The *Volga*, 160 tons, was begun in 1821, launched in 1822; cost 36,189 rubles; and in 1827 was unseaworthy. Finally the *Kiakhta*, 200 tons, was begun in 1823, launched in 1824; cost 35,248 rubles; and was in use after 1830. Besides the four vessels named several boats were built both for home use and for sale to the Spaniards. *Khlébnikof*, *Zapiski*, 149–50; *Tikhménef*, *Istor. Obos.*, i. 209, 350. Khlébnikof says the only advantage derived from ship-building was a degree of respect from their shiftless neighbors, who wondered at such incomprehensible activity. Argüello in 1816, *Observaciones*, MS., 27, reported that a brig was being built at Bodega of 24 varas keel. Payeras in 1822, *Noticias*, MS., 420, reported that three brigs had been built and timber was being prepared for others. Vallejo in 1833, *Informe Reservado*, MS., 105–7, learned that four of the 12 vessels employed in the company's trade had been built at Ross. Khlébnikof, *Zapiski*, 148–9, says that in 1823 an old boat built in Kuskof's time, was sold to Comandante Martinez for 12 fan. of wheat; in 1826 a boat was built for $1,200 for S. Francisco Mission; and in 1827 a barge for Mission S. José at $1,500.

[11] *Tikhménef*, *Istoricheskoie Obosranie*, etc.—Historical review of the origin of the Russian American Company, and its doings up to the present time—St Petersburg, 1862–3, 2 vols. The work is official and exhaustive, giving in an appendix many original documents relating to Ross as well as to the other establishments.

Materialui dhlia Istoriy Russkikh Tasseleniq, etc.—Material for the history of the Russian settlements on the shores of the eastern ocean—St Petersburg, Having thus presented a general view of Ross and its industries I return to the chronologic record of 1821–30. At the end of the last decade, as we have seen,[12] the company had expressed its willingness to abandon not only its claim of Russian title to lands in California, a claim but lately and rather feebly urged for temporary purposes, but even the settlement at Ross, in return for unrestricted trade with the Spaniards in Californian ports. In ordinary times Spain would probably not have paid much attention to such a proposition, and that it is not heard of again in the turmoil of the following years is not to be wondered at. It would seem that in the troublous times of the revolution, Russia, had she cared to do so, might without

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1861. A collection of papers originally published in the *Morsksoi Sbornik*, the organ of the Russian Naval Department. The most important of the documents are Khlébnikof's letters on America, *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, which, and especially the second part, contain a very large amount of minute and reliable information respecting Ross. Other papers that have been used to some extent are *Golovnin, Voyage, 1818*, and *Lütke, Narrative, 1826–9.*

Baránof, Shizneopissanie—Biography of Alex. A. Baránof, chief manager of the Russian colonies in America—St Petersburg, 1835. This work forms a very complete history of the American colonies from 1790 to 1818, including the early annals of Ross. It was written by Kyril Khlébnikof, author of the letters already referred to, who made several visits in person to California, and held a prominent position in the company.

Pinart, Documents on Russian America. This is a collection made at St Petersburg by M. Alphonse Pinart, the well known traveller and linguist, who kindly permitted me to copy them and thus profit by his labors. The following I have found useful in connection with Ross annals: *Etholin's Letter to the Chief Administration of the Company about the Ross Colony*, dated Sept. 9, 1841, on the preparations for abandoning the establishment; *Rotchef's Deed of Ross to Sutter, Dec. 12, 1841*, contained in a letter by Capt. Etholin; *Russ, Am. Fur Co., Accounts 1847–50*, with information about Sutter's payments; and particularly, *Potechin, Selenie Ross*—Settlement of Ross—a very valuable paper printed in the Journal of the Department of Manufactures and Trade, October 1859, vol. viii. It is a complete and interesting account of the history of Ross and of the relations between Russia and Spain concerning that colony.

Zavalishin, Delo o Koloniy Ross—Affairs of the Ross Colony, by W. Zavalishin—Moscow, 1866. This work is a dissertation on Russian policy and rights at Ross rather than a history or description of the colony; yet many historical events are narrated, and numerous extracts from colonial records are given. The author is emphatic in defence of the Russian claim to New Albion as will be seen elsewhere. In 1824 he was engaged in some negotiations with the Californian authorities for the cession of the country north of San Francisco Bay. He has an exalted idea respecting the wisdom of his own views, and is fond of reminding us that had these been adopted all would have gone well. As it is, he criticises the vacillating policy of Russia, ridicules the presumptuous claims of Spain and Mexico, and is especially bitter against American settlers on the Pacific.

[12] See chapter xiv. of this volume.

much difficulty have obtained from Spain on easy terms some concessions in this far north-west which would have been of considerable value; but it is certain that the Russian government never pretended to have, and never tried seriously to obtain, any territorial rights whatever in California. Duflot de Mofras notes that in the imperial oukaz of September 4, 1821, forbidding foreigners to encroach on the Russian possessions in America, no mention is made of Ross.[13] Yet the feeling in Mexico is indicated by the report of a high official to Iturbide in October 1821, that the Russians were in California "perhaps under some secret agreement with the government of Spain."[14] Three of the company's trading vessels, the *Golovnin*, *Kutúsof*, and *Buldákof*, were sent to the southern ports this year, one of them bringing vaccine matter, probably the first ever used successfully in California, to Monterey in July. Two Russian frigates, the *Minerva* and *Ceres*, had wintered at San Francisco and sailed in February, the officers leaving a most favorable impression as a result of their free manner of spending money.[15] Between Governor Sola and the directors of the company there was an exchange of notes mutually polite and flattering in the autumn, the occasion being the expected arrival of the *Borodino* and Chevalier Zacariah Panafidin, who, however, failed to come.[16] In 1821 also, as I suppose, but possibly a year or two earlier, Kuskof, the founder and first ruler of Ross, was succeeded in the command by Karl Schmidt, a young man of considerable enterprise and ability, and retired from the service of the company. He died in Russia in 1823.[17]

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[13] *Mofras, Exploration*, ii. 6.

[14] *Ayala, Resúmen.* See chap. xx. of this volume.

[15] See chap. xx. of this volume; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 251-3; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 228-9,

[16] Sept. 22, 1821, Cramer and Severin to Gov. Sola. Dec. 1st, Sola's reply. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 298-300.

[17] Ivan Alexandrovich Kuskof, a merchant of Totemsk, came to America as clerk with Baránof, and for subsequent services was decorated with a gold medal and the title of commercial councillor. *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 35. In 1805 Rezánof speaks of his energy, honesty, and other good qualities: but also of his hot-headedness and lack of political knowledge. He says: 'I ask

The *Buldákof* and *Volga* were the vessels sent down to San Francisco and Monterey in 1822 for supplies, a few otter being taken this year and the next by Aleuts, carried with their bidarkas on the vessels to engage in surreptitious hunting.[18] The man-of-war *Apollo*, 32 guns and 120 men, Captain Stephen Krusof, also arrived at San Francisco from St Petersburg in November seeking fresh provisions. Argüello ordered that the ship be furnished with all she needed and could pay for, that every courtesy be shown to the officers, but that no opportunity be afforded for observation respecting the condition of the country and its defences.[19]

The most important event of the year at Ross was the visit of the Canónigo Fernandez, Captain Argüello, and Prefect Payeras in October. This visit has already been fully recorded.[20] Respecting that part of the topic which it would be desirable to notice more fully here, the negotiations between the canon and Manager Schmidt, there is very little information extant. Payeras, after alluding to the hospitable reception of his party by the Russians, and the privilege of inspecting everything at Ross, fully utilized in his narrative, says merely, "the political and other subjects of the superior commission intrusted to my noble companion having been discussed, we prepared to depart." The Russian writers tell us that Fernandez, after asking the old threadbare questions respecting the rights and papers under which Ross had been occupied, and getting no satisfactory replies, declared as a representative of Mexico that the place must be

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for him the rank of collegiate assessor to protect him, if not from insult, at least from beatings, with which he has often been threatened.' *Tikhménef, Istor. Obos.*, app., 219-20.

[18] See chapter xxi. of this volume, on arrival of vessels. Khlébnikof, *Zapiski*, 141, mentions the otter-hunting in 1822-3. Tikhménef, *Istor. Obos.*, i. 221, says 10,000 fanegas of grain and 5,600 arrobas of flour, meat, and tallow were obtained by the vessels of this year.

[19] *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 51; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 4, 59; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xii. 5.

[20] See chapter xxi. of this volume. Also *Payeras, Noticias sobre Ross*, MS.

abandoned within six months or force would be used.[21] There is no reason to doubt that such was the substance of the interview. The canónigo's main object was to get information about the Russian establishment, and having accomplished this he could hardly do less than insist on the abandonment, neither he nor Schmidt attaching much importance to the accompanying threats of forcible ejectment.[22] Fernandez, after his return from Ross, caused some depositions to be taken from Russian residents respecting the plans of their nation, and even carried one of those residents with him to Mexico.[23]

The trip of the canon to Bodega, his remarks and acts after his return, and his letters from Mexico a little later, fanned into a flickering flame the suspicious fears of Russia entertained in Mexico and California.[24] The national authorities had, however, other and more urgent causes of anxiety which prevented them from devoting more than brief attention to dangers on the northern frontier; and in California, though some uneasiness was caused by the presence of the *Apollo*, which had wintered at San Francisco, and of the *Creizer* and *Ladoga*, Russian frigates which arrived later in 1823; and though Padre Duran took it upon himself to agitate the matter by calling the governor's attention to the impending danger, the fuel was too damp and the flame refused to spread. Relations between Ross and Monterey continued to be as friendly as ever.

And even more friendly; for not only did the *Buldákof*, *Golovnin*, and perhaps the *Volga* trade on the southern coast this year;[25] but Governor Argüello, always a friend, socially and commercially, to the Russians, even went so far as to grant the oft-urged privilege of hunting otters on shares. A contract was signed in December, which, being renewed the following year, yielded before the end of 1824 a total of 1,500 skins for division.[26]

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[21] *Tikhménef, Istor. Obos.*, i. 361; *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 16.

[22] Tikhménef says that the members of the diputacion assured the company's commissioner, Khlébnikof, that they knew nothing of the canónigo's plan to force the evacuation of Ross.

[23] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 83; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 55, 96; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., v. 222. Capt. Hall, of the *Lady Blackwood*, touched at Bodega this year, and in his *Remarks* describes the harbor slightly.

[24] See chapter xxii. 2-4, with references to Iturbide's fears and several letters of the padres.

The Russian vessels in Californian ports in 1824 were the traders *Buldákof* and *Rurik;* the frigates *Creizer*, *Ladoga*, and *Apollo;* and the *Predpriate* under Otto von Kotzebue.[27] Business relations continued altogether friendly, and there is nothing in connection with the foreign fleet that requires notice here except Kotzebue's visit to Ross. This visitor gives in his printed narrative a very good description not only of the Russian establishment but of "the whole of the northern part of the bay, which does not properly belong to California, but is assigned by geographers to New Albion." Past and present relations between the colonists and the Californians he treats in a most unfair and prejudiced manner,[28] representing that the

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[25] See chapter xxii. of this vol. *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 141.

[26] See chapter xxii., this vol. In a report of Oct. 16, 1823, the Americans are charged with arming the Indians and inciting them against the Russians; but this charge refers chiefly if not entirely to the acts of the Americans at the north. *Zavalishin, Delo o Koloniy Ross*, 7–8.

[27] See chap. xxiii. of this vol.

[28] 'The Spaniards lived at first on the best terms with the new settlers, and provided them with oxen, cows, horses, and sheep; but when in process of time they began to remark that, notwithstanding the inferiority of soil and climate, the Russian establishment became more flourishing than theirs, envy and apprehension of future danger took possession of their minds; they then required that the settlement should be abandoned; asserted that their rights of dominion extended northward quite to the Icy Sea, and threatened to support their claims by force of arms. The founder, and then commander of Ross, a man of penetration and one not easily frightened, gave a very decided answer' (exactly what he never could be induced to do). 'He had, he said, at the command of his superiors settled in this region which had not previously been in the possession of any other power, and over which, consequently, none had a right but the natives; that these latter had freely consented to his occupation of the land, and therefore that he would yield to no such unfounded pretension as that now advanced by the Spaniards, but should always be ready to resist force by force. Perceiving that the Russians would not comply with their absurd requisitions, and considering that they were likely to be worsted in an appeal to arms, the Spaniards quietly gave up all further thought of hostilities, and entered again into friendly communications with

Russians had set up, insisted on, and virtually frightened the Californians into admitting the justice of a claim to territorial possessions in New Albion. The author is justified in praising the thrift observable at Ross as compared with the prevalent want of energy among the Spaniards; but he is extravagant in his praise in several respects, notably in that of agriculture, if we may credit the Russian writers; over-enthusiastic, perhaps, in his admiration of the company's Indian policy;[29] and only moderately successful as a prophet in saying: "Should the blessing of civilization ever be extended to the rude inhabitants of these regions, the merit will be due to the Russian settlements, certainly not to the Spanish missions." Kotzebue had been severely blamed by certain persons for having virtually acknowledged the justice of the Spanish views respecting Ross at the time of his former visit to California; and now he seems to have been disposed as far as possible to make amends.

Not only Kotzebue but other Russian writers of later date take the ground that San Rafael in 1817 and San Francisco Solano in 1824 were founded by the Spaniards in order to prevent the Russians from extending their dominion to the bay of San Francisco. "It is a great pity that we were not beforehand with them. The advantages of possessing this beautiful bay are incalculable," writes the navigator.[30] We have seen, however, that such was not in any sense the origin of either foundation; but the settlement at Ross was deemed from the first a great aid

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our people; since which the greatest unity has subsisted between the two nations.' *Kotzebue's New Voyage*, ii. 121-3. It is not necessary for me to point out to the reader of the preceding chapters the glaring inaccuracies of this version.

[29] 'The more striking the contrast between the two nations in their treatment of the savages, the more ardently must every friend of humanity rejoice on entering the Russian territory. The Greek Church does not make converts by force. Free from fanaticism she preaches only toleration and love. She does not even admit of persuasion, but trusts wholly to conviction for proselytes, who, when once they enter her communion, will always find her a loving mother. How different has been the conduct both of Catholic priests and Protestant missionaries'! *New Voyage*, ii. 124.

[30] *Kotzebue's New Voyage*, ii. 123; *Tikhménef, Istor. Obos.*, i. 361-2.

to the new northern missions. At the foundation of Solano several ornaments for the church were sent as gifts from the Russians; and the padres had frequent occasion to apply at Ross for the manufacture or repair of various implements.[31]

On board one of the vessels of this year seems to have been Mr W. Zavalishin, who in a capacity not recorded claims to have engaged in certain negotiations with the Californians. He says the latter were willing to cede to the Russians all the country north of San Francisco Bay. It is not unlikely that he found some of the Californian officials who expressed such sentiments; but that the governor consented formally to such a cession of territory and sent the proposition to Mexico, may be doubted in the absence of documentary evidence. Zavalishin speaks of a report and documents presented by him on the subject in 1824, but burned in 1835. His strong argument with the Californians was that the cession to Russia was the only way to keep the country from the Americans. Whether or not Luis Argüello agreed to the measure is not a very important question, since he had no authority in such a matter. It is not pretended that it was ever ratified by Mexico; and Zavalishin admits his failure to secure the approval of Russia. In fact his essay, written after the discovery of gold had made the lands of great value, is in substance: "See what a prize you might have gained had you adopted my views," addressed to the imperial government.[32]

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[31] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 127–8.

[32] *Zavalishin, Delo o Koloniy Ross*, 5–6, 12–13, 19–23, 29–30. The author says that Count Nordvinof favored his plan from the first, and Senator Poletikin at last, but other counsels prevailed, and Russia pursued her former policy of indecision, acknowledging the imaginary claims of the Spaniards. He also speaks of a proposition by himself and Nordvinof to bring from Russia a colony of serfs to be set free in California. Mofras, *Exploration*, ii. 6–7, notes that in the treaties of April 5, 1824, and Feb. 16, 1825, between Russia, the United States, and England, by which the former agreed to found no establishments south of 54° 40′, no mention is made of California. Scala, *L'Influence de l'Ancien Comptoir Russe*, 383–4, tells us that the Russians maintained their position in spite of the treaties of 1824–5—the Mexicans being powerless against a garrison of 400 soldiers, besides a multitude of Canadians, Americans,

In 1825 there was a renewal of the otter-hunting contract. Klébnikof tells us that the arrangement was made with Herrera, and was similar in its conditions to that of 1823–4; but that Echeandía would not permit it to be carried out except after vexatious delays and various restrictions. Captain Beuseman of the *Baikal* was allowed to hunt from San Luis Rey to Todos Santos from November to February, securing 468 skins; but in the division he took his pay to some extent for the past delays.[33] The vessels of 1825–6, besides the *Baikal*, of which Klébnikof was supercargo, were the *Creizer*, which sailed from San Francisco for St Petersburg in February, the *Helena*, with Karl Schmidt on board, the *Kiakhta*, and the *Argosy*. Paul Shélikof succeeded Schmidt as manager. In Mexico the junta de fomento de Californias clearly knew very little of the Ross establishment, since in its report of January 1825 it speaks of "the Russians, who, having extended their power to the most northern limits of Asia on the South Sea, might advance their steps within our limits."[34]

In 1827, however, the junta had learned more on the subject, and spoke as follows in its *voto final:* "Russia, that political colonist which, having mastered the confines of Europe and a part of Asia, has now taken possession down to the port of Bodega, distant less than one degree from that of San Francisco, which is the last point of our possessions; and from there she takes large quantities of articles which, though they ought to belong exclusively to Mexican commerce, do benefit these intruders alone; and moreover they have intercouse with the nations of the

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and Kanakas—and began to intrigue and spend gold freely with a view to separate California from Mexico!

[33] *Klébnikof, Zapiski*, 144–5. He says the company gave the Californians only 161 skins on account of the delays; but an unsigned and undated contract in *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xi. 13–14, makes the share of the company two thirds of the whole number. One brig and 25 canoes only were to be employed, and the ground was from Sta Cruz to S. Diego. In *Id.*, xix. 29, Beuseman is said to have delivered to Echeandía 154 skins worth $2,399.

[34] *Junta de Fomento de Cal., Dictámen*, 13–14. In 1826 a boat was built for S. Francisco mission at $1,200 with sails and rigging. *Khlébnikof, Zap.*, 149.

interior, teaching them the art of war, perhaps with the design of obtaining later advantages from their friendship either to rob the nation of better lands or to wage a desolating war."[35]

At the beginning of 1827 Echeandía wrote to the minister of war for instructions respecting the Russian intruders. The agent of the company had assured him that the cabinets of Madrid and St Petersburg had never discussed the right by which Ross and Bodega had been occupied.[36] In March he wrote again that notwithstanding courtesies shown them the Russians were acting in bad faith, enticing neophytes away from San Rafael, taking seals at the Farallones, and committing other irregularities. An armed vessel was greatly needed to guard the coast from Cape San Lúcas to 42.° The reply in June promised a man-of-war and other measures to check the advance of the foreigners, one of these measures being the foundation of a fort on the northern frontier, not carried into effect as is recorded elsewhere.[37] The vessels of the year were the *Okhotsk*, *Golovnin*, and *Baikal*. The latter was under the command of Etholin, who succeeded in obtaining Echeandía's permission to load with salt from the southern *lagunas* or *salinas*.[38]

The feeling of the company is shown by the following quotation from a letter written by the general administration in 1827: "All efforts to formally declare

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[35] *Junta de Fomento de Cal., Iniciativa de Ley*, 40. The junta does not seem to understand even yet that Russians were actually in possession of Californian territory. In the *Correo de la Federacion*, Jan. 20, 1827, 'F. T.' writes a warning against the Russians at Bodega, and an argument to show that they have no right to Californian territory, notwithstanding the representations of certain London maps. There are slight allusions to the subject in records of debates in congress in the same and other papers.

[36] Jan. 8, 1827. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 123.

[37] See chapter iv. of vol. iii. on the fort. March 8, 1837, Echeandía to minister of war, repeated in substance June 18th. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 124–6; *Dept. St. Pap.*, ii. 8. June 6th, Gomez Pedraza to Echeandía, *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 309–10.

[38] *Tikhménef, Istor., Obos.*, i. 353. A duty of 50 cents per cental had to be paid besides an anchorage due of $2.12 per ton; and the process of obtaining the salt was a laborious one. Nov. 10th, the *Baikal* permitted to touch at Sta Cruz for produce. From a letter in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 65–6, it would seem that the salt contract was in 1828 instead of 1827.

Russian sovereignty over the places where our settlement is situated have failed; and under existing circumstances there appears to be no hope of final success. As far as the extension of the farm is concerned not much profit can be expected from such a measure without some coöperation on the part of the Mexicans, since there is no more land available in the immediate vicinity of the establishment. From all that has been done at Ross so far, it is evident that that settlement cannot undertake to supply the colony with provisions, which have still to be shipped from California as in former years."[39]

In a pamphlet, for the most part descriptive of Sonora and Sinaloa, printed at Guadalajara in 1828, I find a warning against the encroachments of the Russians; and it seems to have been the idea of the authors that their "vecinos tan emprendedores" occupied not only Bodega but all the coast northward of that port.[40]

It was in June 1828 that the French trader Duhaut-Cilly spent three days at Ross, while his vessel, the *Héros*, was at anchor in Bodega Bay. He was most hospitably entertained by Manager Shélikof, as were all foreigners who touched on the New Albion coast; and in his journal he has given us not only a good description of the establishment but a drawing of it, probably the only one of early times extant.[41]

The vessels of the year were the *Okhotsk*, *Kiakhta*, and *Baikal*. Captain Etholin, of the latter, brought a request from Governor Ischislekof, of Sitka, for a renewal of the otter-hunting contract of 1825–6. Echeandía permitted him to hunt on equal shares between San Diego and San Quintin; but only two bidarkas could be obtained at Ross, with which, while the *Baikal* was loading salt, the Aleuts took sixty-three skins. The company's 'half' amounted to forty-four.[42]

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[39] *Tikhménef, Istor. Obos.*, i. 360.

[40] *Riesgo* and *Valdés, Memoria Estadística del Estado de Occidente*, 39. 'Las carnes nos palpitan cuando advertimos que el Imperio Ruso, despues de ser el mas anchuroso de la tierra se venga tambien recostando sobre el territorio mejicano.' The Russians are in possession of Bodega and all that immense coast; have built forts and brigs; the very lighters used at San Francisco were built by them; they are extending their relations by means of trade.

[41] *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, ii. 169–85.

In acquainting the supreme government with the concessions he had made, Echeandía noted the fact that while the Americans were accustomed to take salt without permission, the Russians comported themselves in this and other matters with the greatest delicacy and honor; but a few months later, in June 1829, he suggested to the minister of relations that the Russians be made, in a polite manner, either to quit the territory or acknowledge the sovereignty of the republic.[43] Besides the *Baikal*, the *Okhotsk* visited the Californian ports this year. At Ross Shélikof seems to have been succeeded in the command by Kostromitinof; and in June the fort was honored by a visit of a week from the famous American trapper, James Ohio Pattie, who claims to have received one hundred dollars from the commandant, whom he calls Don Sereldo, for vaccinating the inhabitants. Pattie pronounced the situation "one of the most beautiful that I ever beheld, or that the imagination can conceive." "Clear, cold streams pour down the mountain unceasingly from different points, imparting moisture"![44]

In 1828 the Russian ships are said not to have succeeded in obtaining the usual cargo's produce; in

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[42] Oct. 13, 1828, Peter Ischislekof to Echeandía. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 66-7. Dec. 10th, Echeandía allows the *Baikal* to take salt and otter. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 157-8. Dec. 22d, Don Adulfo (Etholin) taking otter near S. Diego. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxix. 299. Division of skins. *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 145. April 14, 1829, Echeandía announces the concessions respecting salt and otter-skins, the former of which had yielded a revenue of $1,308 to begin with. Feb. 12th, the governor had ordered the valuation and sale of the skins taken by the *Baikal*. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 10-11, 85. In the *Waverly, Log*, MS., 4-7, three Russian vessels are noted as arriving at Monterey from the north Nov. 25th, Dec. 2d-7th, one being named the *Lapenin* (or *Lapwing*), and another being the brig formerly called the *Arab*.

[43] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 11, 25.

[44] *Pattie's Narrative*, 217-19. The author implies very absurdly that the remedy for small-pox was a great mystery to the Russians, and that Don Sereldo had entreated him at San Diego to introduce its benefits at Ross.

1829 it was the same, and a vessel had to be sent to Chile;[45] while for 1830 I find no definite record of what was accomplished by the *Baikal*, apparently the only vessel of the year. The total expenses of the company of maintaining the Ross colony are given as 45,000 rubles a year on an average from 1825 to 1830; while the income from all sources was less than 13,000 rubles per year.[46] And finally we find Echeandía writing on September 18, 1830, to ask from the officer in charge at Bodega the old, old question so often asked by his predecessors, and so often eluded by the Russians: "By what authority have you founded that establishment?"[47]

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[45] *Tikhménef, Istor. Obos.*, i. 344.

[46] *Potechin, Selenie Ross*, 15; *Tikhménef, Istor., Obos.*, i. 359.

[47] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 100. Echeandía also complains of tampering with the Indian tribes.

CHAPTER XXIX.

INSTITUTIONARY AND STATISTICAL.

1821-1830.

INCREASE IN POPULATION—LIST OF FOREIGNERS—GENTILES—MISSION PROGRESS—PADRES—STATISTICS—BAPTISMS, DEATHS, HERDS, AND CROPS—PRESIDENT, PREFECT, AND OTHER OFFICIALS—ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS—SUCCESSION OF POPES—BISHOP—CHAPLAIN—POPULAR RELIGION—THE WALTZ—CHURCH ASYLUM—PUEBLOS AND RANCHOS—COLONIZATION AND LAND-GRANTS—LIST OF GRANTS—MANUFACTURES—LABOR AND WAGES—MINES—AGRICULTURE—STOCK-RAISING—REGULATIONS—COMMERCE—PRICES—FINANCE—MILITARY—GOVERNMENT—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE—EDUCATION.

THE population of California, that is of gente de razon, had now increased from 3,270 in 1820 to 4,250 in 1830. Such is the result obtained by combining the figures already given for the different districts; and it agrees tolerably well with such general reports and estimates as are extant.[1] Of the increase, about 1,000, at least 350 came from abroad; that is, 50 officers and soldiers, 150 convicts, and 150 foreigners. As registered in the mission books there were 1,866 baptisms, 717 deaths, and 357 marriages among the gente de razon. The colony of foreign residents had increased in ten years from a dozen to about 150 men, many of whom were baptized, naturalized, and married to native wives, and who as a body had already considerable influence in the country. Hartnell, Cooper, Gale, and Spence took the lead, especially in commercial matters, and were allied already with the best families. Most of the strangers were known, not only in familiar communication but in the keeping of accounts, by strange distortions of their true names, by common Spanish names applied at baptism, or by nicknames referring to some peculiarity of person or character. I have elsewhere given some information about individuals from year to year; but for convenience I append an alphabetical list of all foreigners who were in California before 1830.[2] Neophyte population had now fallen from 20,500 in 1820 to 18,000, being less than in 1810. There were probably about 2,000 Indians, not neophytes, living on ranchos, pueblos, and presidios in 1830. There are no data on which to base any estimate respecting the number of gentiles.[3]

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[1] Such general statements are 2,994 souls in 1822. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 9; scant 3,000 in 1824. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 217; in 1827, 3,500. *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, ii. 119; 6,316, *Bandini, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 6; *Hayes' Emig. Notes*, 477; 4,000, according to Echeandía's statement in *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 18. In 1828, 2,734, *Morineau, Notice*, xvi. 51-2; 4,342, report in Wilkes' *Narrative*, v. 555; or 5,000, Bandini's statement in *Bandini, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 8. General orders for reports on population were issued to local authorities in 1822 and in 1827. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., vi. 21; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 42.

The number of missions had been increased during the decade, by the promotion of San Rafael from the rank of *asistencia* and by the foundation of San Francisco Solano at Sonoma, from nineteen to twenty-one, the highest number ever reached. Of the thirty-seven padres at work in 1820, ten had now died; four had left California, and only three had come to take their places. Only twenty-six were left in charge of twenty-one establishments. The death of Señan had left none alive of those who came before 1790; and the pioneers of earlier date than 1800 were now reduced to five.[4]

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[2] See end of this chapter. Hall, *Hist. S. José*, 120, says the number of foreigners in 1830 was estimated at about 70; while Cronise, *Nat. Wealth of Cal.*, 46-7, says they were nearly 500, 'a large proportion' of the 1,200 inhabitants of Los Angeles, and half the 500 of S. José in 1831 being foreigners!

[3] Taylor makes the attempt, however, for 1826 in the *California Farmer*, March 2, 1860. His estimate is: Sonoma and other valleys north of S. Francisco Bay to Clear Lake, 40,000 (or 70,000); Sacramento, from Red Bluff to American Fork, according to Jedediah Smith, 80,000; S. Joaquin, from the Cosumnes to the Tejon, Smith, 70,000; on the Colorado, Mojave and western coast range to the Gulf, 20,000; northern coast counties, 30,000; total, 240,000 within the present limits of California. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, i. 230, says there were in 1827, 37,000 gentiles allied by treaty with the Spaniards. Cronise, *Nat. Wealth of Cal.*, 27, tells us the Indians in 1823 were estimated at 100,826, a very close estimate indeed; it might have been made 100,830 in even numbers, but the author would scorn to lie for four Indians.

Mission history need not be presented here even *en résumé*, because it has been a leading element in the annals of each year, as presented in other chapters. The leading topics, matters involving the very existence of the missions, had left nothing of time and attention for the petty subjects of old, respecting which the friars had been wont to quarrel with the secular authorities. The growth of commerce had rendered endurable the burden of furnishing supplies and paying taxes for the support of the troops; though the hopes that once prompted a cheerful giving had well nigh disappeared. The success of republicanism, the troubles of the friars as loyal subjects of the king, the reduction of the missionary force by death, departure, and infirmity, the ruin of San Fernando college, the suspension of stipends from the pious fund, and above all the unmistakable tendency of the times toward a speedy secularization, all these things have been recorded, and assuredly left the Franciscans but slight grounds for hope.[5]

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[4] The 37 serving in 1820, those who died before 1830 in italics, and those who retired marked with a *, were as follows:

Abella, *Altimira, 1828, Amorós, Arroyo, Barona, Boscana, Cabot (2), *Catalá*, 1830, Duran, Escudé, Esténega, Fortuni, Gil, *Jaime*, 1829, Martin, *Martin*, 1824, *Martinez, 1830, *Nuez*, 1821, *Olbés, 1821, Oliva, Ordaz, *Payeras*, 1823, Peyri, *Ripoll, 1828, *Rodriguez*, 1824, Saizar, Sanchez, *Sancho*, 1830, Sarría, *Señan*, 1823, Suñer, *Tapis*, 1825, Ulibarri, 1821, Uría, Viader, and Zalvidea.

The three new-comers, all of 1827, were the two Jimenos and Moreno. The five who had come before 1800 were: Abella, Barona, Peyri, Uría, and Viader.

Of the 29 padres in 1825-6 nearly one half said to be unfit for duty by reason of age and infirmities. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 306-10; xii. 104. Case of Marquinez in 1821, who, having retired to his college, claimed his full stipends as belonging to him personally, it belonging to a mission to support its padre; $1,300 were paid him to prevent trouble; but later when the claim was renewed, the viceroy decided that nothing was due the friar, since he had received his support, and Franciscans could not hold property. *Id.*, xi. 345-7; ix. 83-9. The circumstances connected with the departure of the four padres, one of whom retired regularly, two ran away, and one was banished, being prominent items of current history, are fully recorded elsewhere; and as to the coming of three new padres in 1827 nothing is known beyond the fact of their coming.

[5] On mission annals from 1821 to 1825, see chap. xx.-xxii. of this vol. and chap. i. iv. of vol. iii. on the period of 1826-30.

Baptisms had been 5,000 less than in the last decade, 3,000 of that difference being in the number of adults. In only a few missions were there any more gentiles accessible for conversion except at very great distances. The death-rate was slightly less than before. The loss in population, 2,500, all subsequent to 1824, was less than would be expected from the general course of mission history. It will be noticed that baptisms agreed with the crops, being largest in 1821 and smallest in 1829. In ten missions 1828 was the most deadly year. Four missions only, San Luis Rey, San Juan Bautista, San Rafael, and San Francisco Solano, gained in population. In cattle there was a gain of 16,000, all in nine missions; in sheep a loss of 40,000, only three missions showing a gain.[6] Agriculture showed a marked decline of 27,375 bushels in the average yearly crop; and the percentage of yield from every kind of seed had also been largely diminished. The condition of the missions as a whole in 1830, as shown by statistics, was much less unsatisfactory than would be expected from the many unfavorable circumstances which have been recorded. It does not clearly appear that more than one new church had been dedicated, that of Purísima; but the old ones were generally in good repair and well furnished; while at nearly every mission there had been more or less improvement in miscellaneous buildings, and in only one or two apparent neglect. Neither was there any evidence that mission discipline had been relaxed; nor did the friars appear unduly discouraged at their prospects, having somewhat exaggerated hopes of relief at the hands of a new governor. They had collected no part of the large sums, about half a million dollars, due the missions from the government; but their representatives had succeeded in obtaining some large sums on account of stipends, and the commercial revival had poured into the Franciscan treasuries an amount of ready money hitherto unknown. I have no doubt that much of the capital thus gained was devoted to purposes not directly concerning California, and put where it would do most good for the order and for the friars; but of course it can never be known exactly what use was made of it.

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[6] General statistics (for purposes of comparison with figures of the last decade, see chap. xix. 6–10): Baptisms, in round numbers, 13,000, of which 5,000 adults and 8,000 children; smallest number, 750 in 1829; largest, 2,038 in 1821; deaths, 14,500; of which 9,250 adults and 5,250 children; largest number, 1,853, in 1828; smallest, 869 in 1830; death-rate, 40 per cent; loss in population, from 20,500 to 18,000, 2,500, or 8.2 per cent as against 39 per cent of gain for the last decade. The maximum of neophyte population was 21,092 in 1821, being also 21,066 in 1824. The loss in population exceeds the difference between baptisms and deaths by 1,000, which may be set down loosely as the number of runaways. Marriages ranged from 290 in 1830 to 623 in 1821, averaging 427. Mission cattle increased from 140,000 to 156,000 head; mules, from 1,880 to 1,900; horses decreased from 18,000 to 16,600; and sheep from 190,000 to 150,000. Largest crop in this decade and in all the mission existence, 180,000 bushels in 1821, which was the best year for all but six missions, all but one of the exceptions being in the north; smallest crop—between 1790 and 1834—36,000 bushels in 1829, which was the worst year for all but six missions, all but two of the exceptions being in the south; average crop, 86,250 bushels; of which 47,595 wheat, yield 10.7 fold; 19,230 corn, yield 110 fold; 13,290 barley, yield 12.3 fold; 3,795 beans, yield 28 fold; and 2,340 of miscellaneous grains. The smallest and largest crops of wheat, corn, and barley separately were also in 1829 and 1821.

José Señan was president of the missions, vicar, and vice comisario prefecto until his death in August 1823. Vicente Francisco Sarría held the presidency until April 1825, Narciso Duran until September 1827, and José Sanchez for the rest of the decade. The office of prefect was held by Mariano Payeras until his death in April 1823; by José Señan, *ad interim*, until August 1823, and by Sarría during the remaining years. Martiarena continued to serve as síndico of the California missions at least until 1825, Estévan Velez de Escalante was síndico in Mexico in 1825, and Padre Juan Cortés was procurador at the college until at least 1828. At San Fernando José Gasol was guardian in 1821–2, Agustin Garijo in 1823–6, Juan Calzada in 1827–8, and José María Guzman in 1830; but the establishment was now virtually broken up.

Ecclesiastical matters have not like those pertaining to the missions been noticed in earlier chapters;

but neither is there much to be recorded on this subject. At the end of 1823 were issued orders through the bishop for a proper observance of religious ceremonies in all the churches in memory of the dead pope, Pius VII., the rites to include also prayers for the wise selection of a successor; and in July 1824, some two months after the preceding orders had been opened, the bishop sent others for mass and other demonstrations of joy, including three days of illumination, at the accession of Pope Leo VII. These ceremonies were performed early in 1825. The death of Leo XII. and accession of Pius VIII. caused a repetition of funeral rites and of the rejoicings in September and October 1829. No detailed record of either celebration at any particular place is extant; but it seems that the illumination, ringing of bells, and firing of guns took place at presidios as well as at missions. In the spring of 1826 also was announced the death of Bishop Bernardo del Espíritu Santo of Sonora, which had occurred in July 1825.[7]

As before there was no one in California authorized to administer the rite of confirmation, and the Californians seem not to have been greatly troubled by the want.[8] Chaplain service at the pueblos and presidios was still performed, irregularly, by the nearest missionaries; except that Padre Menendez, a Dominican, was employed as a chaplain for the troops at San Diego or Monterey after 1825. Secular priests who happened to visit the coast on Spanish vessels were not allowed to receive confessions by the Franciscan authorities, though they sometimes wished to do so.[9] Holy oil, blessed in Sonora or Puebla, came at rare intervals and small quantities. It had to be paid for in masses said by the friars, and the old must be burned when a new lot came. In quantity it might be eked out with common olive oil.[10] There was no longer any officer of the holy inquisition, since that institution had ceased to exist; but orders continued to come from the bishop and to be circulated by his vicar that all immoral and irreligious, that is anti-Catholic, books or pictures must be collected and destroyed. Many of the objectionable publications were named; but it does not appear that any of the number was ever found in California, where few books of any kind were read. Prefect Sarría, however, was once greatly alarmed at a report that one of Voltaire's works was to be found in Hartnell's house, and he called upon Governor Argüello to aid in carrying out the decree of the church before any one should read that pernicious book.[11]

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[7] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 132-4; xi. 169; xii. 323-4; *S. José*, *Patentes*, MS., 181-4; *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i, 272, 277; ii. 341; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xiv. 20; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 234; *Dept. St. Pap.*, *S. José*, MS., iv. 85; *Sta Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 55.

[8] In the mission report for 1825-6 Duran suggests the necessity of a *curia episcopal* for California. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., x. 310.

[9] Sarría and Tapis to Duran, in *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 322.

Several copies of the Bible were seen in California printed "in common language," a fact which caused Prefect Sarría to make zealous efforts in 1826 to prevent the reading of that book.[12] There also came in 1821 from the bishop a decree prohibiting that "*escandalosísimo* dance called the waltz" under pain of *excomunion mayor* incurred by dancing it; but we are told that the edict was disregarded, and that the waltz was a popular feature at a ball given by the governor eight days after the prohibition arrived.[13] Compliance with church duties seem to have been as strictly enforced, in theory at least, under republican as under royal rule; and no series of regulations for pueblo or presidio was complete without the most stringent rules for such compliance. One Espinosa, for entering a church in woman's clothes and trying on another occasion to enter on horseback, was sentenced to ten years of presidio work for sacrilege.[14] Duhaut-Cilly found the Californians under the friars' teachings disposed to attend somewhat closely to outward forms of religion, but neither knowing anything about nor caring for matters of faith. He notes that the only restrictions imposed in respect of fasting, lent, etc., are that on certain days meat and fish, lean and fat, must not be mixed, though either might be eaten and was found on the padres' tables.[15] It would seem, however, from certain not very intelligible episcopal orders that the Californians were authoritatively freed from many of the usual requirements in the matter of food.

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[10] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 283-7, 299, 439-40; *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 277, 279. Arrival of holy oil is noted in 1822 and 1825 from Sonora, and in 1826 from Puebla.

[11] Feb. 11, 1824, Sarría to Argüello, in *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 86. Oct. 23, 1826, comisario general to Herrera, impious articles and obscene pictures attacking the church must not be allowed to pass the custom house. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., i. 61. Orders of different dates for destruction of prohibited books, in *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 46; *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 171-2; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 127-9; *Arch. Misiones*, MS., i. 260, 266, 276.

[12] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 363.

[13] March 15, 1821, Sarría to PP. in *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 47; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 324.

For criminals of every class to take advantage of the privileges of church asylum was still common. Many cases are mentioned in the archives; but in most the details, including the final settlement, are wanting. Soldiers, civilians, and Indians on the commission of any crime hastened to take refuge in the church, leaving it to be settled later whether they were entitled to the asylum or whether they needed it. As a rule the only advantage gained was exemption from floggings; but in a few instances the asylum caused imprisonment to be substituted as a penalty instead of death as required by military law. Murderers, homicides, highway robbers who caused mutilation of limb, and those who assaulted others in church or cemetery were not entitled to the immunity. In 1830 Ignacio Herrera took church asylum after stabbing the sentinel, Miguel Castro, and was taken out of church by the arresting officer under the usual bond, or *caucion juratoria*. When the case came to Asesor Gomez, he insisted on nullifying the bond, and a long discussion ensued with the padres respecting the prisoner's right to the immunity, and respecting the president's right to decide in the matter as the bishop's vicar. The question was referred to the bishop, and the culprit was condemned to eight years in the chain-gang.[16]

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[14] *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 413; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 91.

[15] *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, ii. 126–7. Various orders on indulgences in respect to eating meat, eggs, milk, etc., in *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., vi. 312–19, 130–2; *S. José, Patentes*, MS., 159–65, 172–8.

The California pueblos and ranchos gained in population during this decade from 930 to 1,690, the gain of 760 being nearly 80 per cent of the whole gain in the territory. The only colonists who came from abroad were the 150 convicts, and about the same number of foreigners; but probably not half of the 300 are to be included in the 760. Of pueblo management and system all that is known has been presented in connection with local history. There were no radical changes under the republican régime; but ayuntamientos, or town councils, were somewhat perfected at Los Angeles and San José, military authority was withdrawn to some extent when the office of comisionado was abolished, and the non-military residents of Monterey and Santa Bárbara were organized into a kind of presidial pueblos, each with a full ayuntamiento.

Respecting colonization and the distribution of lands it may be well to glance briefly at various official acts in chronological order, though few of those acts had any practical effect in California at this time. The canónigo, Fernandez, as representative of the imperial regency, in November 1822 ordered that no further distribution of lands be made until new regulations were issued;[17] and it seems that under date of April 11, 1823, such a series of regulations was enacted by the imperial government, which never had any effect in California, and perhaps not anywhere.[18] The subject of secularizing the missions was deemed a most important one in these years by all secular authorities, and it derived most of its importance from the extent and value of the mission lands. On the distribution and occupation of territorial lands by actual settlers the future prosperity of the country was understood to depend; and while the rights of the Indians to their native soil were always conceded, in theory at least, by Mexico, the continued retention by Franciscan communities of all the best lands under the shallow pretence that the Indians were being fitted to enjoy their rights at some period in the distant future, was with much reason regarded as an absurd proposition. Argüello and others expressed these views very clearly in 1823;[19] and in September of that year the matter of land distribution was discussed by the diputacion, before which body Sarría appeared as defender of the natives' rights. The prevailing opinion of the legislators was in favor of reducing the ranchos, not only of individuals but of missions, to an extent corresponding with the real needs of the occupants. Even in these early times the prevalent tendency to a monopoly of land was recognized as an evil; but it was decided to leave the matter to the decision of the national government.[20]

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[16] *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxi. 35–58; *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., xii. 144. Other cases in *Id.*, liv. 7; *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., i. 93–4; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xi. 57; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 201; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 116–17.

[17] *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 49. This order is addressed to the municipal authorities and I have not found it elsewhere, but it does not seem to apply exclusively to pueblo lands proper.

On August 18, 1824, a colonization law was passed by the Mexican congress. It was most liberal in its provisions, favoring the entry of foreign colonists, while giving the preference to Mexican citizens; but was very general in its terms, leaving regulations in detail for subsequent legislation. The required complementary regulations were issued November 21, 1828, and, like the law of 1824, are given very nearly in full elsewhere.[21] Mission lands were not to be distributed to either settlers or colonists at present, since the difficulties involved were understood to be great, and there was no disposition to do injustice to either friars or neophytes.[22] The method of granting lands to individuals—and the colonial schemes so prominent in the regulations never had any practical application in California—prescribed by the law was that somewhat carelessly followed down to 1846; it included a petition with descriptive explanations by the applicant, an investigation of circumstances and consultation of local authorities, an approval by the diputacion, a formal documentary title from the governor, and a record of the whole *expediente* in a book kept for the purpose.[23]

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[18] *Halleck's Report*, 120. I have not seen the law referred to.

[19] See chap. xxii. this vol.; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 36-8.

[20] See chap. xxiii. this vol.; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 31-2.

[21] See chap. xxiii. this vol., and chap. ii. of vol. iii. for the laws of 1824, and 1828 in substance. It seems to have been nearly a year before the last

There were in 1830 nearly fifty ranchos which had been granted to private individuals by the successive governors since the time of Fages; and more than half the number had been granted during this decade, though only one or two under the provisions of the regulations of 1828, and only one, so as far as clearly appears, with the direct approval of the diputacion.[24]

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regulations were published in California. In Jan. 1827 notice was given that the governor would not in the future grant any lands to foreigners (notwithstanding the laws of 1824, or until the appearance of the necessary regulations?). *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., v. 12.

[22] Tuthill's remark, *Hist. Cal.*, 127, that 'congress was nibbling at the mission property but was not quite bold enough to seize it;' that the colonization scheme was probably a plan to make the civil outgrow the religious settlements and thus render the work of plunder easier, is evidently founded on a misconception of the legal title to mission lands.

[23] April 6, 1830, a law of this date modified those of 1824–8 somewhat by authorizing the national government to take such lands as were required for fortifications, etc., and by prohibiting frontier colonization by foreign citizens of adjacent nations. *Halleck's Report*, 121–2.

[24] The following is a list of the different ranchos granted before 1830. Respecting several marked with a (?) there is some doubt, but such details as are extant have been given in previous chapters, especially in chap. xxiv.–xxvii. of this volume.

San Diego District:—San Antonio Abad (?), to —— before 1828; Sta María de Peñasquitos, to Ruiz and Alvarado 1823; Rosario, or Las Barracas(?), to —— before 1828; San Isidro, to —— before 1828; Otay, to Estudillo (re-grant 1846) 1829; Otay, to Estudillo 1829; Temascal, to Serrano before 1828.

Santa Bárbara District:—San Rafael, to Verdugo 1784; Los Nietos (Sta Gertrudis), to Nieto (re-grant 1834) 1784; San Pedro, to Dominguez (re-grant 1822) before 1300; Portezuelo, to Verdugo about 1795; Refugio, to Ortega about 1797; Simí, to Pico (re-grant 1821, 1842) 1795; Félix, to —— (re-grant to Verdugo 1843) about 1810; Vírgenes, to Ortega (re-grant 1837, 1834) about

Not much is known about the documentary title to any of these early grants; but the governor's right to grant unoccupied lands seems to have been as well understood before as after the colonization laws were issued. There was always a petition, more or less investigation, and a written permission to occupy; and in some cases a formal act of possession, the methods being very much the same as later. Sixteen of these grants were subsequently confirmed by the land commission on the strength of the original concession and proof of occupation; twenty-three were presented to that board strengthened by new and more formal titles made before 1846; while seven or eight never re-appeared, or at least not under the same names and original titles. Governor Echeandía refused in 1829 to give written titles for lands granted by his predecessors; but in July 1830 all owners were summoned to appear and give information respecting their lands and titles,[25] with results that are not

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1810; Conejo, or Altagracia, to Polanco and Rodriguez (Guerra in 1822) 1803; Santiago de Sta Ana, to Yorba 1809; Ciénegas, to Ávila (?) 1823; La Brea, to Rocha 1828; San Antonio, to Lugo (re-grant 1838) 1810–23–27; Sauzal Redondo, to Ávila (re-grant 1837) 1822.

Monterey District:—Alisal, to Butron (?) (re-grant 1834) about 1828; Buenavista, to Estrada (1795 to Soberanes) 1822; Llano de Buenavista, to Estrada 1823; Escarpin (or S. Miguel?), to Espinosa (re-grant 1837) before 1828; Moro Cojo, to Castro (re-grant 1844) 1825; Potrero (or Familia Sagrada), to Torre 1822; Bolsa Nueva, to Soto (re-grant 1836) before 1829; Natividad, to Butron and Alviso (re-grant 1837) before 1830; Pájaro, to Castro 1820; Pilarcitos, to Miramontes (?) (ré-grant 1841) before 1830; Salinas (before 1795 to Aceves, re-grant 1836), before 1830; San Cayetano, to Vallejo (re-grant 1835) 1824; Sauzal, to Soberanes (re-grant 1834) 1823; Tucho, to —— (re-grant 1841–4) before 1830; San Antonio, to Solis (re-grant 1835?) 1829; Corralitos, to Amesti (?) (re-grant 1844) before 1827.

San Francisco District:—Pulgas, to Argüello (re-grant 1835) before 1824; San Antonio, to Peralta 1820; San Pablo, to Castro 1823; Pinole, to Martinez (re-grant 1842) before 1829; San Isidro, to Ortega before 1810; Las Animas, or La Brea, to Castro (re-grant 1835) 1802; San Ignacio (?), to —— before 1828; Tularcitos, to Higuera 1821; Buri-buri, to Sanchez (re-grant 1835) 1827; Llano del Abrevadero, to Higuera (?) 1822.

Abel Stearns obtained a grant on the San Joaquin in 1830, but not the necessary confirmation by the diputacion, nor did he occupy the lands. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 323–7.

[25] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 121; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxi. 3. In Oct. 1827 owners of lands had been also called upon for similar information. *Olvera, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. The right of a presidial commandant to grant lands was denied in the case of Willis' application for Bolbones in 1828. chap. xxvi. Duhaut-Cilly in 1827, *Viaggio*, ii. 99, 120–1, noted the evils resulting from the uncertain titles to property. While two men were engaged in liti-

known, except that they probably caused the new petitions and re-granting of old ranchos already alluded to. Nothing like absolute ownership of land by individuals was yet recognized by the government; and even under the new regulations very few persons took steps in later years to acquire perfect titles. I find nothing in the records of this decade which throws any light on the granting of pueblo lands or house-lots, except some indications that at San Diego lots were given without written titles.[26]

Manufacturing industry received no fresh impulse but rather suffered a decline. As before, coarse woollen fabrics were woven at the missions; hides were tanned for shoes, sacks, and rude saddles; soap was made in considerable quantities; and a variety of necessary articles of wood, iron, or leather were produced by native or foreign workmen. San Gabriel, Santa Bárbara, San Luis Rey, and in the earlier years of the decade San Luis Obispo were most noted for their various industries; but there is no information extant respecting what was accomplished at any of the establishments; and we only know from an occasional reference in an official report, or the notes of a traveller, or in accounts of supplies furnished, that the work of earlier periods was still continued in the mission workshops. Laborers of all kinds were still for the most part Indians hired from the missions or from the gentile *rancherías.* Doubtless in some instances the Indians were compelled to work for nothing, but the authorities made some efforts to prevent such abuses.[27]

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gation about a piece of land it was granted by the governor to a third party. Beechey, *Voyage*, ii. 11, says that retired soldiers were no longer given land in the pueblos as formerly, but only allowed the use of it. July 5, 1825, the guardian of S. Fernando to Minister Alaman, says 'the settlers unfortunately are so indolent and slack in their labors that generally they do not eat unless the Indians do the work.' *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 146. May 19, 1829, Echeandía reports that there is no apparent hope of the settlers doing more than to earn a bare living. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 15.

[26] Applications of Bandini, Estudillo, and Argüello in 1849–50 for titles to lots on which they had lived since the 'old times' before 1830, when 'grants of that class were made verbally.' *S. Diego, Arch.*, MS., 8.

[27] There are no items or references of value on manufactures; but the fol-

Missionary reports in 1822 were to the effect that no mines had been found in California, except the Ortega silver mine on the rancho San Isidro, which had been several times worked with unknown results; though there were rumors and 'dreams' of metallic veins in a rock on the coast, five leagues from Purísima; the miner, Pedro Posadas, had been prospecting about San Luis Rey without success so far as could be known; and travellers had declared there must be metals in the mountains around San Luis Obispo.[23] Padre Amorós in 1822, like the rest, said there were no mines near his mission of San Rafael; but the next year he expressed to Argüello his opinion that the Russians in a recent expedition from Bodega inland had discovered a silver mine, urging this as a reason why the Spaniards should make every exertion

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lowing on labor may be worth preserving: In 1828, only one slave in the territory, a woman who came with her mistress in 1825. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 35. Circular sent out asking the number of slaves. *Dept. St. Pap.*, *Ben. Pref. y Juzg.*, MS., i. 41. Oct. 23, 1829, Echeandía blames the comandante of Monterey because Indians captured by the troops have been distributed among the people as servants. Such Indians must be sent to the missions. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 179, 241. White men do no work but to care for cattle or sheep; for tilling the ground they pay the padres for Indians whom they use as slaves. *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, ii. 124. In 1821, neophytes supplied by missions for rebuilding Monterey were charged at the rate of from 1.5 to 4 reals per day, including the use of tools. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt. i. 51. In 1826 Zalvidea tells the governor he will make no charge for four Indians of his mission, since it appears they are expected to work on the presidio for patriotism; but he complains that for workmen who get no pay they are very scantily fed. *Id.*, v. pt. i. 25–6. A neophyte carpenter applies to the governor for permission to leave S. Diego mission and go elsewhere to ply his trade. The padres were ordered to report on his civil and religious conduct. *Id.*, v. pt. i. 3. In 1823, Tapis tells Mulligan that neophytes are much opposed to working away from their missions. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 297. In 1826 David Spence says to Hartnell 'everybody has Indians at his command,' and he wants some. *Id.*, xxix. 30. 1828, McIntosh says to Cooper that Indian wages are $4 per month. *Id.*, 242. June 15, 1826, Echeandía permits the settlers of San José to go and 'induce' the gentiles of the Tulares to come in and work; but their morals and conduct must be looked after. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 146.

[23] *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 279, 317; vi. 198; ix. 116–17. December 25, 1820, the governor writes to García Conde that mines are lying unworked for want of speculators, referring chiefly to Lower California. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 26. The first expedition to explore the Sonoma region in July 1823 found what they deemed lime between Sonoma and Napa. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 40. Mexican law of October 7, 1823, allowing foreigners to own mines. *Schmidt's Civil Laws of Spain and Mex.*, 337–9. Brief mention of gold dust washed out at S. Isidro, S. Diego Co., in 1828. *Hayes' Scraps Mining*, v. 3.

to explore and hold that country. The fact, however, that the padre wanted some men at the time for an expedition after converts and runaways, may have had much influence on his opinion.[29] Near Monterey an event occurred which at the least seems to have served as the foundation of a mining tradition in later years. About 1825 one Romero and his wife found rich silver-bearing rock near a warm spring in the mountains back of Carmelo Valley, to which they had been directed by Indians as a cure for the woman's rheumatism. The man died while on his way south to obtain miners; but María Romero, with the aid of her children, worked the mine secretly on a small scale, and occasionally sold small bars of silver mixed with lead to Captain Cooper and others. David Spence is cited as authority for this story, which was mentioned as early as 1860, and was published in the newspapers of 1872 in connection with the alleged rediscovery of the mine.[30]

Agricultural statistics are attainable only for the missions, and with general deductions have been given earlier in this chapter. The average crops and the average percentage of yield had largely decreased since the last decade. The crop of 1821 had been the largest, and that of 1829 the smallest ever harvested, though in the latter year there are no special complaints of drought, and in the former rains were reported as scanty. The amount of agricultural products raised—chiefly for home consumption—at pueblos and ranchos must have been large in the aggregate, but we have no statistics on the subject. In the way of pests not much is heard at this time of the *chahuistli,* or rust; but locusts and squirrels were troublesome almost everywhere, and mustard in many places. There are no indications that irrigating works had been extended, but rather the contrary. The territorial government did nothing for agricultural development beyond issuing now and then a law against kindling fires in the fields. For crops other than of grain we have no figures; but vines and olives are constantly referred to as yielding abundantly from San Diego to San Buenaventura, and the vines also, only a little less abundantly, up to San José. A small quantity of oil was pressed from the olives, while the grapes yielded large quantities of wine and brandy.[31]

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[29] *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 84–5.

[30] *S. Francisco Herald,* May 4, 1860; *Castroville Argus,* Aug. 17, 31, 1872; *Monterey Democrat; Sta Cruz Sentinel.*

Stock-raising was by far the most prosperous industry of the country, being the one which almost exclusively supported the territorial commerce. As in the case of agriculture figures are confined to the missions, and have already been presented; but the rancheros also depended chiefly for a living on their sales of hides and tallow, and approximated more nearly in this than any other branch of industry to mission enterprise and success.[32] Sheep-raising was not prosperous except at two or three of the larger missions; since there was no exportation of wool, mutton was but rarely used for food, and the number of neophytes to be clothed was constantly diminishing.[33] Horses were still kept limited by slaughter to the numbers deemed necessary for the various uses of the inhabitants, because when allowed to become wild they interfered seriously with the more profitable raising of cattle.[34] The importance of the trade in hides and tallow turned the attention of the government to the regulation of cattle-raising, with a view especially to revenue purposes and also to the preservation of order and the protection of individual rights. I give a résumé of such regulations in a note.[35]

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[31] Tithes on grapes in one year amounted to 430,000 (?) lbs of brandy, of which half went to Ávila for manufacture according to his contract. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., vi. 27. The raising of hemp had long been abandoned, though in 1825 there were inquiries from Mexico for that article. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 264; *St. Pap., Miss.*, MS., v. 27–8; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liv. 9.

[32] Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio*, ii. 145, states that private individuals owned 28,000 head of cattle in 1827; but there is no data for an accurate estimate, even the tithe and tax accounts being exceedingly fragmentary. Beechey, *Voyage*, ii. 15, tells us that a Monterey merchant paid $36,000 in one year to a mission for its hides, tallow, and Indian labor.

[33] In 1821 the missions from Purísima northward were called upon to contribute 2,000 sheep for S. Rafael, giving from 100 to 250 each. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. i. 63–4.

[34] On this slaughter of horses, no statistics being given, see *Los Angeles*,

Commercial and maritime affairs have formed a

Hist., 9; *Bandini, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 6; *Sta Clara, Arch. Parroquia*, MS., 58–63; *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, ii. 146, 201–2. The French voyager carried a lot of horses to the Hawaiian Islands.

[35] *Reglamento sobre Ganados, 1827*, MS., action of the diputacion in sessions of July 31st to Sept. 12th, in *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 73–86. (Art. 1–2.) Before the end of the year padres must report on the mission lands and boundaries both to the governor and to the comandante of Monterey and revenue officers. (3.) Ayuntamientos and owners of *sitios* must also report on their lands and titles. (4.) An impression of the brand on a sheet of paper with a statement of the number of cattle must also be presented. (5.) In future only missions and those who own *sitios* shall brand (also those who have at least 150 cows?); others will use the *marca* and *señal*. (6.) At Los Angeles, S. José, and Branciforte those who have 150 cows will be given a *sitio* outside the town where they may have a corral; those having less must collect them in the community corral. (7.) Branding is permitted in the south only from March to May; and in the north from July to September. (8.) No one shall brand or mark without giving previous notice to his neighbors; but in pueblos only the juez de campo and two citizens need be present. (9.) No majordomo or other attaché of missions or ranchos shall mark cattle without the consent of the owner and knowledge of neighbors. (10.) No one can use clipped or pointed ears as a mark. (11.) There must be a weekly *rodeo* of all cattle. The juez de campo to be present and the interested parties. (12.) No one shall kill cattle (for food) in the fields; and they shall be tied up for slaughter (*mancornar?*) only after the weekly *rodeo*. (13.) In no rancho shall there be false corrals or hunting of stock without a uniting of all the neighbors and a sharing of the cattle taken; subsequently wild stock may be hunted and branded for a year, and after that time will belong to the municipal funds. In pueblos it will be divided among the different owners. (14.) Yearly stock men will proceed to make false corrals for the slaughter of wild horses. In the pueblos all the citizens will do it in presence of the juez de campo. (15.) In Angeles, S. José, and Branciforte no person may have more than a band of 40 mares, which number the ayuntamiento may reduce still lower. (16.) On the ranchos hides and tallow can only be bought of the owner, who will give the buyer a certificate to be presented to the justice. In pueblos the buyer will notify the alcalde who will give him a *papeleta*. (17.) No one shall use a horse without the owner's permission. (18.) No one may make a fire in the fields, and he who is obliged to strike a light must carefully extinguish it before departing. (19–20.) No one may leave his place of residence without a pass. These regulations were also issued by the governor as an edict on Oct. 7th. *Dept. St. Pap., Mont.*, MS., i. 15–17. July 22, 1829, the governor is asked for instructions about the wild cattle belonging to the *propios y arbitrios* according to Art. 13 of the reglamento. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., i. 49–55. Aug. 17, 1830, Zamorano by Echeandía's order notifies rancheros to be ready for a visit of inspection from Raimundo Estrada as the governor's comisionado, with two associates, the inspection to begin at S. Cayetano on Aug. 12th. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxi. 4–5. For details on the brands of different missions and individuals, see *Register of Brands*, MS., 48–53; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 50; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxix. 157.

prominent historical topic in this as they will also in later periods; and all that can be known of trading statistics and regulations has been presented already, or will be, in chronologic order, needing no repetition save in the briefest résumé here.[36] Nine or ten trading craft before 1826, and later twice as many, came to the coast each year laden with goods to be exchanged for hides and tallow. The market thus formed for Californian products was the basis for all of prosperity that the territory enjoyed during the decade. Revenue from duties for the support of the government and army amounted, as recorded, to from $10,000 to $30,000 annually; but the records are fragmentary, and despite contraband entries the receipts must have been I think three times as large as the amounts mentioned. At first in spite of Spanish laws all the ports were open to foreign vessels; and even later, under imperial and republican rule, restrictions were largely disregarded by the authorities; but gradually, as the excessive duties caused smuggling to revive, it was necessary for self-protection and in obedience to Mexican orders to partially enforce the laws. The wayports and *embarcaderos* were closed, and even Santa Bárbara and San Francisco; and in the last years obedience to restrictive measures was sometimes insisted on, though subordinate officials were as a rule under the control of traders, and even the governor could be brought to terms by a threat to leave the coast with a fine cargo. A colony of foreign traders, headed by such men as Hartnell, Cooper, Gale, and Spence, now controlled the commerce of the coast; and the peculiar system of hide and tallow trade did not vary materially from 1823 to 1846.[37]

Financial administration in California for this decade, with particular reference to the complications growing out of the subject in 1826–30, is fully treated elsewhere;[38] of the administration in Mexico there is nothing to be said beyond noting the fact that Gervasio Argüello retained the office of habilitado general at Guadalajara, drawing his salary, or enough of it to keep alive, as lieutenant of the San Diego company, but performing so far as the records show not a single act in connection with the furnishing of supplies for California; and the usual statistics of presidial finance, or such fragments thereof as are extant, have been given in connection with local annals. Both in Mexico and in California the old forms of yearly estimates, adjustment of accounts, retentions and discounts for the various military *fondos*, and others reminiscent of the old Spanish system were still kept up to a certain extent; but mainly for show as it would seem, since of the fragmentary accounts extant many are wholly unintelligible, and some certainly deal with amounts and payments that were purely imaginary. There are no data for general conclusions, but I append a few items of more or less interest and importance.[39]

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[36] For commercial annals of 1821-30, see chap. xx.-xxiii.; and chap. i. v. of vol. iii.

[37] I append a list of current prices for this period, the different items being taken from a great number of original invoices and bills on file in my col-

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lection: Cloths, per yard, Amer. cotton, 15–16 cts.; striped cotton, 62 cts.; ticking, $1; canvas, $1; Manta, 70 cts.–$2.30; chintz, 75 cts.–$1.25; red flannel, $2.25; paño—woollen stuffs for men's clothing—$2.25–$9.00; Cuzco cloth, $1.50–$2.00. Articles of clothing: Hats, $1–$6; socks, $3.75–$15 per doz.; shoes, $1.50; mission blankets, $1.25–$1.50; serapes, $4.50; handkerchiefs, 25–50 cts.; muslin dresses, $5; rebozos, $32 doz.; shirts, 37 cts. to $2.50. Articles of food, and groceries: Corn, $1.50–$1.75 per fan; wheat, $2–$3; beans, $1.50–$2.50; barley, $1.50–$2.00; pulse, $1.75; pease, $3-$7; onions, 10 cts. per lb.; salt, $2 per fan.; sugar, 24–32 cts.; rice, 12–16 cts.; cocoa, 36–7 cts.; coffee, 15 cts.; cinnamon, $6 lb.; lard, $6–$16 per cwt.; tallow, $6–$12 cwt.; flour, $6–$8 cwt.; dried beef, $4–$6 cwt. Cattle: 75 cts. to $8 each; horses, $4–$20, $40–$50 for pacers and racers; sheep, 50 cts. to $1.50. Rum. $1.75 gal.; gin, $1.75, brandy, $3; wine, 60 cts. to $2.50. Timber, $90 per M. Plow-points, $2; sickles, $1.50; axes, $2; picks, $2; spades, $2; knives and forks, $4 doz.; combs, 8 cts. Plates, $2.25 doz.; cups and saucers, $12; iron pots, $2.50; leather, $2.50 per hide; hides, 90 cts. to $2; saddles, $9; aparejos, $5; wax candles, $1.50–$3.75 lbs.; tobacco, 75 cts.–$1.40 lb.; gunpowder, 40 cts. lb., $8–$10 per keg. Rope for haliards, 15–16 cts. lb.; steel, $9.50 per *arroba;* iron, $12 cwt.; sheet iron, $6; shot, $24 cwt.; nails, 15–36 cts. lb. Writing paper, $4.25–$16 ream; sealing-wax, $2 lb.

[38] See *Hist. Cal.*, chap. iii. of vol. iii., this series.

[39] Dec. 1822, California assessed $11,139 for 1823 to aid in covering a deficit of $6,000,000 in national budget. *Sup. Govt., St. Pap.*, MS., i. 1. Remitted to California in 1825: $22,000 in silver, $22,379 in goods, and $12,000

The military force in California at the end of the decade was less than 400 men in active service, including some 20 commissioned officers. The presidial cavalry companies numbered about 220 men; the Mazatecos, 50; the artillery, 40; and the San Blas

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through the comisaría of the west. *Mexico, Mem. Relaciones, 1826*, 32. Nov. 21, 1827, decree on a future loan, part of which will go to pay the troops of California and other states. *Sup. Govt., St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 8. May 1828, congress decrees for Cal. $140,940, of which $12,860 for the plana mayor, and the rest to be divided among the presidios including Loreto. *Id.*, iv. 3–4. 1828, one eighth of customs receipts devoted to payment of foreign debt. *Arrillaga, Recop., 1828*, 242–7. 1828–9, 'gastos generales de relaciones'(?) for Californias, $18,145. *Mexico, Mem. Hacienda, 1830, doc.* 37; and many other similar entries for different years, but especially 1829, being partial accounts of transactions in California, some of them intelligible and others not, in the annual reports of the different national departments. 1829–30, president exempts California soldiers from certain discounts on their pay. *Arrillaga, Recop., 1831*, 48. The discount had been ordered Aug. 17, 1829. *Id.*, 24–36. 1830–1, secretary of treasury asked congress to authorize estimated expense of $131,440 for six cavalry companies, and $5,890 for expense of two mail schooners. *Mexico, Mem. Hacienda, 1830*, annex B. C. Revenue tax of 5 and 10 per cent on incomes, in all Mexican territory. *Sup. Govt., St. Pap.*, MS., v. 10; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., ii. 6; *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., xi. 112–13. No such tax was ever paid in Cal. Tobacco account: California owed federal treasury for tobacco received in first eight months of 1825 $23,863. *Mexico, Mem. Hacienda, 1826, doc.*, 9, 25. Oct. 23, 1826, $100,000 worth to be sent, and none must be introduced from other sources. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., i. 47. Two hundred and ten *tercios* of leaf-tobacco and 230 boxes of cigarettes arrived on the *Gen. Bravo*. *Id.*, 60–1. Complaints in 1827–8 of the bad quality of the tobacco thus received. Soldiers took it at 12 reals and were glad to sell it for four. *Id.*, 71, 104–5. Habilitado accounts etc.: 1825, due artillery company since 1822, $50,148. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lvii. 7–8. S. Blas company paid up on Dec. 31,1826, $2,856. *Id.*, lix. 19. Monthly pay-roll of artillery, 1827–30, about $725; of S. Blas company, about $460; of Mazatlan company, about $850; and of four presidial companies, about $1,500 each. *Id.*, passim. Habilitado Estrada's accounts of payments to troops 1820–7; total, $50,894. *Id.*, lxviii. 3. 1828, estimate of cost for six months: Gefatura and comisaría, $2,540; engineers, $500; artillery, $4,693; S. Blas company, $3,653; presidial companies, $36,611; Mazatlan company, $5,838; total, $53.835. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 2-6. Statement of Echeandía: Total receipts in 1828, $24,503; payments, $31,384. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxx. 16-22. 1829, his estimate of yearly expense, $123,000. *Id.*, 21. The habilitados were tax-collectors and revenue officers during a large part of the decade. They received 5 per cent on all sums collected after the beginning of 1823. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 53; and many other references. The missions had to pay 10 per cent on crops and increase of cattle; 6 or 12 per cent on exports; and 12.5 cents on each animal slaughtered. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., iv. pt. ii. 11–12; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 75, 323; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xvii. 89; xviii. 79, 91, 97–8, 311, 318; xix. 123, 137–8, 147–8. The amount of mission tax at S. Francisco in 1824 and 1828, about $3,400. There are numerous orders requiring the payment of tithes throughout the decade; but no statistics. 1828, account of J. B. Alvarado of receipts and expenditures of municipal funds for the six districts, except S. José and S. Francisco. Receipts, $3.388; expenditures, $1,637; balance on hand, $1,751. This revenue was from liquor duties, fines, and tax on wood and timber; expenses included salaries of secretaries of diputacion and ayuntamientos, and cost of schools. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 47; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 76.

infantry, 40. There were also about 60 invalids.[40] The decline was very marked in the last two years, and was perhaps even greater in the San Blas and Mazatlan companies than I have indicated above, as the records are far from being satisfactory. The falling-off of the force was due to the fact that the soldiers were unable to get their pay, and could get a better living more easily by working on the ranchos. There were occasional calls for recruits, and some were doubtless obtained; but I find no statistical record of results.[41]

Complaints from the comandante general and other territorial authorities respecting the insufficiency of force and armament were frequent, as were suggestions and demands for reform.[42] The national government, however, did nothing more effective than to pass the law of May 8, 1828, which provided that each company should have four officers and seventy-six men at an annual cost of $22,740; granted the services of an adjutant inspector, and made some other slight modifications. Save the coming of an inspector, nothing seems to have been done before 1830 as a result of this law.[43]

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[40] The sum of the figures I have given for the different presidios is 417, including invalids. chapters xxiv–vii. In an estimate of expenses for 1828, the total of military force is given at about 460. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 2–6. The force of the presidial companies was given by Echeandía as 271 in 1826. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., iv. 42; and as 263 in 1827. *Sta Clara, Parroq.*, MS., 56. The artillery is given as 30 and 25 in 1835; 45 in 1827; 46, 43, 42, in 1828; 59 in 1829; 49, 44, in 1830. The S. Blas company, 56 in 1823; 40 in 1825; 37, 40, in 1826; 41 in 1827–8; 39, 20, 23, in 1829; and 23 in 1830. The Mazatlan company, 90 in 1825; 68 in 1826; 67 in 1827; 50 in 1829; and 37 in 1830. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., passim; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 6–7; vii. 7; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., i. 13; *Sta Clara, Parroq.*, MS., 56. Statement of mission escoltas; one corporal, and from two to five cavalry men in each, besides a detachment of infantry at S. Fernando and S. Buenaventura. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., iii. 228–60. 1828, Bandini says each presidio had 100 cavalry besides infantry and artillery. *Bandini, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 8. 1829, general statement without figures. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xix. 43–5. 1830, total force, 422, cavalry in the two Californias costing $131,000. *Mexico, Mem. Guerra, 1830*, annex, 1–3. List of commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the presidial companies in 1824. *Bandini, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 5. 1830, the total armament was 54 cannon, 3 of 24 lb. calibre, 2 of 12 lbs., 18 of 8 lbs., 19 of 6 lbs., 11 of 4 lbs., and 1 of 3 lbs.; 23 brass and 31 iron; all but the brass four-pounder out of order. *Dept St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxii. 24.

[41] Jan. 1824, Gov. Argüello calls for 25 recruits from Los Angeles and Sta Bárbara; volunteers if possible; otherwise, available vagrants; and as a last resort unmarried men to be drawn by lot. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, liv. 6.

[42] 1821, Gov. Sola has taken steps to improve defences. *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 69. 1822, Argüello calls for 400 carbines, sabres, and cartridge-boxes. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 3. In Jan. 1824 a junta decided to make the presidial companies 70 and 76 men rank and file. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 61. In the same month the diputacion resolved that a person be appointed to report on all vagrants and evil-disposed persons, that the same might be set to work at 18 cents per day on the fortifications. *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., iv. 15–16; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 23–4. If vagrants did not suffice, neophytes were to be hired. Feb. 6, 1824, Argüello tells minister of war that he has been obliged to muster out the two auxiliary companies (S. Blas and

The comandante general of all the troops was Governor Sola until 1822, Argüello in 1822–5, and Echeandía in 1825–30; while Captain José María Padrés came as adjutant-inspector in 1830. Lieutenant José Ramirez commanded the artillery detachment, known as Company Five of its regiment, until 1825; Captain Miguel Gonzalez in 1825–8, and Alférez José Fernandez del Campo in 1828–30. There are many references to the militia, both artillery and other branches; but they reveal little or nothing respecting the organization of such forces. Probably there was in reality no such organization beyond the general understanding that the citizens of each district were to hold themselves in readiness for service in case of

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Mazaltan), and to retire provisionally some soldiers of the presidial companies. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 214. It would seem that there must be some mistake about the disbanding. Feb. 1826, Echeandía has asked for 150 men from Sonora to resist the Bourbons who secretly attack independence, also for a chaplain. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xix. 26–7. Jan. 1827, Echeandía asks that the Mazaltan and S. Blas companies be recalled, and two companies of regulars be sent in their place. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 123, 126. Sept. 1829, Echeandía complains that there are no presidios in the territory—only squares containing adobe huts in a state of ruin. *Id.*, vii. 39. Feb. 1830, the diputacion agreed to advise the government that the troops should be of better character and better discipline. *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., iv. 88.

[43] May 8, 1828, decree forming six companies for the Californias. *Arrillaga, Recop., 1828*, 118–21; *Sup. Govt. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 3–4; *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., iii. 49–51. March 21, 1822, decree granting an allowance of extra time, 11 years and 11 days, from Sept. 16, 1810, to Sept. 27, 1821, to all officers and men who accepted the independence. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liii. 88. This addition was made in many instances in California. March 20, 1826, director general of artillery wants a topographical plan of every fortified place, so that the government may know the advantages of those Californian 'antemurales de la defensa de la República.' *Id.*, lvii. 17. April 1828, in a distribution of 24,000 muskets, California with one deputy and 80,000 inhabitants gets 320. *Sup. Govt. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 3. Nov. 1828, some cavalry troops captured by Gen. Anaya to be sent to California. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., i. 94.

an emergency.[44] The San Blas infantry company was commanded by Captain José Antonio Navarrete until late in 1822; and by Lieutenant Antonio del Valle during the rest of the decade. Alférez Haro retired, I think, from the military service soon after 1824. This company was not deemed useful to the country, its mustering-out was recommended, and in 1830 an order was issued in Mexico to merge the organization in that of the permanent companies.[45] Captain Pablo de la Portilla continued in command of the Mazatlan company, Lieutenant Juan María Ibarra being still second, and Alférez Ignacio Delgado third, though he perhaps retired from active service before 1830, while Lieutenant Narciso Fabregat had been retired by reason of his Spanish birth. In 1828 the Mazatecos were ordered to be considered in the reviews as infantry, though originally cavalry. In 1829 Echeandía was ordered to send them to Sonora; but they were detained on account of the Solis revolt, and finally there came from Mexico an order for the company to remain in California.[46]

In respect of practical government, California as a territory of the Mexican republic under a gefe político did not differ very much from California as a province of Spain under a governor. The authority of the ruler was substantially the same under the Spanish constitution of 1812 before 1825 as under the federal constitution of 1824 later. His military powers were theoretically somewhat abridged; but even these were very slightly affected in practice. The *plan de gobierno* served locally as a temporary constitution in 1824. The efforts of California to follow Mexico through all the successive phases of revolution, regency, empire, executive power, and federalism from 1821 to 1825 are described in the chronological annals; but so far as the rights of any individual or the prerogatives of any official were concerned there was no change to be noticed. A territorial diputacion of seven members was formed by the election of half the members each year, and acted at rare and irregular intervals as a kind of governor's council rather than as a law-making body, having really no power save in regulating minor matters of territorial economics. California was entitled to a representative in congress with a voice but no vote; but there is no evidence that either of the diputados sent before 1830, Sola, Guerra, and Maitorena, obtained his seat. There was a law of May 6, 1822, that in case of the death of a gefe político the senior vocal of the diputacion should take his place temporarily; but this law was perhaps not known in California before 1830. The position of governor's secretary was held successively by Joaquin de la Torre, Francisco de Haro, José Antonio Carrillo, and Agustin V. Zamorano. Under the republican régime Baja California was attached to the same jurisdiction, but was again detached in 1829-30.

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[44] In April 1828 the general Spanish regulations of artillery militia were circulated. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxix. 132. May 22, 1829, Echeandía reported that the militia was as thoroughly organized as was possible, in five companies; though it had cost great labor to teach the rules to the 500 available men. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 18.

[45] Feb. 11, 1830, Minister Facio to governor. *Sup. Govt. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 2. June 19, 1826, complaints of Comandante Martinez. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lvii. 11.

[46] March 22, 1828, Echeandía's orders for review. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 194. The rest of the squadron still in Sinaloa in 1828. *Riesgo* and *Valdés, Mem. Estadística*, 26–7. May 20th, Aug. 31, 1829, Echeandía to Com. Gen. of Sonora. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xix. 40–1. March 2, 1830, Minister Facio to Echeandía. *Sup. Govt. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 5.

In municipal as in territorial government there were no radical changes. The ayuntamientos of Los Angeles and San José were somewhat more completely organized than before, but no new powers or methods were introduced. The comisionados at the pueblos were deprived of some of their former authority and finally removed altogether. Ayuntamientos were also established at Monterey and Santa Bárbara, where the number of resident civilians required such a civil power. Frequently recurring elections occupied largely the attention of citizens and required the circulation of detailed instructions for such events, besides giving rise to irregularities and contests which resulted in bulky correspondence if nothing more. Many items of interest in connection with this topic of municipal government and ayuntamiento records have been given in local annals of the decade.

Many cases illustrating the administration of justice have also been given in connection with events at the different pueblos and presidios, including crimes and penalties. There was no change in system or methods as compared with earlier periods; but in the last half of the decade there is no doubt that crimes were less promptly and effectually punished than before. This laxity resulted in part from the political changes which practically isolated California from the influence of other than territorial authority; but chiefly from inability to pay the troops, which of course rendered it impossible to maintain military discipline. Argüello made an effort to enforce a strict administration of justice in 1824; but Echeandía was no disciplinarian, and met with slight success in stemming the tide of lawlessness, though his intentions were of the best. Many prosecutions were instituted, but few so far as the records show were carried as far as the infliction of a penalty. The coming of Licenciado Rafael Gomez in 1830 as asesor, or legal adviser of the governor, was the only measure actually carried into effect in the direction of judicial reform; though some action was taken in Mexico for the establishment of higher courts under competent judges.[47]

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[47] The plan de gobierno of Jan. 1824 contained brief provisions for the disposition of civil and criminal cases—the latter by military methods. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 61. Nov. 1824, cases to be sent to tribunal de guerra instead of to king as formerly. *Sup. Govt. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 16. April 20, 1825, a monthly account of cases pending must be sent to sec. of war. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xvi. 16. May 20, 1826, there was to be a district judge for California, but none came yet. The territory belonged to the circuit court at Rosario, Sinaloa, established late in 1827; but I find no evidence that any Californian cases were ever decided by that tribunal. *Id.*, xix. 47–8; *Sup. Govt. St. Pap.*, MS., iii. 3; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., i. 89; *Dept. Rec.*. MS., vi. 1. March 26, 1828, Capt. Cooper declares California to be a country 'without God, law, or justice.' *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxix. 200, 215. March 1829, requisition from Durango for arrest

Only one general topic, that of education, remains to be noticed, and that briefly; for there was no progress in this direction, notwithstanding Governor Sola's efforts in the last decade and at the beginning of this. The friars were not interested in popular education, and there was never money in the territo-

of a murderer circulated to comandantes. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liv. 23–4. June 1829, district judge at Guaymas has jurisdiction over Cal. *Id.*, lxix. 10. June 25, Echeandía gives a brief but very clear statement of the system observed in the country. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 22–3. Feb. 1830, district judge to reside at Monterey.

Murder and homicide: The penalties in most cases were those demanded by the fiscal; in but few is there any record of infliction or even sentence. 1821, homicide by 2 neophytes; hanging, and 8 years in chain-gang. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lii. 4–5. 1822, neophyte murderers; death for 3, 10 years for one. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, liii. 75–6. Homicide at S. José. *Id.*, 69–71. Homicide at Monterey; 10 years. *Id.*, 4–6. Boy murderers at S. Francisco. *Id.*, 72–4. Neophyte murder, S. Buenaventura. *Id.*, 64–7. 1823, neophyte murder, Sta Clara; 1 year. *Id.*, liv. 12. A soldier kills another, S. Francisco; 6 years. *Id.*, liv. 18. 1824, murder and rape, S. José Mission. *Id.*, lvii. 39–42. 1826, Neophyte murder; 1 year as a 'new Christian.' *Id.*, lxiii. 5. Soldier acquitted of homicide, S. Diego. *Id.*, lix. 5–7. 1828, Rubio murder at S. Francisco. *Id.*, lxvi. 2–61. Murder at S. Juan Bautista; 8 years on a war vessel. *Id.*, lxvi. 81–2. 1829, neophyte kills his wife; 2 years. *St. Pap. Ben.*, MS., i. 81. Neophyte accused of killing an American at S. Francisco. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 79. Murder case. *Id.*, vii. 6. Neophyte beat his wife to death; 1 year. *Id.*, vii. 132. 1830, neophytes at Sta Clara tried for murder of an Indian and released after 3 years for lack of evidence. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxiv. 1–4. Neophyte murder; 10 years. *Id.*, lxxii. 7.

Infractions of military discipline: 1823, soldier selling his saddle; 2 months' work. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lii. 11. 1822, Lieut. reprimanded for disrespect to comandante. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 48. 2 soldiers for robbery; 3 and 2 years in chain-gang. *Id.*, i. 47. 1823, leaving *cuartel* in night, 3 years. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liv. 11. Stealing; 2 years in barge. *Id.*, liv. 12. 1825, raising bayonet against sergeant; 3 months. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xi. 21. 1828, soldiers for making complaint against lieutenant; banished to other presidios. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxvi. 64–8. 1829, losing a despatch; 25 blows, and 1 month sentry duty. *Id.*, lxix. 4.

Assault: Citizens for cutting a soldier; 8 years chain-gang. *Id.*, lxxi. 35–58. Majordomo for whipping Indians, one of them dying. *Id.*, lxxii. 11–15; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 59. Soldier for laying hands on a padre; released and made corporal. *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 138–43. Attempting to stab a vagabond; $5 fine. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 188. A slap in the face; $18 fine. *Id.*, v. 72.

Sexual irregularities: 1821, rape case, persons 18 and 12 years; 2 years chain-gang. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lii. 6. Adultery cases, S. Diego. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 286. A slandered girl examined by a matron and declared a virgin. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lv. 7–8. Four cases of women being exposed on church steps, or in plaza, with shaven head, for scandalous conduct. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., xlvii. 23; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 293; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., xiv. 33–4; vi. 40–1. Fornication and abortion, S. Diego. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lii. 11. Rape, S. Francisco; 6 years of work, and $200 to support child. *Id.*, lii. 5–6. Soldiers not to be forced to marry unless they have committed rape. *Id.*, xlvi. 23. 1822, incest case at Monterey. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liii. 7–64. Moral life rial treasury with which to hire teachers of an order superior to that of retired soldiers. The primary and primitive schools at pueblo and presidio were I suppose kept in operation during a greater part of this decade; but the number of scholars in attendance was always small, and the advantages offered were recognized by all as slight. The subject was on several occasions brought up in the diputacion, but for lack of

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required at Los Angeles. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 46–7. 1823, accusation of bestiality, S. Gabriel. *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 174. 1824, crim. con. at S. José. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, liv. 18–59. Bestiality. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 259. 1826, habitual rape at Los Angeles. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lviii. 5–6. 1827, sodomy and murder at Sta Clara. *Id.*, lxviii. 5–6. Crim. con. with an aunt at S. José. *S. José Arch.*, MS., vi. 26. Rape at Sta Bárbara; 7 years. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 38. 1828, crim. con. at Angeles. *Id.*, vi. 55; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxvii. 1. Rape at S. Francisco. *Id.*, lxvi. 82–9. Adultery at S. José. *Id.*, lxvi. 61–2. 1829, house of ill-fame, S. Diego. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 134.

Theft: 1822, two Indians break into presidial warehouse at Sta Bárbara. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., liii. 87. Two men for stealing cattle; 3 years chain-gang. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 93. 1824, six years for robbery. *Id.*, i. 159. Ten years at Loreto for robbery of store. *Id.*, i. 162. Stealing an otter-skin when drunk; 2 years in shackles. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lvii. 38. 1826, neophyte for stealing clothing; 1 year's service for the person robbed. *Id.*, lix. 4–5. Stealing cattle and frequent running away; 1 year on public works. *Id.*, lix. 3–4. 1826, $40 fine for stealing a barrel of brandy; same fine for buyer. *Id.*, lxiv. 1. 1827, soldier, 1 year of imprisonment with cleaning of the barracks, for assault and stealing a small amount from a foreigner. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 66–7. Three Indians, for robberies and running away; 2 years at work in ball and chain. *Id.*, v. 35. 1828, Valerio, a famous robber. *Id.*, vi. 186; *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., x. 100. 1829, neophytes for stealing horses; 2 months of labor. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 95. Soldiers for stealing cattle from rancho nacional at S. Diego; 21 months, payment for cattle, and dismissal from the service. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxiv. 13.

Some general complaints of prevalent drunkenness. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., xi. 65; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 135; *Mont. Arch.*, MS., vii. 22. Evil effects of rum and honey at S. José. *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., iv. 8. Stories of raffling and gambling at Tio Armenta's shop in Monterey. *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 159–62, 215; ii. 136. Mention of prevalent gambling habits. *Duhaut-Cilly, Viaggio*, ii. 125–6; *Morineau, Notice*, 56. Alcalde of Sta Bárbara arrested in 1825 for having a monte game at his house. *Dept. St. Pap., Pref. and Juez*, MS., vi. 34–5. Corporal of S. Juan reprimanded for gambling. *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., vi. 28. A government lottery in existence 1825. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 279.

Slander, forgery, and perjury cases, 1824–6–9. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iii. 15; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, lvii. 26–31; lxx. 1. Vagrants impressed into military service. *Id.*, lxvii. 4; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 188; vii. 35. Two Indians escaped from Sta Bárbara in 1823 and came to Monterey, still wearing their *grilletes*, to complain that after a confinement of five years they had received no benefit from the three *indultos* that had been granted in that period. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., i. 126. Prisoners' support cost from 12 to 18 cents per day, charged to the *gratificacion* fund. *Id.*, i. 98, 240; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 88. Prisoners were let out for private service. *St. Pap., Sac.*, xiv. 19.

funds and lack of teachers nothing could be done. In a report of May 19, 1829, Echeandía stated that the pueblo and presidio schools had been 'paralyzed' until 1826–7, when he had taken effective steps to establish them on a permanent basis. At this date there were 18 scholars in the school at San Diego, 67 at Santa Bárbara, 61 at Los Angeles, and 30 at San José. The Monterey school had been closed for want of a teacher. In the late years efforts had been made by the political authorities to oblige the friars to establish a school at each mission, without success as it would appear from all other records; yet in the report cited it is said that seven of the southern missions had schools with from eight to forty-four children attending each.[48]

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[48] Jan. 7, 1822, no schools exist at missions says the governor to prefect; yet for a small sum the padres might hire teachers and do great good. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xviii. i. Jan. 27, 1824, the establishment of a *hospicio de estudios* proposed in the diputacion. Four members voted for it. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 24–6. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, ii. 1–3, says that in 1824, while Sola was in congress, there came a request for California to contribute for the foundation of a literary and scientific institute in Mexico. Gov. Argüello is credited by Californians with having felt a deep interest in education. June 23, 1827, Bandini urges that the supreme government be induced to send teachers for a small 'colegio ó academia de gramática, filosofía, etc.' *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 54. 1827–8, orders of Echeandía on establishment of mission scoools. The prefect and padres circulate the orders, but complain that the boys have little time for learning, on account of their work. Apparently nothing done. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt. i. 35, 67; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 59, 119; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 79–80; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., xxviii. 90–95. May 19, 1829, *Echeandía, Estado de Escuelas Primarias, 1829*, MS., on same date urges appointment of a 'gramático filósofo' at $1,000 salary. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 14. July 14–20, subject of mission schools again agitated in the diputacion. A bill was reported by the committee providing in substance that masters should be employed and all expenses paid by the missions; but that the schools should be under control of the ayuntamientos or other authorities. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 131, 134, 170–2. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 163–6, is enthusiastic in his admiration for Echeandía's policy and efforts in behalf of popular education.

List of foreign pioneers who came to California before the end of 1830 (as per reference on p. 653–4). For additional biographic details, including probably a few corrections in dates and even in names, I refer the reader to the *Pioneer Register and Index*, which is begun in this volume, and which includes not only these names but those of all who came before the end of 1848. Many of the names given in this list have been mentioned before in this and the preceding volumes. I omit most of the doubtful names, and also those of visitors, even of some early traders who may almost be said to have had their homes on the coast for several years.

Allen, Geo., 1822.
Anderson, Mary, 1829–30.
Anderson, Stephen, 1828.
Baldwin, James M., 1814–15.
Bee, Henry J., 1830.
Bob, a negro, 1816.
Bolbeda, Louis, 1826.
Bolcof, José, 1815.
Bones, John, 1821.
Bonifacio, J. B., 1822.
Borris, Wm or Jas, 1823.
Bouchet, Louis, 1828.
Bowman, Joaquin, 1826.
Breck, James, 1829.
Buckle, Sam., 1822–3.
Buckle, Wm, 1822–3.
Burke, James W., 1824.
Burns, John, 1830.
Burton, John, 1825.
Call, Daniel, 1816.
Chapman, Joseph, 1818.
Charles, Michael, 1826.
Coleman, Geo., 1827.
Cook, James, 1830.
Cooper, John B. R., 1823.
Dana, Wm G., 1826.
Davis, John, 1828.
Devoll, Phil. L., 1830.
Dillon, Joseph, 1824.
Doak, Thos, 1816.
Dodero, Nicolás, 1827.
Domingo, Juan, 1830.
Duckworth, Walter, 1829.
Elwell, Robt J., 1827.
Fellom, Matthew, 1821–4.
Ferguson, Daniel, 1824.
Ferguson, Jesse, 1828.
Fisher, a negro, 1818.
Fitch, Hen. D., 1826.
Flemming, James, 1829.
Fling, Guy F., 1826.
Foxen, Benj., 1826.
Fuller, John C., 1823.
Galbraith, Isaac, 1826.
Gale, Wm A., 1810.
Garner, Wm R., 1824.
Gilroy, John, 1814.
Glande, Giov., 1827.
Goddard, Nic., 1824.
Graham, John, 1791.
Gralbatch, Wm, 1825.
Grant, James, 1825.
Grover, Sam., 1816.
Gyzelaar, Hen., 1816.
Harris, James, 1830.
Hartnell, Wm E. P., 1822.
Higgins, John, 1830.
Hill, Daniel A., 1823.
Hinckley, Wm S., 1829.
Jackson, Joseph, 1827.
Johnson, Corn. A., 1826.
Jones, John C., 1830.
Jones, Thos J., 1821.
Kinlock, Geo., 1829.
Laughlin, Rich., 1828.
Lawrence, Jos. V., 1821.
Leandry, John B., 1827.
Lester, Thos, 1817.
Lewis, Allen, 1830.
Littlejohn, David, 1824.
Littleton, John, 1826.
Livermore, Robert, 1822–4.
Lodge, Michael, 1822.
Logan, Wm, 1826.
McAllister, Mich., 1822.
McCarty, James, 1824.
McFerion, James, 1824.
McIntosh, Ed, 1823.
McKinley, James, 1824.
Macondray, Fred. W., 1822.
Malcolm, Julian, 1814.
Martin, John, 1822.
Mason, Anthony A., 1816.
Mayo, Geo., 1816.
Moreno, Santiago, 1824.
Mulligan, John, 1814–15.
Murphy, Tim., 1828.
Mutrel, Jean B., 1827.
Nye, Gorham H., 1830.
Olivera, Manuel D., 1829.
Pacheco, Jordan, 1829.
Park, Thos B., 1826.
Pascual, Mateo J., 1818.
Pasos, Manuel D., 1822–4.
Pattie, Sylvester, 1828.
Peirce, Henry A., 1828.
Pereira, Joaquin, 1826.
Pombert, Louis, 1826.
Pope, Wm, 1828.
Prentice, Sam., 1830.
Pryor, Nath. M., 1828.
Rainsford, John, 1829.
Read, John, 1826–8.
Rice, Geo. J., 1826.
Richardson, Wm A., 1822.
Roach, John, 1830.
Robbins, Thos M., 1823.
Robinson, Alfred, 1829.
Rocha, Ant. J., 1815.
Rose, John, 1818.
Roy, Pierre, 1782.
Satte, J. J., 1827.
Sawyer, Jos., 1828.
Scott, James, 1826.
Shaw, Thos, 1824.
Slover, Isaac, 1828.
Smith, Charles, 1828.
Smith, Thos L., 1829.
Smith, Wm, 1806.
Smith, Wm, 1827.

Snook, Jos. F., 1830.
Spence, David, 1824.
Stearns, Abel, 1829.
Steel, Jos., 1826.
Stewart, Thos, 1824.
Taylor, Wm, 1828.
Temple, John, 1827.
Thomas, Ignacio, 1818.
Thompson, A. B., 1825.
Thompson, James, 1828.
Trevethen, Wm, 1826.
Turner, John S., 1826.
Vincent, Geo. W., 1826.
Warren, Wm, 1828.
Watson, Dav. or Jas, 1823-4.
Watson, Ed, 1828.
Welsh, Wm, 1821.
White, Michael, 1829.
Williams, Geo., 1829.
Willis, Wm, 1828.
Wilson, James, 1824.
Wilson, John, 1826.
Wilson, John, 1826.
Wilson, John H., 1826.
Wilson, Julian, 1828.
Wilson, Wm, 1822.

PIONEER REGISTER AND INDEX.

1542–1848.

All history, as a record of the acts of men, is biography. In these pages it is proposed by means of an alphabetic index to make available as biographical matter the first five volumes of this work, covering the annals of California from its discovery to 1848. Through this index the reader may have access directly to all that is told in the work about any man of the thousands whose acts make up the country's early history. The names will not in most cases be repeated in the general index at the end of vol. vii.; but to that index the reader is referred for additional matter relating to such of these persons as were prominent after 1848, and also for information about men who, though mentioned in the history, did not come to California.

But I propose to carry this record far beyond the limits of a mere index. To the thousands of names mentioned in the history will be added other thousands which it has not been necessary to mention there. Thus will be presented a complete register of pioneers, or early Californians. Something more is done, however, than merely to register names and dates. In many cases —indeed, in all when it is desirable and possible—information is given respecting the nationality, occupation, achievements, death, and family connections of each subject, as well as about the date and manner of his coming to California and his connection in public capacities with the country's annals. In this way the index and register is expanded into a kind of biographic dictionary.

Of foreign pioneers—that is, not of Spanish and Indian blood—including both residents and visitors, my register contains all the names I have been able to obtain, except those found in the shipping articles and crew-lists of trading vessels and muster-rolls of naval craft. Some of the former and many of the latter are accessible, but they would multiply my lists to no good purpose. Yet when a sailor returned to California in later years I have regarded him as a pioneer under the date of his earliest visit. Of Spaniards, Mexicans, and native Californians, I have not attempted to present complete lists; yet the aim has been to register all who acquired any sort of prominence in territorial or local affairs, all the well-known traders and rancheros, all the friars, all the military and civil officials, all the leading families in each section. The reader is also referred to the list published at the end of vol. i., many of the same names being repeated here with additional information.

Obviously the most rigid condensation has been necessary, and the biographic notes must be very brief; yet the natural impression at first glance that they are too short will in most cases be removed on closer examination. Seven eighths of the names—even if we could obtain additional information and had space for its presentment—would in their connection with Californian history call for nothing beyond what is here given. Of the rest, a large proportion is that of public men whose acts are sufficiently recorded and discussed elsewhere, requiring only the index reference. I would call particular attention to this phase of the matter and to a cognate one. Ask a pioneer for his reminiscences or a sketch of his life, and he will fill his narrative chiefly with the journey of his immigrant party across the plains, the organization of his regiment and its voyage round Cape Horn, his service in the California battalion, his experience in the Bear Flag revolt, or at the fight of San Pascual, or with other well-known historic happenings in which he took part, and which he remembers with pride. But these events are fully treated elsewhere, and the pages devoted to an immigrant party are added by the index to the biography of each member of the party; the chapter on the New York volunteers, or the Mormon colony, to the life of each volunteer and colonist; that on the Graham affair to the record of each exile. Thus a large amount of matter not biographical on its face is legitimately added to the Pioneer Register. It is also to be noted that the lives of many early friars and officers have been given in connection with their departure or death, requiring only a reference here. True, there remains after all a class of pioneers, a hundred or two in number, permanent residents, representative citizens, founders of families, but not directly connected with public affairs, to each of whom a few pages instead of a few lines might be devoted with interest, often with profit; yet these are the men who are given in this register the greatest average space, and it is doubtful if that space could be increased consistently with the scope of such a work.

There will be noted an entire absence of the indiscriminate eulogy so often deemed an essential feature of pioneer sketches. I have neither space nor disposition to indulge in praise or blame, either for the purpose of pleasing or displeasing pioneers or their descendants, or of adding the interest of mild scandal to my sketches. Of private individuals, as a rule, no attempt is made to depict the character, to picture them as 'nature's noblemen,' or to point out the fact that they were not members of temperance societies. It is taken for granted that they were more or less good, bad, and indifferent citizens according to circumstances; but their weaknesses and virtues, within certain limits, do not concern me or my readers. Doubtless I have recorded many items about individuals that they and their friends would prefer to have suppressed, and suppressed many items that to enemies would be most agreeable reading; but in each case I have acted on my own judgment and with strict impartiality. Where a man's distinguishing traits are so clearly marked that they may be fairly presented in few words, especially in the case of men locally famous, I have not hesitated to write the few words, whether complimentary or otherwise. Public men are freely criticised, but mainly in other parts of the work where their acts are recorded, only a summary or moderate reflection of general conclusions being introduced here. In the comparative extent and general tone of the notices, no distinction is made by reason of race between Spaniards, Mexicans, Californians, and foreigners; between soldiers and civilians, friars and laymen, sailors and immigrants, traders and rancheros, rich and poor, the living and the dead; but, other things being equal, more space is given to early pioneers than to those of later years. If a line or two of extra space is occasionally devoted to a man who has furnished documentary and other evidence on early times, and the record of another man who has shown no interest is briefer, the difference does not necessarily indicate partiality, since in many instances certain kinds of information about a man can be obtained only from himself or some member of his family.

From the nature of the case, my authorities, except in special instances, cannot be cited. Such citations would involve endless repetition, and would fill much space that can be utilized to better advantage. The reader is referred to the general list of authorities in vol. i.; but it is proper to specify here some classes that have been particularly prolific in items for this register. First in importance are the archives, public, private, and missionary; especially in their records of naturalization and passports, custom-house records, military rosters, local census lists, voting and official lists, mission registers of births and marriages and deaths, and the correspondence of officials, friars, and citizens; particularly important among the private archives being the commercial correspondence and account-books of such men as Larkin, Cooper, Hartnell, Spear, and many others. Next should be mentioned the several hundred volumes of personal reminiscences furnished for my use by early Californians, native and foreign, each containing a few—some very many—personal items in addition to those relating to the narrator and his family. Third may be noted the work of such specialists as Clark on the N. Y. volunteers, Tyler on the Mormon battalion, McGlashan on the Donner party, Kooser on the artillery company, Lancey on the conquest in general, etc.; with valuable muster-rolls kindly furnished me by the military department at Washington. Fourth, and amply worthy of separate mention, we have the biographic gleanings of Ben Hayes on the pioneers of southern California; while in the same connection may be mentioned the patient researches of Alex. S. Taylor. Fifth, the archives of the Society of Pioneers contain, besides lists of members, partials rolls of the Cal. battalion; while the government lists of those who held 'Cal. claims,' Wheeler's list of San Francisco lot-owners, the voluminous testimony in famous land cases, and especially the valuable New Helvetia diary of '45-8, furnished me by Wm F. Swasey, should not be forgotten. Sixth are to be noted the newspapers of '47-85, with their thousands of obituary and biographic items, so faulty in individual cases, so extremely valuable in the aggregate; and, similar in many respects, the county and local histories of recent years, from which I have drawn much material. Finally, I must allude to special correspondence with many pioneers from time to time as particular information has been needed; hundreds having replied, and a few—such as John Bidwell, Wm H. Davis, Wm Glover, S. H. Willey, John A. Swan, and others—meriting fuller acknowledgment than my space permits.

That this register will be appreciated in any degree commensurate with the labor it has cost is not to be expected. Within my knowledge nothing of the kind has ever been attempted in any new country. The value that in any of the older communities would now be attached to such a record, had it been made at the beginning, is my basis for estimating the prospective usefulness of this.

The references are to the *History of California*, vol. i.-v.; that is, 'iii. 475,' in connection with a man's name, indicates that on page 475, vol. iii. of the *Hist. Cal.*, some information about the man, or at least a mention, will be found; when the reference is enclosed in parentheses, as, (v. 340,) the reader is directed to some event or party with which the man was connected, without a mention of his name. With a view to condensation, abbreviations are freely used, but none, I think, which require explanation. The register will be continued alphabetically at the end of vol. iii., iv., and v.

Abbott (Austin R.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499), living at Sacramento '82. Abeck (François), 1847, a Swiss in Sutter's empoy at N. Helv. in '47–8. One of the earliest gold-miners.

Abell (Alex. G.), 1847, native of N.Y., who went to Honolulu in '45; arrived at S. F. in Nov. on the *Currency Lass.* Member of the firm J. B. McClurg & Co. at Los Angeles till Feb. '48. From '49 well known as a business man at S. F., member of the state senate in '63, and prominent in the masonic order in later years. Living at S.F. in '85. A son, John, came with him in '47; another son, E. A., died in '84.

Abella (Juan), 1842, Mex. captain, of Ind. race, who came with Micheltorena and departed with him in '45. Acting comandante of the batallon fijo (iv. 287, 351, et seq.), after the departure of Tellez, and com. of the post at Monterey in '45. He left his business affairs in charge of Larkin, at whose house he had lived, and wrote to L. from S. Blas. He signed his name 'Abeya.' See vol. iv. p. 289, 357, 405, 460, 487, 514–15, 652.

Abella (Ramon), 1798, Span. friar, who served chiefly at S. F., S. Cárlos, and S. Luis Ob., dying in 1842; for many years the only survivor of those who came before 1800. Biog., iv. 647; mention in i. list of auth., p. 432, 577, 712, 732; ii. 130–2, 159–60, 198, 288, 321–3, 329–30, 373, 375, 383, 394, 616, 655; iii. 92, 96, 191, 319, 356, 396, 446, 588, 622, 679, 681, 683; iv. 46, 372, 657.

Abernethy (John J.), 1847, asst surgeon, U. S. *Lexington.* Aborn (John), 1846, in Sta Clara val., apparently an overland immig., serving perhaps in Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358–60). Ábrego (Emigdio), 1842, Mex. lieut of the batallon fijo, '42–5. See iv. 289.

Ábrego (José), 1834, Mex. hatter and trader, who came with the H. & P. colony (iii. 259 et seq.), and opened a store at Mont. Young, intelligent, with some capital, and of good repute, he soon became a prominent citizen, holding office continuously from '36, as comisario de policía, administrator of S. Antonio mission, customs officer, member of the assembly, substitute member of the tribunal superior, and treasurer. As sub-comisario and treasurer he was in charge of the territorial finances in 1839–46, possessing the confidence of all classes. In '41–2 he was involved in controversies with Gen. Vallejo in the matter of distributing funds, as also in '45–6 with Pico's administration; but these quarrels resulted from his position rather than his character, no one questioning his integrity or ability. He revisited Mex. in '43–4. In '44 he was the grantee of the Pt Pinos rancho, and later claimant for S. Francisquito. After the U. S. occupation he deemed it his duty as a Mex. to decline office for a time, but later held some local positions. He continued his career as hatter, soap-manufacturer, and merchant, with more or less success and undiminished popularity, till his death in '78, at the age of 65. In '36 he married Josefa Estrada, half-sister of Gov. Alvarado, who survived him with six of their children. The two daughters were married to Judge Webb of Salinas and J. Bolado of S. F. One of the sons married a daughter of Jacob P. Leese. For mention of Ábrego, see vol. i. list of auth.; iii. 263, 592, 597, 601–2, 672, 675, 678, 687–8; iv. 97, 99, 198, 210, 282, 327–8, 341, 357, 377, 401–3, 432, 520, 522, 532, 540, 557–8, 563; v. 35, 38, 41, 289, 455, 570, 636.

Acacio, Indian of S. José involved in troubles with Sutter's Ind. in 1840. iv. 137–8. Accolti (M.), 1848, Jesuit prominent in educational affairs at Sta Clara college, and St Ignatius, S. F., dying in '78; perhaps from Or. in '48. Acebedo (Francisco), soldier who came before 1780, sergeant of the S. Diego Co. from 1798, and a settler at Los Ang. in 1808–19. i. 647; ii. 101, 350, 354. A. (José). i. 569. A. (Julian), i. 303. See also list i. 732. Acedo (Ignacio), resid. of Brancif. 1801–10; com. de policía, Mont., '33; Mex. convict, '34; cavalry sold. at Mont., and employé at S. F. Solano, '36. Doubtless several distinct persons. ii. 167; iii. 673, 720. A. (Tiburcio), had a Cal. claim in '46 (v. 462–8) for $3,670. Aceves (Antonio), settler at S. José and grantee of Salinas rancho 1790–5. i. 478, 683; ii. 664. A. (José), hero of the 1st marriage at Sta Cruz in 1794–5. i. 495. See also list i. 732. Ackerman (J. Howard), 1847, clerk for Wm A. Leidesdorff at S. F., '47–8, and owner of a town lot. v. 685. Ackley (Henry), 1847, Co. E, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). Acres (Hiram), 1845, Amer. immig. from Or. in the McMahon-Clyman co. (iv. 472–4, 587). At N. Helv., Sonoma, and Napa in '46–8, perhaps later. B. Akers, probably the same or a son, served in the Cal. Bat. (v. 358–60). Acuña, 1818, one of Bouchard's men. ii. 220–49, 232. Adair (Wesley), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469–98). In '82 an Ariz. farmer.

Adams, 1847, mr of the *Loo Choo*. v. 511, 576. Adams, master of the *Forrester*, on the coast perhaps in '15. ii. 274. Adams, Amer., aged 30, at Branciforte, padron of '45. A. (Charles), 1840, Scotch sailor, who left the *Columbia* and became a lumberman in '41.

Adams (David L.), 1846, Amer. immig. from Indiana, age 10 (v. 528). His father died on the way, and he lived on the Yuba a while with his mother —who married Abner Bryan—and sisters. At S. José '47 and from '49; Placerville mines '48–9. After a course of study at the Univ. of the Pac. in '59–61, he settled on a farm near Sta Cruz in '62, marrying Julia Bennett of the '43 immig. in '63. In '81, and I suppose later, he lived in the town of Sta Cruz with a family of 6 children, being in the lumber trade. *Sta Cruz Co. Hist.*, 27–8. In March '85 he writes me from S. Bernardino.

Adams (Elisha), 1846, said by Hall to have come to the Sta Clara val. A. (Henry), mr of the *Paradise* in '27. iii. 148. Another Henry A. is vaguely accredited to '44. iv. 453; and another, or the same, is named by Tinkham as a boy on Howard's vessel in '46, later pres. of the Stockton Pion. Soc.

Adams (James Harmon), 1847, Co. A, N. Y. Vol., trans. to Co. G (v. 499). Born in N. Y. '19; opened a shoe-shop at L. Ang. '47, while still in the service; policeman at S. F. '49–54; at Vallejo '55–60; and at S. F. '61–85. His wife of '39, Matilda Smith, one of the original members of the 1st Presb. church of S. F., died in '79. A son, James Hardie A., born on the voy. to Cal., died in '49; a daughter died at L. Ang. in '48. Another son, John Quincy A., 3 years old on arrival, was educated in the 1st public schools at S. F.; presented with a gold nugget on the plaza by a miner as the 1st schoolboy he had seen in Cal.; played juvenile parts in the Jenny Lind theatre; served on the U. S. *Warren* '55–6; office-boy for Com. Farragut at Mare Isl. '57–8; law student at Benicia '66–7; lawyer at S. F. from '73. He has been orator at pioneer celebrations, sec. of surviving N. Y. Vol., and has afforded me some aid in the collection of historical material.

Adams (John), 1846, lieut Co. C, 1st U. S. Dragoons (v. 536). A. (John), 1846, midshipman on the U. S. *Dale*. Another John Adams had a Cal. claim (v. 462–8) of $200 in '46; voted at S. Diego in '48; and settled near Napa—perhaps 2 or 3 different men. A. (Jos. H.), lieut on the *Savannah* and *Levant* in '44–5. A. (Orson B.), sergt in Co. C, Morm. Bat. '47–8. v. 477.

Adams (Walter W.), 1840, Boston sailor arrested at Mont. but not exiled. iv. 17, 120. Shipped on the *California* in '42, and later on the *Laura*. In '44 disabled at Sta B. and Mont., being aided by the U. S. consulate, and getting a carta; but in Aug. he shipped on the *Chas W. Morgan*. A. (Washington), 1847, Co. B, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). A. (Wm), named by Hall as having come to Sta Clara val. in '46.

Addison (Isaac), 1846, a Mormon of the *Brooklyn* colony, v. 546, with his wife and daughter. He was excommunicated from the church, and returned east before Jan. '47. S. K. Addison bought a town lot at S. F. in '48.

Adler (Lewis), 1846, German cooper who came from Honolulu on the *Euphemia*. Clerk for Leidesdorff and Dickson & Hay, at S. F. in '46–7, also owning a town lot. A trader from '48 at Son., where he still lived in '85, at the age of 65.

Adrian (Geo.), 1836, named in a S. José padron as a foreign resident. Afanadon, or Afanador, chaplain who came in '22 with the Canónigo Fernandez.

ii. 458. Agate, scientist attaché of the U. S. ex. exped. in '41. iv. 243. Agazini (Flaminio), '25, mr of the transport *Morelos*. iii. 148. Agnew (Hugh) 1847, Co. H, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). Agredo, doubtful name of a school-boy at Mont. '15–20. ii. 429. Agricia (José), grantee of the Laureles rancho in '44. iv. 655. Aguado (Ignacio), Mex. lieut of the batallon fijo in '42–5. iv. 289. Aguiar (Francisco), soldier of 1769 et seq.; sergt at S. Diego in 1777. i. 314, 732. Águila (José), Mex. settler at S. F. in 1791–1800. i. 716; munic. elector at S. F. in 1827. ii. 592. From '28 José Águila, or José M. Aguilar (between which names there is evident confusion), was a somewhat prominent citizen of Mont. In '31–34 he was síndico; in '32–3 regidor and com. de policía. iii. 672–3; in '33 vocal of the diputacion. iii. 246; in '36 admin. at Soledad. iii. 690–1; in '38–9 clerk to admin. of S. Antonio. iii. 687–8; and in '44 grantee of the Cañada de Nogales rancho. iv. 634. In a Mont. padron of '36 José Águila is described as a painter, 50 years of age, native of Celaya, married to María Fran. García, a native of Mont., aged 37. Águila (Felipe), land near Mont. in' 35. iii. 678. A. (Joaquin), claimant for land at Sta Inés in '47. A. (Lugardo), resid. of S. Gabriel in '46. A. (Ramon), soldier of S. F. in '37–43. iv. 667. See list i. 732.

Aguilar (Blas), son of Rosario A., born at S. Diego about 1808. In '31 majordomo of S. D. mission, and in '34 at Temécula. Lived in '38–43 at the Palomares rancho, Los Ang. Co. In '41 got land at S. Juan Cap., where in '46 he was living at the age of 38 with his wife Antonia Gutierrez, aged 29. *Padron;* where he was alcalde in '48, and where he still lived in '76. See mention in ii. 443, 550; iii. 620; iv. 626; v. 624. An Aguilar is ment. as one of Bouchard's men in '18. ii. 232. A. (Antonio), soldier at S. F. '19–23; resid. of Los Ang. in '38, murdered in '42. iii. 564–5; iv. 632. A. (Casildo), trader at Los Ang., age 26, in '39; juez de aguas in '46. iv. 625; claimant for La Ciénega. A. (Cristóbal), resid. of Los Ang., age 24, from '38, when he was alcalde suplente; in '44–5, regidor. iii. 636; iv. 633.

Aguilar (Francisco Javier), soldier of the Loreto co., who served in the exped. of 1769 et seq. to S. Diego and Mont., but never came to live in Cal. A sergt from 1795; in command at C. S. Lúcas of a militia co. 1795–1800. A. (Gabino), at San Juan Cap. in '46, age 30, with his wife María Ant. Sesena and 6 children. *Padron.* A. (Ignacio), said to have fired the gun at Mervine's defeat '46. v. 319. A. (José M.), settler at Los Ang. fr. '14; regidor '21, '25–6; in trouble with Gov. Victoria in '31. In the padron of '39 he is noted as a bricklayer, age 54. ii. 349, 359, 559–60; iii. 196. (See also Águila, José.) A. (Macedonio), resid. of Los Ang. in '39, age 30; juez de campo in '43–5. iv. 632–4. A. (Martin), Span. com. of one of Vizcaino's explor. vessels in 1602–3. i. 98, 104, 242. A. (Ramon), killed by the Ind. in '46. v. 617.

Aguilar (Rosario), corporal of the escolta at S. Diego and S. Luis Rey missions from shortly after 1800. Lived at S. Diego fr. about '30, being majordomo of the mission in '38, and getting a grant of the Paguai rancho—which he is said to have refused—in '39. In '41 he was juez de paz at S. D., but obtained land at S. Juan Cap., where he was juez in '43–4, and where he died about '45. ii. 546; iii. 612, 619, 620–3, 626–7. His daughter married José Ant. Serrano. A. (Santiago), Mex. sergt, age 22, at Mont. in '36. In charge of the printing-office, and took part in the revolt against Alvarado, '37. iii. 470, 523–5. A. (Simon), executed at Mont. '31. iii. 190–1, 669, 673, 679.

Aguirre (José Antonio), 1834, Span. Basque, born about 1793; a wealthy trader at Guaymas, when in '33–4 he engaged in the Cal. trade, owning several vessels, and visiting Cal. frequently. From about '38 he made Sta B. his home, marrying María del Rosario, a daughter of José Ant. Estudillo, in '42. His second wife was a sister of the first. Grantee of the Tejon rancho in '43, and his wife of S. Jacinto Viejo y Nuevo in '46. On account of his great size he was sometimes nicknamed Aguirron; of fine presence, affable in manner, and well liked by all. An excellent type of the old-time Spanish merchant, keeping aloof for the most part from smuggling and politics, though often employed by the government. Still a resident of Sta B. after 1854. Ment. in iii. 620, 637, 659, 660, 727; iv. 12, 61, 100, 104, 332, 621, 635; v. 587,

619. Aguirre (Juan B.), 1775, Span. mate and master of different transport ships on the coast in 1775–90. i. 246, 287, 328, 444. A. (Severo), 1842, Mex. sergt in the batallon fijo '43–5. iv. 289.

Ahumada, 1813, Dominican of B. Cal., preaching at S. Diego. ii. 345.

Ainsworth (John), 1828, Engl. sailor ordered to be shipped to Sand. Isl. by 1st vessel. Perhaps 'Rainsford,' q.v.

Ajuria (Gregorio), 1845, Span. supercargo of the *Hannah*, fr. Mazatlan, with a letter of introd. from Parrot to Larkin. He finally settled at Los Ang., married the daughter of John Temple, and became rich. He went to Mex. about '56 to engage in heavy and unprofitable financial operations. On the fall of Comonfort went to Paris, where he died in '64, aged 47, leaving a widow and several children. Akers (B.), 1846, in Cal. Bat. Probably same as 'Acres,' q.v.

Alanis (Mariano), 1800, Mex. settler at Los Ang. 1800–39. ii. 349. *Padron.* A. (Máximo), 1819, resid. of Los Ang.; arrested for smuggling in '21, and for political misdeeds in '31. Owner of the S. José de Buenos Aires rancho in '40–3. ii. 354, 441; iii. 196, 634; iv. 635. A. (Nicolás), a settler at L. Ang. in 1807. ii. 350; and Márcos A. in '46.

Alarcon (Gaspar), 1602, Span. com. of one of Vizcaino's ships. i. 98. A. (Hernando), 1540, com. of an explor. vessel at the head of the gulf; may have seen Cal. territory. i. 68. Alarico, 1840, Ind. chief arrested by Sutter. iv. 137. Alariza (Juan P.), Cal. claim for $11,565 in '46 (v. 462–8).

Álava (José Manuel), 1793–4, Span. brigadier of the navy, or commodore, who visited Cal. in connection with the Nootka affair. He fell at the battle of Trafalgar in 1803. i. 509, 523–5, 533. Alballo (Feliciano), 1777, one of the 1st settlers at S. F. i. 297. Alberger (John), 1847, Co. A, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499).

Alberni (Pedro), 1796, Span. lieut-col, and capt. of Catalan vol., who came in connection with the project of founding Branciforte. By his rank he was com. of the S. F. post in 1796–1800, and com. de armas of Cal. at Mont. in 1801–2, dying in 1802. See biog., ii. 5–6; mention in i. 535, 539–41, 543, 565–7, 615, 630, 639, 679, 693, 705, 729; ii. 2, 140.

Albert (J. C.), 1833, mr of whaler *Isabel.* iii. 382. Albet (Ibre), 1825–6, mr of whaler *Triton.* iii. 149. Albin (Charles), 1845, Amer. at Mont.; prob. same as Chas Albien, who got a lot at S. F. in '47. iv. 587, 685. Albright (James), 1845, Amer. sailor fr. the *Tasso* at S. F., aided by U. S. consul. Alcántara (Pedro), 1792–5, mason-instructor. i. 615, 684.

Alden (Fernando), 1832, at Mont. in '47. Amer. who testified at S. F. '53, in *U. S. vs Castillero*, that he came in '32, and had lived 25 years in Cal. and Mex. A. (James), 1841, lieut in U. S. ex. exped. iv. 241. Later a commodore. Alderman (Isaac W.), 1848, Amer. miner from Or.; killed by C. E. Pickett at Sacramento. See *Hist. Or.*, i. 459.

Aldrich (James), 1847, Co. I, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. in Va '64. A. (Prudence), 1846, widow in the Mormon col, v. 546, with son and daughter, her husband, Silas Aldrich, having died on the voyage. She was owner of a S. F. lot in '47; but returned to Utah, where she still lived with her daughter in '84. Her son Jasper died in Utah.

Alegre (Antonio), 1790–5, settler at S. José. i. 478, 683. Aleponzoni (Flavio), 1791, alférez in Malaspina's exped. i. 490. Alered (Jesus), 1846, resid. of S. Bernardino. Alexander, 1834, Engl. sailor in a Mont. list.

Alexander (Cyrus), 1832, Amer. tanner born in Penn. 1805, but moving with his parents to Ill. in 1810. In '31, or perhaps earlier, after an unprofitable experience in lead-mining at Galena, he started for the far west as a trapper for the Sublette Co., and came to Cal. by way of Sta Fé. The date has been variously given from '27 to '35; but original archive evidence of '37–45 leaves no doubt that he came in '32 or '33. For 7 or 8 years he remained in the south, engaged in hunting, fishing, trading, soap-making, and stock-raising. He received Mex. naturalization papers on March 18, 1837, though he applied for new papers in '45. About '40 he came north and took charge on shares of Henry D. Fitch's Sotoyome rancho, now Healdsburg, obtaining for himself 2 leagues of the rancho in '47. In Dec. '44 he was married by Sutter to Rufina Lucero, a sister of Wm Gordon's wife, from N. Mex. There was trouble about this marriage, which had to be repeated by a priest at Sta Clara. During the flush times Alexander, though unlucky as a miner, became rich by the sale of rancho products and increase in the value of his land. His name in many ways is prominently and honorably connected with the history of Healdsburg. Unlike any other Cal. ex-trapper known to history or tradition, he was converted, joined the presbyterian church, and finally became a methodist, giving liberally to church and educational enterprises; but he was also charitable in other respects, acquiring an enviable reputation locally as an honest, unassuming citizen. He died in '72, after 7 years of partial paralysis, leaving a widow and 4 of his 12 children. Mention in iii. 388, 408; iv. 117, 674. His portrait is given in the *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 91. A MS. in my collection—*Life and Times of Cyrus Alexander*, by his nephew Charles Alexander—contains many details.

Alexander (David W.), 1841, Irish trader from N. Mex. At first a ranchero in the S. Bernardino region, and later in trade at L. Ang. with Temple. He strongly favored the Amer. in the troubles of '46; was one of the prisoners taken at Chino (v. 311–14); and after the war was made collector of customs at S. Pedro in '47–8. Successful claimant for the ranchos of Tujunga and Providencia. In '50 regidor of Los Ang., and county sheriff in '55–6 and '76–7. His wife was a daughter of Manuel Requena. Still living, '85, in the vicinity of Los Ang. Mentioned in iv. 278–9; v. 314, 441, 572, 575, 626, 634–5. Alexander (G.), 1848, pass. from Honolulu. A. (Horace M.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469–98). Alexy (John), 1825, mr whaler *Factor*. iii. 147. Alfaro (Joaquin), 1834, accused of murder at Mont. iii. 673. Alfe (Alfon), 1827, mr whaler *Orion*. iii. 148.

Alford (Landy), 1846, overland immig. who worked as a carpenter at Mont., and at Benicia in '47–8, afterwards settling in Suisun valley. His daughter was the wife of Nathan Barbour. v. 672.

Alipás (Dámaso), 1831, engaged in the S. Diego revolt. iii. 201. A. (Gervasio), in same revolt; also executed by the vigilantes at Los Ang., in '36. iii. 417–19. A. (José), resid. at S. Juan Cap., age 37, in '41–6; com. of a mil. force at S. Luis Rey in '46. iv. 620–1, 626. A. (Martin), 1846, resid. at Los Ang. A. (Santos), 1846, killed at the Pauma massacre. iv. 617. Allamando (Victorino), 1841, resid. at S. José, age 35.

Allen, 1832, trapper with Nidever in '30, and thought by N. to have come to Cal. a little later. iii. 408. Allen, 1847, in Sutter's employ. Allen (Albern), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469–98). A. (Andy), 1846, said by Hall to have come to Sta Clara val. with his brothers Thos and Wm, and his sisters Melissa and Rebecca. Perhaps brothers, etc., of J. M. Allen, q.v.

Allen (Daniel), 1848, a Mormon killed by Ind. in exploring for a new road over the Sierra on the return to Utah. v. 496. Tyler calls him Daniel, but there is no such name on the rolls. Bigler calls him Ezrah H. Perhaps it was Elijah or George Allen, who were privates in Co. B. Another George A. was in Co. E.

Allen (David), 1847, Amer. immig. in Brown's co. of '46, but left sick on the way, going to Or. and visiting Cal. in '47. His wife died on the overland journey (v. 526–30). See Jas M. Allen.

Allen (George), 1822, Irishman, said to have been a quaker, also called Scotch and English in some records, who landed at Mont. at age of 26. He was baptized as Josef Jorge Tomás at S. Cárlos in '24, and in '26 married Petra Boronda, a native of S. José, age 14. Naturalized in '29. He kept a little shop or inn at Mont., in comp. with Wm Gralbatch, but sold out to McIntosh in '30 for $90. In one way or another his name appears in the records of almost every year, as he was a favorite witness to divers contracts, had petty transactions with everybody, and served on occasion as surgeon and dentist. He was several times a member and oftener an employé of the ayuntamiento. In a padron of '36, when he was munic. treasurer, he is noted as a trader, 40 years old, with wife and 4 children. In '42 he was justice of the peace, and seems to have got a lot at S. F., though he never lived there. In '44–5 teacher by the governor's appointment, and in '45–6 clerk in the U. S. consulate, being an excellent penman, and evidently a man of some education. He sometimes signed Geo. W. Allen. He died at Mont. in '47, and his widow was still living in '83; his sons were Miguel, b. in '27—in '83 living in Inyo Co.—José George, b. in '33, and Alonzo, who in '83 kept a saloon in Mont.; one daughter married Dr Martin of S. José, and the other lived in '83 with her mother. ii. 478, 496, 525, 609, 674; iii. 409, 176; iv. 117, 653, 669; v. 681.

Allen (Geo. Trail), 1848, appointed Nov. '48 Hawaiian consul in Cal. v. 615. Perhaps did not arrive till '49. A. (Henry), 1847, owner of a S. F. lot. A. (James), capt. 1st U. S. dragoons, who organized and commanded the Morm. Bat. in '46, but died before reaching Cal. v. 473–8.

Allen (James M.), 1846, Amer. immig. from Mo. (v. 526–30), son of David Allen, q.v. With his brothers and sisters he went to Sta Clara, where he lived—also serving in Weber's company, and getting a lot at S. F.—in '46–8. He was a gold-miner in '48, also visiting Oregon. From '49, trader in live-stock, founder of the town of Frémont in '49, and sheriff of Yolo Co. in '50. From '53 in Contra Costa; from '61 at S. F., though interested in Nevada mines; and in '65–8 adj.-gen. of Cal. militia, subsequently engaging in real estate business at Livermore, where he still lived at the age of 56 in '84. His wife was Sidesia Mendenhall, his children Eugene and Delora (Mrs Biddle). A. (Jesse H.), 1846, Co. E, Cal. Bat. (v. 358–60), under Capt. Grisby '46–7.

Allen (John), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. v. 489–90. A hard case, who was drummed out of the battalion and ex-com. from the church at Los Ang. Owner of a S. F. lot in '47. v. 685. Later a 'terror' in the Placer Co. mines, being killed in a quarrel at Grass Valley in '51. A. (Otis), 1841, named as a Maine man, resid. in Sonoma Co. '50–'77. A. (Rufus C.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); a Utah farmer in '81. A. (Theodore Henry), 1847, Pion. Soc. record. A. (Thomas), 1841, succeeded Ridley in charge of Sutter's launch.

Allgeier (Nicolaus), 1840, German trapper, some time in H. B. Co.'s employ, who came by land fr. Or. and worked for Sutter at N. Helv. His name was generally, and perhaps correctly, written Altgeier. He often quarrelled with the capt., who once accused Le Grand Nicolas of having tried to kill him; but A. was not discharged as threatened. In '42 he got from Sutter a tract of land on the Sac. just below Bear River, where he managed a ferry at the crossing between N. Helv. and Hock, building a hut of poles, and later an adobe house; and here the little town of Nicolaus bears his name. In '44 he was naturalized, and is often named in the *N. Helv. Diary* of '46–8. He still lived on his rancho in '49, and is remembered in '52–5 by Bidwell; still living in '60. He left children. Mention in iv. 117, 120, 139, 229; v. 108.

Allig, see Elick. Allison (Francis), 1845, one of Frémont's men, though there is some doubt about the date. v. 583, 587. Wounded in '50 in a fight with Ind. in El Dorado Co. In '84 a gardener at Oakland. Allmand (Albert), 1846–7, act. lieut U. S. N.; lieut Co. D, Stockton's Bat. v. 386.

Allred (Reddick R.), 1847, sergt Co. A, Morm. Bat. Also Q. M. sergt, and capt. of 50 on the return. v. 477, 493. In '81 a bishop and col of militia in Utah. J. R. Allred is also named by Tyler in connection with the march to Utah in '48. Allshouse (Joseph), 1841, marine on the *Vincennes*, killed accidentally in crossing S. F. bar. iv. 279.

Allsopp (James P. C.), 1848, native of La, his father being of an old well-known Engl.-Amer. family and his mother of the Span. family of Alfaro de Villahermosa. Educated in England. A volunteer in the Mex. war, being wounded at Cerro Gordo. In '48 came overland with an immig. party from N. Orleans. v. 556; and kept a boarding-house in '48–51 at S. F., subsequently making several voyages as master of a vessel, in which he went east in '54. In '57 he made a 2d overland trip from V. Cruz to Tepic, and came to S. F., making several later voyages, and adding a shipwreck to his catalogue of adventures. In '60 a miner in Tuolumne, writing besides for the newspapers, as he did occasionally at all stages of his career. In '61 married Angelina, daughter of R. R. Hunter of N. J. In '61–'79, with a few intervals of mining and trade, he was a teacher in many public and private institutions of Cal. and Or. In '80–4 he did good service as a gleaner of historic data in my library; and in

'85 is teaching in a Berkeley institution. His *Leaves from my Log Book* is an interesting addition to my store of pioneer reminiscences; and few of the thousands named in this list have had so varied an experience. Allyn, 1848, mr of the *Isaac Walton.* v. 578.

Almenares (Fruto), resid. of S. Bern. and Los Ang. '46-8. A. (Ign.), Los Ang. 1813. ii. 359. A. (José M.), Los Ang. '46. A. (Pedro), soldier at S. F. and Sonoma, '39-42.

Alpen (James), 1828-9, Engl. sailor at Mont. Perhaps 'Halpin.'

Altamirano (Abelino), at Los Ang. '46. A. (Domingo), S. F. soldier '37-43. iii. 638, 667. A. (Francisco), S. José '41, married to Encarnacion Bernal. A. (Gonzalo), soldier at S. F. '23-9; sent to Mex. '30. iii. 85. A. (José C.), Los Ang. '46. A. (Juan C.), regidor at S. José 1809. ii. 134. A. (Justo), settler S. F. 1791-1800; inval. '19-23. i. 716. A. (Lúcas), soldier at S. Juan 1800. i. 588. A. (Luis), alférez at Los Ang. '45-8. iv. 505. A. (Marcos), soldier S. F. '19-24. A. (Rafael), at N. Helv. '47. A. (Salvador), soldier of S. F. comp. '32-42. A. (Victoriano), soldier at S. F. '23-9; sent to Mex. '30. ii. 85. See also list in i. 732.

Altimira (José), 1820, Span. friar at S. F. and Solano, of which latter he was the founder. He left Cal. in '28. A padre who had a will of his own. See biog. in ii. 579; list of auth. in vol. i.; mention in ii. 375, 394, 496-505, 595, 597, 655; iii. 24, 93-4.

Alurel (J. B.), 1836, French saddler at Mont. Perhaps 'Mutrel,' q.v.

Alva (Manuel), 1833, Mex. surgeon of the Cal. forces who came to Mont. with Gov. Figueroa, and before '36 married Nicolasa Gajiola. In '37, with other Mex., he took part in the revolt against Alvarado, for which he was arrested and confined at S. Miguel; but escaping, joined the Carrillo faction in the south, only to be rearrested in '38 by Castro at S. Buen. and released on promise of non-interference in politics. At first he was noted as a freethinker, but with illness became devout. In '40, being disabled at the age of 53, he got a passport for Mex., and his successor was appointed. No definite record of his departure or death. iii. 236, 240, 296, 463, 523-4, 555. Alva (Valentin). Resid. of S. Bernardino in '46.

Alvarado (Francisco Javier), soldier of S. Diego from 1780, and of Sta B. comp. from 1789. In 1795-6 corporal, and comisionado at Los Ang.; in 1805 sergt; and in 1809-10 again comisionado, dying before 1818. He married María Ignacia, daughter of Pedro Amador, about 1788. i. 661; ii. 110-11, 349, 356-7. A. (Francisco Javier), probably a son of the preceding, born in 1807, and a resid. of Los Ang., where he was suplente member of the dip. in '33, alcalde in '35, and again suplente in '37. In a padron of '39 he figures as a trader, age 32, and still lived at Los Ang. in '48. iii. 246, 282, 506, 565, 629. A. (Francisco María), perhaps a brother of the preceding, though there may be confusion between two or more of the same name. Grantee of Peñasquitos rancho in '23, '34, '36, on which he lived; regidor of S. Diego '37; grantee of Soledad rancho in '38; aux. alcalde and regidor at Los Ang. (?) '38-9; treasurer at S. Diego '40-1; and juez in '45. ii. 547, 612, 618, 663; iv. 53-4, 495, 612, 616, 619, 620-1, 636. See also list i. 732. A. (Fran. M.), at Los Ang. '39, age 25.

Alvarado (Ignacio María), witness in the Herrera trial '27; regidor at Los Ang. '32-3; juez de campo '35; síndico '37; prisoner in '38; resid. of Los Ang., age 27, in '39; juez de paz '41; still at Los Ang. '48. Very likely more than one of the name. iii. 62, 517, 554-5, 635-6; iv. 632. A. (Ignacio Rafael), 1774, soldier and later sergt of S. D. and Sta B. comp.; may have been the father of some of the preceding and following. Biog. i. 647, 452. A. (Isidro M.), aux. alcalde in Angeles dist. '38; age 26 in '39; grantee of Monserrate rancho '46. iii. 636; v. 619. He seems to have been the man who died at S. Luis Rey '62, and at whose grave the mourners were attacked by the sheriff and one killed. A. (Joaquin), regidor at Mont. '31-2. Born at S. D. in 1800; married to Juana de Dios Higuera; 5 children in '36, Juan José, Felipe, José A., María Ana, and Francisco. iii. 114, 672-3; iv. 653. A. (Joaquina), grantee of the Cañada Larga rancho '41. iv. 642.

Alvarado (José Francisco), 1805, sergt Mont. co. Son of Juan B., and father of Juan B. (the governor). Died in 1809. Biog. ii. 141. A. (José M.), grantee of Vallecitos rancho '40; juez at S. D. '41-2; killed at Pauma '46. iii. 612; iv. 619; v. 617. A. (Josefa), owner of house at Los Ang. '31. iii. 539; also '48; as was Juana Alv. A. (Juan), regidor of Los Ang. '31. iii. 196. A. (Juan A.), memb. of dip. '37. iii. 506. A. (Juan Bautista), father of José Fran. as above, a soldier who came in the 1st exped. of 1769, but did not remain. iii. 141.

Alvarado (Juan Bautista), son of Sergt José F. Alvarado and María Josefa Vallejo, born at Mont. Feb. 14, 1809. To a man like this, who for years was a central figure in California history, and to whom many pages are devoted in other parts of this work, but scanty justice can be done in this register. I attempt no more here than to present a brief chronologic outline of salient points, to index the pages devoted to the subject in other volumes, and to add some general remarks on the man, his character, and his career. Alvarado's official life began in '27, from which date to '34 he was secretary of the diputacion, being named in '31 as comisionado for S. Luis Ob., and meanwhile employed as clerk by different Monterey merchants. From '34 to '36 he was a vista, or appraiser, in the Mont. custom-house. In '34 he was elected member of the dip. for the term of '35-6, and in '36 was president of that body. For a biog. sketch down to '36, see iii. 450-3; mention for the same period, in ii. 429; iii. 36-43, 49-50, 69, 82, 186, 216, 245, 249-50, 291, 295-6, 307, 374, 378, 422, 426, 429, 441, 443, 679, 682. Leading a revolution against Gov. Gutierrez, Alvarado was revolutionary gov. of Cal. from Dec. 7, '36, to July 9, '37; from that date, by submitting to Mex., he became regular gov. ad int. as pres. of the dip. till Nov. 24, '39, when he became constitutional gov. by Mex. appointment of Aug. On his revolution, struggle with the south, campaigns, political schemings, controversy with Carrillo, and his rule in general in '36-8—no satisfactory résumé being practicable here—see iii. 545-578, or chap. xvi.-ix.; also mention in ii. 78; iii. 614, 652, 670-1; iv. 47 et seq., 86, 87, et seq., 101, 149-50. On Alvarado's rule in '39-42, including his marriage, see iii. 579-94, 639; controversy with Vallejo, iii. 595-607; iv. 190-205, 281-4; acts in the Graham affair, iv. 1-41; policy in mission and Ind. affairs, iv. 47-73, 194-8, 330-41; commerce and finance, iv. 91-100, 206-25, 341-2; treatment of foreigners, Sutter, Russians, etc., iv. 107-89, 228-52; Com. Jones' affair, iv. 307-19; succession of Micheltorena, iv. 291-7. Alvarado's governorship ended on Dec. 31, '42; but from '43 he held a commission of colonel in the Mex. army with pay; and from '47 that of colonel of the defensores de la patria. He was a leading spirit in the revolution of '44-5 that made Pico gov., and by the latter was made admin. of the Mont. custom-house. He was elected to congress in '45, but did not go to Mex., being also the grantee of several ranchos, including the famous Mariposas. Though serving as colonel under Castro, he took but slight part in the affairs of '46, being arrested and paroled in Sept., and residing as a citizen in '47-8 at his rancho near Monterey, though the Mex. govt had appointed him ayud. inspector of the Cal. presidial companies. For mention of A. in this part of his career, '43-8, see iv. 357, 366-7, 403-4, 407-9, 453, 485, 488-508, 518-20, 524, 536-7, 539-40, 544, 556-82, 601-2, 621, 672-3; v. 5, 28, 31-2, 41, 69, 137, 231, 261, 267, 282, 289, 363, 433, 455, 561, 565-6; iii. 712. In the flush times and period of land litigation Alvarado saved no land or money; but subsequently moved to the San Pablo estate inherited by his wife—Martina, daughter of Francisco Castro, whom he married in '39—where, though the property was always in litigation, he was enabled to live comfortably until his death on July 13, 1882. His wife had died in '75, but he left several children, including two sons and a married daughter. He had also several natural daughters before his marriage. In physique Don Juan Bautista was of medium stature, stout build, fair complexion, and light hair; of genial temperament, courteous manners, and rare powers of winning friends. Respecting his character I must refer the reader to the discussion elsewhere of his various acts. Much will be found in him to praise, much to condemn. Most that is bad in his conduct may be traced to his environment, to his position as a politician forced by circumstances to support himself by intrigue, and to his unfortunate indulgence in intoxicating drink. From '39 he was reckless, dissipated, and in some degree disposed to permit rascalities on the part of associates and subordinates; though, indeed, all he could have done to prevent such conduct was to resign and leave the responsibility to another. Nor can it be said that he passed through the ordeal of later land litigation without discredit. In his favor it may be said that he had more brains, energy, and executive ability than any three of his contemporaries combined; that in most of his many controversies he was right as well as successful; that he was patriotic, and at the first full of good intentions for his country; that the politicians who forced him to expend his energies and the country's substance in sectional quarrels are largely responsible for his failure; that none of his countrymen could have done so well in his place; that he was honorable in his private dealings, true to his political friends, and never used his position to enrich himself. He has been accused, and for the most part unjustly, through church influence, of having plundered the missions; but for their inevitable ruin he was responsible only in being gov. while it was accomplished. Still more grossly exaggerated, and even false, have been the accusations of such men as Farnham and Hastings, founded on Alvarado's policy toward foreigners. In my list of authorities will be found many of Alvarado's writings. His original letters of '36-42 merit only praise as the best authority extant on the history of that period. His *Historia de California*, dictated for my use in '76, is valuable in many parts and worthless in many others.

Alvarado (Juan B.), son of Fran. J. Alvarado, born in 1790, regidor of Los Ang. in '30-1; at S. D. as regidor and com. de policía in '35-6; at Los Ang. in '37; memb. of the dip. in '39. ii. 561; iii. 509, 584, 634, 615-16. Grantee of Rincon del Diablo in '43. He died in '47, leaving a family. A. (Juan José), soldier and corp. at S.Diego fr. 1793, and settler at Los Ang. in '15. ii. 350. Another of the same name was a son of Joaquin A., born at Mont. in '26. A. (Juan N.), settler at Los Ang. '12; regidor in '32, '35-6, age 46 in '39. A. (Juana), land-owner at Los Ang. '48. A. (María Joaq.), wife of Gab. Moraga. ii. 571. A. (Mariano), at Los Ang. '46. A. (Miguel), soldier of Sta B. and S. F. '26-37; in '44 at Sonoma, age 44, and grantee of Yulupa rancho. iv. 674. A. (N.), soldier at Mont. '45. iv. 487. A. (Tomasa), house and lot at S. Diego, 1830. ii. 546; iii. 612.

Álvarez, murdered at Sta B. 1794. i. 669. A. (Felipe), settler at Mont. 1791. i. 606. A. (José), artilleryman teacher at S. F. 1797-1800. i. 644. A. (José F.), sec. of ayunt. S. Diego '38; clerk in Mont. custom-house '43-4. iii. 616; iv. 377, 431. A. (Juan), Ind. on the *S. Antonio*, 1769. i. 131; guard at S. D. 1775. i. 250; settler at Los Ang. 1790. i. 460. A. (Miguel), at Sta B. '37, wife Paula Lara. At Los Ang. in '46. A. (Pedro), at Los Ang. 1799. ii. 349. A. (Pedro M.), maj. at S. D., murdered '14. ii. 346. A. (Tiburcio), plotting with Ind. '39. iii. 587.

Alvires (Claudio), settler at S. José fr. 1780; land in 1783; regidor in 1785, 1805. i. 477-8, 350; ii. 134. A. (Francisco), settler at S. F. 1791-1800. i. 716; Id., resid. S. Gab. '46. A. (Juan), soldier who came before 1790. i. 733. A. (Juan), perhaps son of the preceding; alcalde of S. José 1812-13. ii. 604-5; alc. of Mont. '26. ii. 611-12; grantee of Laguna Seca rancho '34; alc. of S. José '37. iii. 430, 712, 729-30; mention in '44-6. iv. 466, 470; v. 6, 61.

Alviso (Agustin), son of Ignacio, b. at S. F. 1809; soon going to Sta Clara; married María Ant. Pacheco in '30; maj. of S. José mission '40-1; grantee of Potrero de los Cerritos rancho '44. iv. 672, and later owner of Sta Rita in Livermore Val. He was a prosperous ranchero, locally well known. Arrested by Sutter in '44 in the Micheltorena affair. His wife died in '70; his children were Margarita b. in '31, mar. in '59 to Andrónico Soto, at S. Luis Ob. in '85 with 5 children; José b. in '34, Salvio b. in '37, Valentin b. in '41; Jesus M. b. in '44, mar. Ignacio Pacheco in '65, at Pleasanton in '85; José B. b. in '50, Alam. Co. '85; Guadalupe b. in '52, Alam. Co. '85. Don Agustin died in '80.

Alviso (Anastasio), son of Francisco Jav., said not to have married. Id., son of Ignacio, resid. of S. José in '41, age 40; wife María Ant. Altamirano;

child., Blas b. in '28, Isabel '32, Antonia '37, Ignacio '39. Blas Alviso is known from his connection with the affair of Arce's horses in '46, and his consequent claim on the govt. v. 106, 460.

Alviso (Domingo), son of Ignacio, b. at S. F. about 1817; in '41 a resid. of S. José; wife Maria S. Pacheco; child., Rafael and Inés. In '45 he was elected 2d alcalde. iv. 685. See also list i. 733. There was also a corporal Alviso at Sta B. in '24. ii. 531.

Alviso (Fran. Javier), bro. of Ignacio, who came as a S. F. settler with Anza in '75-6. i. 297, 716; said to have mar. María Ant. Beltran, by whom he had Nicolás, Francisco, and Anastasio; but in '17 at S. Cárlos was married Francisco—son of Francisco and María de los Reyes Duarte—to Gertrudis Villavicencio. Francisco (the son?) was a sold. in S. F. comp. to '22; it was his daughter, perhaps, that married José M. Amador. ii. 585. Fran. ment. at Los Ang. in '31. iii. 208. In the S. José padron of '41 is Francisco (1st), Calif., age 51; wife María B. Linares; child., María S. b. in '29, María L. '32, Felipe '35, María H. '36, María R. '37. Also Francisco (2d), age 25; wife María I. Miranda; child, María B. Francisco was grantee of Cañada de los Vaqueros rancho in '44. iv. 671. Another Francisco, grantee of Agua Puerca in '43. iv. 655; alcalde of Branciforte '44, iv. 664; was in '45 living at Brancif., age 51, native of S. José; wife Bernabela García; child., Josefa b. in '29, María T. '32, Guillermo '35, Sabás '39, Manuelita '42.

Alviso (Gabriel), son of Ignacio, b. in 1802; soldier at S. F. '19-30, also at S. F. in '37; in '41 at S. José; wife Francisca Higuera, child., Juan Ign. b. '24, María '27, Nicolás '29, María A. '31, José R. and José S. '34, Margarita '35, Tomás '39, José E. '40. Also at S. J. in '47. v. 665.

Alviso (Ignacio), native of Sonora, b. in 1772; son of Domingo A. and Angela Trejo, Spaniards; came with his mother, brother, and sister as member of Anza's S. F. colonists in '75-6. i. 257. In '90 enlisted in S. F. comp., serving as a private till 1805, and as corp. to 1819, when he became an inválido, or pensioner, with the rank of sergt and half pay by order of the king. He remained for some years at S. F., being an elector in '27, and militiaman in '37. ii. 592. Then he went to Sta Clara; was grantee of Rincon de los Esteros rancho in '38. iii. 712; and was admin. of Sta Clara mission in '40-3; juez in '47. v. 662. He died in '48, leaving a large estate. He may be regarded as the original Alviso of Cal., and a town in Sta Clara Co. bears his name. His wife was Margarita Bernal, mar. in '94 at S. F.; his children, Agustin, José Ant., Gabriel, Anastasio, José M., Domingo, Concepcion, and Dolores. Another Ignacio A. was a native of Cal., age 65, at S. José in '41; wife Luisa Peralta.

Alviso (José Ant.), son of Ignacio. Soldier in S. F. co. down to '24; regidor at S. José '28. ii. 605; elector and militiaman S. F. '37. iii. 705; juez at S. Francisquito and S. José '39, '43. iii. 705; iv. 685. Ment. down to '55, when he was claimant for Arr. de Purisíma rancho. v. 371, 637, 677. He died before '85, leaving a large estate. A. (José Ant.), probably another man and son of Nicolás, at Salinas in '77 gave me his interesting *Campaña de Natividad*, MS. A. (José María), son of Ignacio, b. about 1798; sold. at S. F. '19-27; grantee of Milpitas in '35. iii. 712; alcalde at S. José '36. iii. 729-30; in '41 resid. of S. José, with wife Juana Galindo; child., Josefa b. '22, Cármen '30, Agustina '32, Florencina '34, Antonio '36, Gabriel '38. A. (José M.), sold. at S. F. '27-32 and later; militia officer at S. José '37. iii. 732; grantee of Cañada Verde '38, and later claimant for Quito (perhaps dif. men). iii. 677; iv. 672; in '41 at S. José, age 29; wife Manuela Cantua; child., Francisco and Ignacia; with Arce in com. of troops '46. v. 106-9, 662. A. (Juan), resid. of S. José '41, age 52, wife Lugarda Briones, child Juan. A. (Loreto), sister of Ignacio, who came in 1776, and married Luis Peralta. A. (Manuel), soldier at S. F. from '27; died in '64.

Alviso (Nicolás), son of Fran. J., at Mont. '26. ii. 612; grantee of Alisal, Sauzal, and Natividad. ii. 616, 664, 677; suplente of dip. '27-8. iii. 36, 41; maj. and alc. at Soledad. iii. 354, 674, 690-1; took part in arrest of Graham '40. iv. 21-2. His wife was Bárbara Butron. Another Nic. Alviso lived at Branciforte in '45, age 28; wife Juana Lorenzana; child Rosa. A. (Severo), soldier of S. F. comp. '23-32.

Alviso (Valentin), son of Agustin, b. at S. José in '41; educated in Mass.; married '68 Josefa Livermore, by whom he had 4 child., Cristina, Antonia, Rosa, and Ernesto. His home has been at Livermore, where he has been farmer and real estate agent, serving also as supervisor and assemblyman. In '85 he is an employé of the U. S. mint at S. F. Deeply interested in the history of his country, he has furnished me the valuable *Documentos para la Hist. Cal.*, forming the Alviso family archives; and has rendered aid in other matters, besides contributing the *Livermore Papers.*

Alvitre (Sebastian), settler and incorrigible scamp at S. José 1783 and Los Ang. fr. 1790. i. 350, 460-1, 477, 484, 640. In '40-6 a dozen Alvitres lived in the L. Ang. region, one being mentioned in iv. 637.

Amador (José María), son of Pedro, b. in 1794 at S. F. Died at Gilroy in '83. See biog. sketch ii. 585-6; also mention ii. 232, 319, 335, 339, 372, 425, 446, 599; iii. 713, 725; iv. 75, 681; i. list of auth. A. (Marcos), sold. at S. F. '19-23; resid. of Branciforte '28-30. ii. 627. A. (Pedro), Mex. sergt of the 1st exped. in 1769, who died in 1824. See biog. sketch in ii. 384-5; also mention in i. 141, 472, 477, 495, 510-11, 548, 551, 555-6, 566, 574, 680, 693, 710; ii. 126. A. (Rafael), famous courier of '34. ii. 271. A. (Valentin), militiaman at S. F. '37; in '41 at S. José, age 23, wife Ciriaca Pacheco; in '43 juez de campo. iv. 685.

Amao (Domingo), sec. of S. D. ayunt. in '36-7. iii. 508, 615-16. Amarillas (Juan A.), sold. killed by Ind. 1781. i. 362. Amaya (Antonio), native of Cal., age 40, at the Trinidad rancho '36; wife María Ant. Larios; children, Benito, Esperanza, Casimiro, Ezequiel, Refugio, Darío. Amejar (Antonio), at S. Mateo '35.

Ambris (Doroteo), 1841, Ind. novice who came with the bishop. iv. 195. Sub-deacon at Sta Inés college in '44. iv. 426. He soon became a priest; officiating as curate at Mont. occasionally from '46 to '51, v. 638-40, but living at S. Antonio until his death, which occurred about 1880. He was an ignorant man, and reputed more or less vicious. However, he gave me some old papers, which covers a multitude of sins, in my eyes. Ambrosio, Moquelumne chief shot in '38. iv. 75.

Ames, 1846, Amer. immig. from Mo., who enlisted in the Cal. Bat. under Capt. Burroughs, and like his leader was killed at Natividad in Nov. v. 371. He was buried at Gomez' rancho, and his effects were sold at N. Helv. in Sept. '47 by Peter Wimmer. A. (Edward T.), 1847. Co. D, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). Ames (Josiah P.), 1847, Engl., Co. B, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); settling at Sac., and about '55 at Half Moon Bay; farmer, supervisor, assemblyman of '77-8, and warden of state prison in '82. *Clark.*

Ames (Thaddeus M.), 1847, Co. C, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499-518); later a doctor in Mendocino Co., memb. of the assembly in '62-3, and died at Green Valley, Sonoma Co., in '76. A native of N. Y.

Amesti (José), 1822, Span. Basque, who came on the *Panther*, at the age of 30, swore allegiance to Mex., and became a prominent citizen and merchant of the Monterey district. ii. 475; iii. 51-2. In '24 he married Prudenciana, daughter of Ignacio Vallejo, by whom he had three daughters, Cármen b. in '25, Epitacia in '26, Celedonia in '29. Grantee of Corralitos rancho in '27 and '44. ii. 616, 664; iv. 655. In '32 joined the comp. extranjera. iii. 221; took slight part in the politics of '36. iii. 469; was juez in '41, and alcalde in '44 at Mont. iv. 653, 656. In '46 being plundered by the Amer., he had a Cal. claim (v. 462-8) of $7,000. v. 358-9. Though sometimes involved in quarrels by reason of a fiery temper, Amesti was a man of good character, being not only wealthy but respected. Larkin, in his *Notes* of '45, described him as a man disgusted with the Mex. govt and favoring a change. He died about '56, and his widow after '77. A. (Felipe), alcalde at S. Juan B. in '35. iii. 692. Amestoy (Marcos), 1804, Span. friar, who served at Sta B., and left Cal. in 1814. See ii. 364; also ii. 121, 159-60, 394.

Amézquita. Several of the name among the early sold. and settlers of S. F. and S. José fr. 1775. See list i. 733; also mention of José, i. 679; Juan Antonio, i. 478, 617; Manuel, i. 297, 312, 350. Juan Amézquita in '36 was a native Calif., age 40, living at Buenavista rancho near Mont. with his wife Gregoria Arceo and 6 child., Bárbara b. in '25, Tiburcio '27, Concepcion '29, Guadalupe '30, Casildo '33, Anita '34. Manuel was regidor at S. José in 1806. ii. 134. Ramon, juez de campo at Pájaro in '35. iii. 674; in '36 lived at S. Miguel rancho, age 36, with his wife Ana M. Villa and 6 child., Juan b. in '25, Vicente '28, María C. '30, Pablo '31, Refugio '32, Casimira '34. Salvador in '36 lived at the Salinas rancho, age 48, wife García Martinez; child., Salomé b. in '25, Rosa '27, Salvador '29, Ramon '32, José '35.

Amist (L.), 1834, mr of an Engl. brig. iii. 384.

Amorós (Juan), 1804, Span. friar of Cataluña, who served at S. Cárlos and S. Rafael, where he died in '32. Prominent in early annals of the northern frontier. Biog., iii. 715–16; mention in ii. 88, 147, 159–60, 218, 284, 330, 383, 394, 418, 483, 500, 587, 596, 655, 666; iii. 96, 256, 319, 351; iv. 159–60.

Amos, 1816, carpenter of the *Lydia* at Sta B. ii. 275. Amurrio (Gregorio), 1773, Span. friar; founder of S. Juan Cap.; left Cal. in 1779. See biog. in i. 458; mention in i. 194–5, 224, 248–9, 266–7, 300, 303–4. Anangua, 1813, capt. of the *Tagle.* ii. 268. Anastasio, 1831, executed at Mont. for robbery. iii. 669, 673. Anaya, 1834, lieut on the *Morelos.* iii. 269.

Anderson, 1845, doubtful name of Grigsby-Ide co. of immig. iv. 578–9. Anderson, 1848, of firm Edmondson & A. at S. F. v. 682. A. (Cameron), 1848, lot in S. F. A. (Chas), 1826–8, mr of the *Solitude.* iii. 148. A. (Chas), 1831, acting as doctor at S. Gab., prob. from a vessel. iii. 209. A. (Chas), 1846, Co. G, Cal. Bat. (v. 358), trans. to Co. B, artill. Enlisted at S. José.

Anderson (Chas C.), 1847, lieut Co. C, N. Y. Vol.; com. garrison at N. Helv. v. 504, 514, 675. He died at S. F. in Sept. '47, and his body was the 1st buried in the North Beach cemetery. A. (Frank P.), 1847, Co. D, N. Y. Vol.; printer on the *Californian.* After an adventurous career fr. '55 with Walker in Nicaragua, and as colonel in the confederate army, he returned to S. F., where he became a special policeman, dying in Oct. '81. A. (Geo.), 1844, Amer. sailor and cook on the *Hibernia,* aided by the consul, and discharged in '46. iv. 453. A. (Jacob), 1842, Amer. steward on the *California.* A. (J.), 1848, came fr. Honolulu. A. (J. D.), 1846, master's mate on the *Savannah.* A. (James), 1832, trapper of Young's co., murdered near Los Ang. iii. 388. A. (Lewis), 1843, Amer. immig. of Chiles-Walker co., iv. 392, who in '44 applied for a pass to return home via Los Ang. Anderson (Mary), 1829–30, Scotch wife of Geo. Kinlock, and the 1st foreign woman to settle in Cal. A. (Robert), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232–47).

Anderson (Stephen), 1828, Scotch trader and sometimes physician, partner of Jas Goldie of Lima, who spent much of his time in Cal. from '28 to '32 as supercargo of the *Funchal, Thos Nowlan,* and *Ayacucho.* He was often accompanied by his family, and was known to everybody. I have much of his commercial corresp. He went to Europe from Lima in '33, and perhaps did not return to the Pacific coast, as he was at Edinburgh in '36. See mention in iii. 71, 73, 81, 99–100, 147, 178, 381. Anderson (Walter), 1848, Amer. immig. said to have come with his wife to Lake Co. in '48 (?), being the 3d settler. In '51 went to Mendocino Co., to a place named for him Anderson Valley, where he became rich, but died in poverty. *Lake Co. Hist.*, 63.

Anderson (Wm), 1837, Engl. sailor who left a whaler, or perhaps the *Kent,* at Mont. Known as 'Mountain Bill,' or 'Red Bill.' A fluent narrator in cockney dialect of his own exploits, not afraid of aguardiente. He was one of Graham's 'riflemen,' and in '40 one of the exiles to S. Blas. iv. 18, 23, 33, 37, 118, 393; but came back with a pass and claim for damages which yielded him a little money. In '42 he got a carta, and soon married a native. In '38–48 his name constantly appears in Larkin's books and other records. In '46–7—besides having a 'Cal. claim,' as who did not?—he made soap for Larkin, and had a flouring-mill on the Salinas plain, sold to Panaud in Sept. '47. A little later he was nearly killed by one Callaghan, but recovered, served as alcalde (though this may have been another Wm) at Sta Cruz in '48–9, v. 641–2, and in '84 was, I think, still in the land of the living, perhaps the latest survivor of the famous exiles. A. (Wm), 1846, an old man with a fam. desiring land on the Sac. *Lark. Doc.*, v. 74; perhaps the old bear-hunter ment. in *Colusa Co. Hist.*, 38. A. (Wm), 1846, Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons. (v. 336.) A. (Wm), 1846, painter on the *Dale*, who was a shipbuilder at S. F. in '49–54, according to *Lancey*. A. (Wm), 1848, sailor-carpenter at Mont., aided by the consul, perhaps same as preceding.

Andrade (José M.), 1836, admin. at S. Antonio. iii. 687–8; arrested at Sta B. in '39. iii. 654–5; grantee of land at S. F. in '46. A., or Andrado (Juan), 1846. Mex. said to have lost a leg at S. Pascual (v. 340–55); murdered in '63. Andreef, 1806, pilot with Rezánof. ii. 70. Andrés, Ind. alcalde at Sta B. '24. ii. 528–30; robber at S. Cárlos '31. iii. 191; grantee of Guajome '45. Andrew (Hiram), 1846, Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons (v. 336). Andrews, 1848, mr of a Lima ship at S. F. Andrews, 1848, left Honolulu for S. F. on the *Sagadahoc*. A. (Allen), 1847, Co. G, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499–518); died at Los Ang. Dec. '47.

Andrews (Augustus A.), 1840, Amer. carpenter of Mass., who at the age of 22 came on the *California* fr. Honolulu to Mont., obtaining naturalization and settling at S. F., where he married Rosalía de Haro, got a lot, and built a house. His name often appears in records of '44–6. I think he died in '47 or a little later. His widow married Chas Brown, and still lives at S. F. in '85. Mention in iv. 102, 120, 669; v. 683. A. (Thomas), 1848, mr of the *Charles*. v. 576–7. Anduian? (Alex.), 1845, French resid. at Branciforte.

Angel, 1848, at Sutter's in Feb.; in July one of Weber's prospectors, for whom Angel's creek and camp were named. *Carson*. Angel (Anson), 1847, resid. of Sta Clara '47–8. *Sta Clara Co. Hist.*, 544. Angel (Woodson), 1847, builder of a mill for Magnent at S. José; still living in that region '66. *Alta*. Angelino (Blas), resid. of S. F. dist. from '35 or earlier; síndico in '37; at Sonoma '44–6, being perhaps concerned in troubles with the Bears. iii. 705; v. 162. Angelo (Chas A.), 1848, named in the *Annals of S. F.* as living in '54. Angle (Miles B.), 1847, on the Pion. Soc. records as a deceased member, from N. Y. Angulo (Pedro), 1825, com. of the Span. *Águila*. iii. 27, 146.

Anselin (Alfred), 1843, French surgeon of the batallon fijo '43–5. iv. 399; at S. F. in '44. iv. 483; had a 'Cal. claim' (v. 642–8) in '46. He remained in Cal., and died at S. Benito rancho in '53. *S. F. Herald*. Anson (Geo.), 1794, com. of Vancouver's storeship. i. 511. Anthony (Alex. H.), 1847, a mason at Mont. A. (Bascom F.), son of Elihu; b. at S. José in Oct. '47; a miner in Calaveras '84.

Anthony (Elihu), 1847, native of N. Y.; overland immig. and methodist preacher of Ind., accompanied by his wife, Sarah A. Van Anda, and infant daughter. After a short stay at S. José he settled at Sta Cruz, where he still resides in '85. Engaged in trade and prominent in religious affairs—having preached at the S. F. school-house in Sept. '48—he also takes pride in having built the 1st wharf and foundery at Sta Cruz. His children are Mrs Huntingdon of Sta Cruz, b. in '46, Bascom '47, Almon '49, Gilbert '51, Frank '55. Mention in v. 641. A. (James), 1847, employed by Larkin at Mont. and S. F. A. (James G.), 1846, Co. G, Cal. Bat. (v. 358–60), enlisting at S. José. A. (Louis), 1847, at N. Helv. fr. Sonoma. A. (L. C.), 1847, sheriff at S. José. v. 662. Antolino, 1846, neoph. of S. José mission. v. 23.

Antonio, 1838, grantee of Saca rancho. iii. 655. Antonio, 1846, N. Mex. of the Donner party, who perished. v. 531, 534, 537. A. (Juan), 1847, Cahuilla chief. v. 617. A. (Manuel), 1776, at Sta Clara. i. 306. A. (Manuel), grantee of Potrero Grande '45. iv. 635. A., mate of *Elizabeth* in '48.

Anza (Juan Bautista), 1774, Mex. lieut-col, son of a famous officer of Sonora, who in '74 led the 1st exploring exped. from Son. to Cal. by land. i. 221–4. In '75–6 he brought a large comp. of colonists over the same route, intended for the foundation of S. F., keeping a diary of the trip which is still extant, i. 257–78, and making an exploration of the S. F. peninsula. i. 279–86. For other mention, see i. 124, 215, 218, 244, 248, 354–5, 288, 290, 294, 355, 551; ii. 43–4. Anza was an officer of marked ability and good character, making an excellent record in Cal., in Sonora, and in New Mexico, where he served as governor in 1778–87

Ánzar (José Ant.), 1832, Mex. friar of the Guadalupe college, who seems to have come at least a year before the other Zacatecanos under circumstances of which I find no record. He was in charge of a Sonora mission in 1824, and was possibly a member of the Querétaro col. transferred after his arrival. His missionary service was at S. Luis Rey in '32, and at S. Juan B. from '33, though in '44–6 he also had charge of Sta Cruz and S. Cárlos. He was also president of the Zacatecanos from '43. His name appears as curate on the S. Juan books till 1855, when I suppose he left Cal. Though involved in occasional troubles, P. Ánzar seems to have been a priest of fair character and abilities. See mention in iii. 250, 317, 622, 691; iv. 372, 453, 460, 553, 565, 638, 640, 657, 661–2.

Ánzar (Juan María), brother of the padre; grantee of Aromitas, etc., in '35, and of Sta Ana, etc., in '39. iii. 676, 679, 713; juez, acting at times as prefect, in '39–41 at S. Juan. iii. 661, 675, 693; suplente of the junta in '42–3. iii. 296; iv. 361. He was described in Larkin's *Notes* of '45 as a man of wealth and character, favoring the U. S. cause. I find no trace of him after '52, when he was claimant for certain ranchos; but in '53 María Ant. de Ánzar appears as cl. for others—apparently his widow, and daughter of A. M. Castro; though A. is said by Larkin to have been married in Mex.

Apalátegui (Antonio), 1834, Span. clerk, age 33, who came from Mex. with the H. & P. colony (iii. 259, etc.); leader in the Los Ang. revolt against Gov. Figueroa in '35, for which he was exiled to Mex. iii. 284–90. Apis (Pablo), S. Luis Rey neoph. and chief; grantee of Temécula in '45. iii. 617, 621, 624. Apolinario (Mariano), Dom. friar of B. Cal. at S. Diego 1791–1800. i. 655. Aquino (Tomás), Span. friar who acted as chaplain in Vizcaino's exped. 1602–3. i. 98, 102.

Araiza (Francisco), 1840, Mex. shop-keeper at Mont., who in '42–5 made some money under the patronage of Col Tellez; militia officer and juez in '44–5. iv. 652–6. His wife was a daughter of Capt. Segura; but soon after '46 he left his fam. and went to Mex. Aralde (Eno), doubtful name in a Los Ang. list of '46. Aralon (Wm), 1829, mr of a schr. at S. Pedro. iii. 135.

Aram (Joseph), 1846, native of N. Y., and overl. immig. from Ill. (v. 256–30), with his family. He organized and commanded a comp. of volunteers to garrison Sta Clara and protect the families of immigrants serving in the batallion '46–7, and took part in the 'battle' of Sta Clara. v. 378–81. A firm of Aram & Belcher at Mont. is ment. in '47. A miner in '48; a member of the constitutional convention in '49, and later of the 1st legislature. Then he became a farmer near S. José, where he still lived in '85. His wife died in '73.

Arana (Antonio), 1823, mr of the *Sta Apolonia*, who down to '41 had not accounted for a consignment of mission products. ii. 492, 619. Arana (Gregorio), Span. at Mont. in '36. A. (José), at Mont. '35. iii. 674; grantee of Rincon de S. Pedro, Sta Cruz, '42. iv. 656; in trouble '45. iv. 653. Aranda (María P.), 1798. i. 606.

Araujo (Buenaventura), 1834, Mex. naval capt. who came with the H. & P. colony (iii. 259, et seq.) to take com. of the Cal. fleet—of the future. Involved in the troubles of '35, he was sent to Mex. by Figueroa. iii. 266–7, 271, 281, 288–9, 378. In '38 com. of a battery at S. Juan de Ulúa; and in '47 distinguished himself during the bombardment of V. Cruz by Scott.

Araujo (Francisco), 1833, Mex. cadet with Figueroa, and ayud. de plaza at Mont. iii. 672. In '36 he was com. of the vigilante force at Los Ang., incurring the displeasure of Gov. Chico, and perhaps sent out of the country. iii. 418, 432. Arce (Bernardo), Span. who died at S. José in '57, said to have favored the Amer. in '46–7. *S. F. Bulletin.* Arce (Eugenio), settler at S. Juan Cap. '41. iv. 626.

Arce (Francisco C.), 1833, Mex. of L. Cal., who came at the age of 11 and was educated at Mont. by P. Real and at Romero's school. From '39 to '45 employed as clerk, often acting as sec. in the offices of gov. and prefect. iii. 675; iv. 294, 354. In '44 grantee of Sta Isabel rancho, and also employed to collect debts due the missions. iv. 423, 656. He declined to take part against Micheltorena. iv. 460; and after that officer's departure in '45 became sec. ad.

int. of Gen. Castro, being also alférez of auxiliaries. iv. 520; v. 41. He is best known for his part in the affair of the captured horses at the outbreak of the Bear revolt in '46, though not in command as is generally stated. He had a 'Cal claim' of $5,000; and also claimed to have a grant of S. José mission land. v. 106-9, 127. He went to Mex. with Castro, v. 277, and served throughout the war with the U. S. as lieut (nominally of the S. Diego comp.) and finally brevet capt. At one time, as a member of the S. Patricio legion of Irish deserters, being taken prisoner, he narrowly escaped death on account of his Irish physique. In '48 he served in L. Cal., and in '49 came to Mont. without leave, serving again as sec. of the prefecture. In '52 he was back in L. Cal. asking for antedated leave of absence, Mex. naturalization, and land, also marrying in '53. Subsequently he came north again; and in '77 was living on the Alisal rancho near Salinas. He gave me a collection of *Doc. Hist. Cal.;* and also dictated for my use his *Memorias Históricas*, which, notwithstanding Don Francisco's tendency to magnify his own exploits and those of his friends, have value as well as interest. He died early in '78, leaving a family in straitened circumstances. Arce (Joaquin), sergt in the S. Diego comp. 1803-17. ii. 12-14, 101, 341, 345. A sergt Arce is also mentioned in 1783. i. 453. See list in i. 733. Arce (José Ign.), juez on the L. Cal. frontier in '46.

Arceo, settler of Branciforte in 1798. i. 571. Arceo (Felipe), native of Brancif.; at Mont. '28-36, when he was 28 years old; wife Cármen Arroyo; child., Lauriano, Juan Francisco, María F., Rafaela. iii. 67, 673. A. (José María), Mex. settler at Brancif. in 1797. i. 569; in '36 juez de campo, iii. 675, and living at Pilarcitos rancho, age 58; wife Cecilia Serrano; adopted son Juan José. A. (Juan Ant.), at Pilarcitos '36, age 32, native of Cal.; wife Juana Vasquez; child, Guillermo. A. (Leonardo), sent to Mex. in '30. iii. 85.

Archambeau (Auguste), 1845, Canadian, one of Frémont's mountain men. iv. 583. He served in Co. A, Cal. Bat. (v. 358-68) '46-7, but did not remain much longer in Cal. His death was in '81.

Archuleta (Florentino), alcalde at S. José in '29. ii. 605; iv. 74-5. Still a resid. in '41, age 41; native of Cal.; wife Antonia Higuera. I have doc. signed by him in '46. A. (Ignacio), employé at S. F. mission, who in 1777 married Gertrudis Pacheco, and went to S. José, where he was alcalde in 1783, 1803, 1806. No record of him after 1807. i. 297, 312, 350, 478, 480; ii. 134-5. A. (José), nat. of Cal., age 52, at S. José in '41; wife Juana Montero; child., Josefa b. '24, Miguel A. '27, José Ant. '30, María D. '32, Maria L. '35, Concepcion '39. A. (José Noberto), son of Ign., b. at S. Josè in 1778; probably same as preceding, though age does not agree. A. (Miguel Gerónimo), son of Ign., b. at S. F. in 1779. Became a soldier at S. F., promoted to corp.; transferred to Mont. to become a school-master about 1811. Many Calif. of later prominence attended his school in '11-20. ii. 381, 427-9. His wife was María Ant. García. Arci (José), 1811, mr of the *Mexicana*. ii. 267.

Ardisson (Estévan), 1840-1, French trader who settled at Sta B. He was perhaps the Ed. Ardison who in July '40 had a claim against the govt. Ment. by Mofras in '41-2. His name frequently occurs in '42-7; he had a 'Cal. claim' in '46; and in '48 was alcalde. iv. 279, 587, 611, 631. Still living at El Rincon in '50. Arellanes, maj. at Purísima '24. ii. 429. A. (Francisco), Sta B. ranchero '37-45, with wife Petra Ruiz and 2 child. A. (José), ditto; wife Josefa Sanchez and 5 child. A. (José Ant.), at Sta B. '37; wife Manuela Ortega. A. (Luis), grantee of Punta de la Laguna, S. Luis Ob. in '44. iv. 655; still in Sta B. district in '50. A. (Teodoro), grantee of Rincon in '35, and Guadalupe in '40. iii. 655, 677. His wife was Josefa Rodriguez and they had 3 child. before '37. Still at Sta B. in '50. Don Teodoro was a very large, fine-looking man, of genial temper and gentlemanly manners, locally a kind of ranchero prince.

Arellano (Ignacio R.), a priest visiting and officiating at S. Juan Cap. in '44. v. 523. A. (Juan R. or Manuel), settler and alcalde at Los Ang. 1790-8. i. 461, 598, 661. A. (Luis), Mex. sold. of the Hidalgo piquete '36 at Mont.

Arenas (Cayetano), Mex. who came to Cal. as a boy. In '46 employed as clerk in the secretaría; grantee of S. Mateo rancho. v. 661. In '54-5 a resid.

of Los Ang. and witness in the Limantour case. A. (José M.), sent as a prisoner to Mex. in '30. iii. 85. A. (José), Mex. at Brancif. in '45, age 52; wife Feliciana; child., Felipe b. in '23, María '29, Florencio '31, José Ant. '33, Omebon (?) '36, Juan '38, Cármen '41, Zenona '44. A. (Luis), 1834, Mex. trader who perhaps came with the colony (iii. 259 et seq.), settled at Los Ang., where he was alcalde in '38, and was prominent in the opposition to Alvarado. iii. 491, 504, 555, 577, 636. In '37 one of the grantees of S. José rancho, and in '40-1 grantee of Azuza. iii. 633. In '44 regidor. iv. 633. In '44-5 grantee of Pauba, Los Huecos, Cahuenga, and Sta Clara orchard. iv. 621; v. 561, 665, 627. Also capt. of the defensores. v. 140. Still trading on the coast in '47; but I have no later record of him.

Arenaza (Pascual M.), 1786, Span. friar at S. Cárlos, who left Cal. in 1797 and died in '99. See i. 685; also i. 388-423, 469, 575-7, 579. Argüelles (Luis), Mex. shoemaker at Mont. in '36.

Argüello (Concepcion), daughter of José D., b. at S. F. in 1790; d. at Benicia in 1857. Famous for her romance with Rezánof in 1806, for account of which, with sketch of her life, see ii. 72-4, 77-8. Her full name was María de la Concepcion Marcela. See also mention in ii. 287; iii. 568, 660; iv. 219.

Argüello (Gervasio), son of José D., b. at Sta B. 1786. In 1804 he entered the military service as soldado distinguido of the S. F. comp., in which he was cadet 1807-17, serving also as habilitado in 1808-16. ii. 117, 125, 303, 370. Sent in '16 to Ross, writing a report of his visit. ii. 309, 631; i. list of auth. In '14 he married Encarnacion Bernal; and in '16 was sent to Mex. as habilitado general, never returning to Cal., and holding this office till '32, besides being a suplente in congress in '27-8. Meanwhile, fr. '17 he was on the payroll of the S. Diego comp. as alférez till '31, when he was promoted to lieut of the Mont. comp., and in '34 commissioned capt., but immediately retired as lieut on full pay, with permission to reside in Jalisco. ii. 213-14. 217, 261, 421-2, 514-15, 543, 671; iii. 33-4, 45, 378, 671. In Cal. Don Gervasio was reputed to be a youth of good conduct and fair abilities, though disposed to 'put on airs.' In Mex. he accomplished nothing, either as habilitado gen. or congressman, having no special fitness for the positions; yet a man of ten times his ability would very likely have failed equally in getting money for Cal. from the Mex. govt. I have private letters written by him from Guadalajara in '49 and '52, filled with pious complaints of poverty, which would be intolerable but for aid received from Cal.

Argüello (José Darío), 1781, founder of the Argüello family; Mex. alférez, later lieut and capt.; comandante at S. F., Mont., and Sta B.; acting gov. of Cal. in '14-15; gov. of L. Cal. in '15-22. Died at Guadalajara '28; his wife was Ignacia Moraga, who died at Guad. in '29. For many years Don José was the most prominent, influential, and respected man in Cal. See biog. sketch in this vol., 358-61, includ. 4 of the children who did not remain in Cal.; also mention of Don José in i. 340-2, 347, 372, 396, 445, 463, 468, 470-2, 478, 484, 498, 501-2, 511-13, 525, 531-2, 588-94, 678-80, 692-4, 708, 717, 721, and list of auth.; ii. 30, 44, 68-74, 86, 99, 117, 125, 127, 133, 135, 187, 190, 207-8, 210-11, 246, 305-7, 450, 565, 571; iii. 11. Argüello (José Ign. Máx.), oldest son of José D.; b. at S. Gabriel in 1782; educ. in Mex. as a priest; visited Cal. in 1809. ii. 359-60, 122. A. (José Ramon), son of Santiago, at San Juan Cap. in '40-1. iii. 626-7. Sec. to prefect at Los Ang. in '42. iv. 632. Suplente juez at S. Diego in '45. iv. 620. Sub-prefect in '46. v. 618. A. (José Ramon), son of Luis Ant., b. at S. F. in '28; living at Sta Clara and Mont. till '44; on the coast of Mex. '44-6; lived with his mother from '46 at Las Pulgas and Sta Clara, where he died in '76. A. (Julian), a Sonoran with Zamorano at Mont. in '36, age 16.

Argüello (Luis Antonio), son of José D., b. at S. F. in 1784; cadet at S. F. 1799; alf. 1800; lieut and com. 1806; capt. from '18. Gov. ad int. of Cal. from Nov. 22d, '22, to Nov. '25. Died at S. F. '30. First wife, Rafaela Sal, 1807-14; 2d wife, Soledad Ortega, '19, who died at Sta Clara in '74. His children were Francisco, by 1st wife, who died soon after '30; by 2d wife, Concepcion, b. in '24; Josefa, '26; José Ramon, as above; and Luis, who, I think, still lives at Sta Clara in '85. Don Luis, as military officer and gov., left an excellent record in respect of honesty and ability and popularity. Unlike his father, he had enemies, and was involved in controversies; but these were due largely to his position and the times. He often disregarded the letter of the Span. and Mex. laws, but it was always for what he believed the welfare of his country, and never for his own interests. His private record was that of a dissipated spendthrift, yet never accused of dishonorable conduct. See biog. sketch in iii. 9–13; list of auth. in i.; mention in ii. 35, 46, 48, 68 et seq., 125–6, 129–30, 137, 203–4, 210, 230–2, 243–4, 268–9, 272, 279, 284–5, 288, 300–1, 305, 307, 309, 312, 328, 330–1, 370, 372, 390, 425–6, 443–9, 451, 455, 461, 464, 466–8, 479–80, 482 et seq., 493, 510–38, 549, 551, 559, 565, 583, 591–2, 594, 596–7, 605, 607, 614, 643, 645, 647, 659, 664; iii. 2, 7, 9–10, 18–19, 24–7, 40, 75, 89, 119, 148, 712. Argüello (Luis), lieut in the Cal. Bat. '46–7. v. 360, 386. I cannot say who he was. A. (Romano), sec. in prefect's office in '45. *Larkin.*

Argüello (Santiago), son of José D.; b. at Mont. in 1791. He entered the military service as cadet in the S. F. comp. 1805, but was trans. in 1806 to Sta B. ii. 46, 117, 275, 361, 425. In '17–27 he was alf. of the S. F. comp., though serving from '18 as habilitado at S. Diego, where he was involved in several controversies, also visiting the north and making a trip to Ross and Sonoma. ii. 240–2, 258, 341, 370, 424, 442, 457, 470, 507, 510, 537, 542–3, 583; iii. 12, 291. In '27–31 he was lieut of the S. D. comp., being comandante from '28, in which year he was elected suplente member of congress; in '30 suplente of the diputacion. ii. 541–3; iii. 45–6, 50, 64, 135, 196. In '31–5 he was capt. of the co., taking part somewhat unwillingly in the revolt against Victoria, serving as diputado and comisionado for S. Diego mission in '33–4, and being finally retired with full pay—in theory. iii. 201, 204, 216–19, 327, 331–2, 372, 608, 612, 620; iv. 408. In '36 he was alcalde of S. Diego, using his influence against the Alvarado govt, but acting as comisionado and admin. of S. Juan Cap. in '38–40, and as vocal of the junta in '40. iii. 422, 482, 520, 590, 604, 606, 615, 626–7. In '40–3 he held the position of prefect at Los Ang., and in '41 his name was given to the pueblo of S. Juan; in '45 holding the offices of suplente of the tribunal, vocal of the junta, and sub-prefect of S. Diego. iii. 640; iv. 193, 195, 295, 319, 532, 540, 620–2, 626–7, 632–3. In '46 he was friendly to the Amer., held an honorary com. as capt. in the Cal. Bat. (?), was appointed member of the legis. council in '47, and was made collector of the port of S. Diego (?). v. 37, 282, 329, 360, 433, 446, 467, 572, 618–19. Meanwhile in '29 he had obtained the Tia Juana rancho, in '41 the Trabuco, and in '46 the S. Diego mission estate. iii. 612; iv. 635; v. 561, 619–20, 627. Argüello when very young married Pilar, daughter of Francisco Ortega of Sta B., by whom he had 22 children, among them the following, who lived and had issue: Francisco, Ignacio, José Antonio, José Ramon, Santiago E.; Refugio, who married Juan Bandini; Teresa, who married José M. Bandini; Luisa, wife of A. V. Zamorano; and Concepcion, wife of Agustin Olvera. Don Santiago was tall, stout, and of fine presence, with fair complexion and black hair; reserved in manner, yet of kindly disposition. His record, public and private, was an honorable if not a brilliant one. He was often in trouble with his brother officers and with men of other classes, and especially in the earlier years was by no means a popular man. This was chiefly due to a peculiar reserve or haughtiness of manner, attributed to family pride and regarded as an assumption of superiority. He died at Tia Juana, on the frontier, in '62, and his widow soon after '78. The rancho is still owned by the family.

Argüello (Santiago E.), son of Santiago, b. about 1813. Receptor at S. Diego '33–4. iii. 277, 609. Grantee of Melyo (Máligo?) '33. iii. 612. Took part with the south against Alvarado in '36–7, being then in charge of the ranchos Otay and S. Antonio Abad. iii. 482–3, 517, 612. Majordomo and land-owner at S. Juan Cap. '41. iv. 626–7. Suplente in assemb., and juez at S. Diego '45–6. iv. 540; v. 161. In '46 he aided the Amer., served as captain in Stockton's battalion, and had a 'Cal. claim' for $11,548 for damages to his property. v. 378, 386. I think he may have been the capt. in Cal. Bat. and collector of the port, instead of his father, as above. He died at Máligo in '57. His wife was Guadalupe Estudillo, who survived him with 2 sons and 2 (or 4) daughters; one of the latter married A. H. Wilcox and another Wm B. Coutts.

Arias (Francisco), S. F. settler of 1791-1800. i. 716. A. (Francisco), grantee of ranchos in Mont. district '39, '44. iii. 676; iv. 655; suplente prefect in '41, being juez at S. Juan '41-3, and regidor at Mont. in '46. iv. 652-3, 661; v. 636. A. (Rafael R.), 1791, contador in Malaspina's exped. i. 490.

Armas (Baltasar), 1602, piloto in Vizcaino's exped. i. 98. F., P., and J. Armas, named as at Honolulu from Cal. in '48.

Armenta (Cristóbal), sirviente at Sta Clara 1776. i. 306. A. (Joaq.), sold. at S. Diego 1775-6; later at Los Ang. i. 250, 303, 461. A. (José M.), grantee of Punta de Pinos rancho '33, '44. iii. 678. A. ('Tio'), retired soldier who kept a shop and sometimes a school at Mont. in '11-20. ii. 381-3, 420.

Armijo (Antonio), native of N. Mex., at S. José in '41, age 37; wife María D. Duarte; child., Antonio, Jesus, Félix, Matias. Probably same as the Francisco Armijo who was a S. F. militiaman in '37; and perhaps same as Antonio M. Armijo who settled in the Suisun region in '43, was in trouble '47 for outrages on Ind. v. 569, 610; and died in '50. A. (Francisco), at S. Mateo in '35; alcalde in the contra costa '37. iii. 705; at S. F. '47. *Spear, Pap.* A. (José F.), grantee of Tolenas rancho '40. iv. 674. A. (Jesus M.), at Sonoma '44, age 18. A. (Juan F.), at Sonoma '44, age 42. A. (Salvador), at Los Ang. '39-46. I have not been able to obtain much definite information about any branch of the Armijo family.

Armon (Chas), 1836, at Mont., named in Larkin's books.

Armstrong (James), 1842, com. of the *United States;* and of the *Savannah* in later visits of '44-6. iv. 307-8, 301, 313, 459, 509. A. (John), 1840, Amer. ranchero in the Mont. district; exiled to S. Blas with the Graham party. iv. 18, 120. In '46 he wrote a letter against Larkin, which appeared in a St Louis paper, causing L. to get statements in his own defence from several prominent men. A. (John), in '46 at Monterey, and in '47 employed on Larkin's Sac. rancho. Possibly same as preceding. Arnand, 1848, mr of the *Con de Valparaiso* from Honolulu for S. F.

Arnaz (José), 1841, Span. supercargo of the *Clara* in Virmond's employ. iv. 102; and later in Aguirre's *Jóven Guipuzcoana.* In '44 he opened a store at Los Ang., suffering much from depredations of the cholos. iv. 364; and in '45 leased the mission estate of S. Buen., which in '46 he purchased, as he claimed, but was not permitted to retain possession. iv. 553, 558, 561, 645; v. 400, 632, 643, 665. He still retained considerable property, however; and I found him in '74 living at his Sta Ana rancho near S. Buen., a genial gentleman of 54 years, who then and later gave me 100 pages of his interesting *Recuerdos* on the life and customs of the traders and rancheros in early times. Probably living in '85. In '47 he married Mercedes Ávila, who died in '67, leaving several children. His 2d wife was a daughter of Juan Camarrillo. Arnold (Robert), 1828, Scotch turner, age 20, at Mont. '28-9.

Arrieta (Sebastian), 1820, Span. intendente, com. of the royal order of Isabel the catholic, who came from Peru with the king's license to live in Cal. with a pension of $3,000; but died at S. Juan B. in '21, age 54.

Arrillaga (José Joaquin), 1793, Span. capt. and lieut-gov. of the Cals at Loreto '83-92; gov. ad int. '93-4 at Mont.; lieut-col and lieut-gov. at L. '94-9; gov. ad int. 1800-4; gov. of Alta Cal. from 1804—coming to Mont. in 1806—to 1814, when he died at Soledad at the age of 64. Arrillaga was an efficient and honest officer, of most excellent private character, and a model governor so far as the performance of routine duties was concerned. See biog. in ii. 204-7; i. list of auth.; also mention in i. 471, 482, 484, 488, 501-29, 531-6, 574, 602, 611, 631, 637-8, 658, 661, 663, 671, 729; ii. 2-204 passim, 269, 301-5, 386-7, 416-17, 566. Arriola (José F.), blacksmith instructor in 1792-5. i. 615. A. (María), wife of J. V. Lawrence. ii. 496. A. (Rafael), settler at Los Ang. from 1797. i. 606; ii. 350.

Arroita (Francisco José), 1786, Span. friar at Purísima, who left Cal. in '96. See biog. notice, i. 675; ment. i. 388, 423, 425, 459, 575-7. Arroyo, 1795. i.

253. A. (Ign.), exile of 1842. iv. 653. A. (Joaquin), grantee of Tucho '46. v. 637. A. (José), 1792–5. i. 615. A. (José Man.). i. 250–3. A. (José Isidro); at Mont. '36, age 53, nat. of S.F.; wife Isabel; child. Ignacio, Catarina, Joaquina, Concepcion, María P. A. (Victor), 1820–39. ii. 382; iii. 587

Arroyo de la Cuesta (Felipe), 1808, Span. friar, serving chiefly at San Juan B.; d. at Sta Inés in '40. Noted for learning as well as piety; author of several works on Ind. lang. See biog. in iii. 662; list of auth. i.; ment. in ii. 140, 154, 159–60, 284, 316, 338, 394, 492, 526, 655; iv. 63. See also 'Cuesta.' Arteaga (Ignacio), 1777–80, Span. com. of explor. and transport ships. i. 296, 323, 329.

Arther (James P.), 1829, German mate of the *Brooklyn* in '29–30. iii. 138–9, 146, 179. Master of Bryant & Sturgis' Boston ship *California* on 4 or 5 voyages to Cal. in '34–46. iii. 381; iv. 101, 564. Mr of *Thos Perkins* in '47. v. 511, 580. Often called James D. Arthur, but I have many of his autograph letters. A skilful mariner, though close-fisted and not very popular on the coast. Said by Thomes to be still living in Mass. '84.

Aruz (Domingo), settler at Los Ang. 1790–1810; not allowed to devote all his prop. to masses for his soul. i. 460; ii. 167. A. (José), elector and memb. of the dip. at Mont. '22–4. ii. 454, 462, 513, 536, 616. Arzaga (Manuel), sec. of ayunt. at Los Ang. '34–5; sec. of vigilantes '36. iii. 418, 631, 635, 638.

Ascension (Antonio), 1602, friar with Vizcaino. i. 98. I have his autograph. Ashley (Geo. H.), 1848, native of Mass.; memb. of S. Joaquin Co. pioneers '84 (?). Ashmead (Geo.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons; killed at S. Pascual. v. 346. Ashton (A. B.), 1846, clerk on the *Dale*. A. (Geo. H.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol.; killed by Ind. in S. Joaq. Val. in '47. Asken (Wm), 1840, Engl. pilot of the *Ninfa;* at Mont. '41. Aspiroz (Salvador), 1814, teacher with Gov. Sola. ii. 426. Quarrel with Guerra '17. ii. 382. Asuncion (Fr. Andrés), 1602, with Vizcaino. i. 98. Atanasio, Ind. executed at Mont. '31. iii. 190. Atensio (Gregorio), at Los Ang. '46. v. 308; also Ign. Atensio.

Atherton (Faxon Dean), 1836, native of Mass., who as a boy went to Valparaiso; memb. of a firm engaged in the hide and tallow trade. Visited Cal. in '36–7, and later kept up a corresp. with Larkin and others. I have many of his letters on personal, political, and business affairs, sometimes signed Feliz D. Atherton. Went to Honolulu and Boston in '38–9, but returned in '41. iv. 91, 103, 117–18, 141. Said to have sent descriptions of the coast to Wash., and to have had a corresp. with Webster about Cal. Visited Cal. again in '49–50 to make investments, and became a resident in '59. Besides being the owner of a large estate in San Mateo Co., he was prominent in building railroads, banking, and various financial enterprises. Died at Fair Oaks in '77, leaving a widow—native of Chile, still living in '85—and 7 children. Three of his daughters married respectively Wm Macondray, Maj. Rathbone, U. S. A., and Edmunds of Valparaiso.

Atherton (Geo. D.), 1847, Co. D, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499–518). A. (Robert), 1847, brother of Faxon D., who came with a letter of introd. to Vallejo, 'para probar su fortuna en Cal.;' and was employed as a clerk by Larkin. A. (Wm), 1845, mr of Parrott's *Star of the West*. iv. 568. A. (Wm), 1846, Mormon of the *Brooklyn* colony, with wife. v. 546. Lot at S. F. '47; also at N. Helv.; in the mines '48. In later times a pressman on the Oakland *Transcript*.

Atillan (Pierre), 1841, French sailor married to a native at Mont. Coxswain of the custom-house boat, and tax collector. Attacked and mutilated by the cholos in '44; got a pension from the Mex. govt till '47, when Gov. Mason was not able to continue it; and Pierre was supported till his death by charity. iv. 279, 339, 364, 414, 615, 653.

Atkins, 1846, mr of the *Jeanette*. Atkinson, 1848, a physician at Sac. according to Burnett. Atkinson (Chas A.), 1847, Co. D, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499-518). Called a 'judge' at S. José '77; d. at Mariposa in '82. A. (James or John), 1843, Amer., who after an adventurous career in Texas and Mex. came to Cal. accord. to newspaper sketches at a date varying '40 to '46, but apparently with the Chiles-Walker party of '43. iv. 392, 399. Known as Old Wheat for his reputed reliability; at Mont. in '45; served with Stockton in '46–7; long a resident of Los Ang.; in '71 pensioned as a veteran of 1812; died in the (S.

Joaq.?) county hospital in '74 at the age of about 80. Atnay, 1816, kanaka sailor arrested at Sta B. ii. 275. Atterville (James), 1840, doubtful name in Farnham's list. iv. 17. Aubens (N.), 1848, pass. from Honolulu.

Aulick (J. H.), 1841, com. of the U. S. *Yorktown*, at Mont. and S. F. iv. 38, 570. Later a commodore. Auntroy (John), 1840, arrested at Los Ang. in the Graham affair. iv. 14. Aurelio, 1797, neoph. who killed his wife. i. 659. Aurweller (John), 1847, Co. C, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); at S. F. '82; called also Auwaerter.

Austin, 1822, mr of the *Panther*. ii. 474. Austin, 1847, mid. on U. S. *Independence*. A. (David), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232–47). A. (Henry), 1838, Canadian carpenter, naturalized in '41, when he was at S. José. iv. 119. A. (Horace G.), 1846, on roll of Pion. Soc.; error in iv. 587. A. (Joseph C.), 1848, on roll of Pion. Soc. A. (Julius C.), 1846, Mormon on the *Brooklyn*, with wife and 3 children. v. 546. Ment. as a lawyer at S. Bernardino in '81; also as in Utah, '84. A. (J. Wemys), 1848, of Findley, Johnson & Co. at S. F. Still at S. F. '54. A. (Wm), 1826, mr of the *Mercury*. iii. 148.

Ávalos (Joaquin), tanner-instructor 1792–5. i. 615. Averett (Elisha), 1847, in com. of a party of Morm. Bat. on the return. v. 493. Avery, 1842, lieut with Com. Jones. iv. 308. A. (Elihu), 1844, boy on a whaler at S. F.; mr of *Legal Tender*, '82, accord. to a newsp. sketch. Avieta (José Ant.), 1834, with a party from N. Mex. iii. 396.

Ávila (Anastasio), son of Cornelio; settler at Los Ang. 1799. iii. 349; regidor in 1810, '19, alcalde in '20–1. ii. 110, 337, 350–1, 354, 559; grantee of Tajanta in '43. iv. 635. A. (Antonio), 1825, Mex. convict sent to Cal. for robberies and murder in Puebla. In the Solis revolt of '29, and in the Zamorano régime of '32 he aided the govt, in the hope of getting a release; but had to remain and serve out his time till about '38. iii. 16, 76, 83–4, 230, 669. Another Ant. A. in '37–9 apparently. iii. 504, 639.

Ávila (Antonio Ignacio), 1783, son of Cornelio; native of Sonora, who settled at Los Ang.; in 1804 married Rosa Ruiz at Sta B.; in '20–1 regidor; grantee of Sauzal Redondo in '22 and '37; juez de campo most of the time in '35–48; and always prominent in the pursuit of Ind. horse-thieves. ii. 349–51, 353, 559, 566, 664; iii. 396, 565, 626, 632–7. He died in '58, aged 74. A. (Cornelio), 1783, settler Los Ang. from Sonora, with his wife Isabel Urquides and 8 children. i. 663 A. (Bruno), son of Cornelio; settler at Los Ang. '15; later claimant of Aguage del Centinela. ii. 349–50; iv. 634. A. (Enrique), prob. son of Anastasio; 2d alcalde at Los Ang. '47; claimant for Tajanta rancho. iv. 635; v. 626. A. (Francisco), a 'hard case' at S. F. and S. José 1783–1800. i. 350, 484, 640, 716. A. (Francisco), drowned in the Tulares 1796. i. 661. A. (Francisco), son of Cornelio; in Los Ang. region 1804; alcalde in '10; applicant for dif. ranchos, and grantee of Ciénegas in '23, '34. He had probably been a sold. at Sta B. ii. 110, 116, 172, 349–50, 354, 565, 664; iii. 633. A. (Francisco), resid. of S. José '41, age 44; wife, María Ant. Alviso; child., Francisco, Encarnacion, Gerónima, and Viviana. A. (Fran.), resid. of Brancif. '45, age 40. A. (Guadalupe). i. 175. A. (Januario), prob. son of Francisco; regidor of Los Ang. '34–9; claimant for Ciénegas. iii. 633–6. A. (José), at Los Ang. '39–46. A. (José), settler at S. F. 1791–1800. i. 606, 716. A. (Joaquin), 1842, sub-lieut of the batallon. iv. 289. A. (José Joaquin), surgeon of the Cal. forces 1774–83. His wife died at S. F. in '79. *Prov. St. Pap.*, v. 57–8.

Ávila (José María), son of Cornelio. Alcalde of Los Ang. in '25. In the battle of '31 he killed Capt. Pacheco, and was himself killed. See biog. iii. 206–9; ment. ii. 559; iii. 196, 200. A. (José de Sta Ana), son of Cornelio; maj. at Sta B. 1801–6. ii. 120; mar. María Josefa Osuna. A. (José de los Santos), sec. of ayunt. at Brancif. '34. iii. 696. A. (J. S.), colegial at Sta Inés '44. iv. 426.

Ávila (Juan), son of Ant. Ign; eye-witness of the fight near Los Ang. in '31. iii. 208; grantee of Miguel rancho '42. iv. 635; juez de campo at Los Ang. '44; juez at S. Juan Cap. '46. iv. 633; v. 623; in '47 carried a flag of truce for Stockton to the people of Los Ang. v. 396. He married Soledad Yorba; one daughter married M. A. Forster, and another Paul Pryor. Don Juan was a man of excellent repute, who avoided political complications, but had good powers of observation and memory. At S. Juan Cap. in '77 he gave me his recollections—*Notas Californianas*—of early times, including valuable testimony on several matters.

Ávila (Miguel), son of José Sta Ana; b. at Sta B. in 1796; educ. at S. F.; served as copyist at Mont. In '16 he enlisted in the Mont. comp.; and in '24 was corporal of the escolta at S. Luis Ob., having a quarrel with the padre. ii. 516–17, 619; síndico at Mont. and alf. of militia '35–6. iii. 447, 474, 673–4. In '26 he had married María Inocenta, daughter of Dolores Pico; and in '36 lived at Mont. with 5 child., Rafaela, Jesus Domingo, Francisco de Paula, José Ant. R., Josefa de los Ang. Ment. in '37, '41. iii, 501; iv. 653; grantee of S. Miguelito in '42, '46, and Laguna in '45. iv. 637, 642, 656. Also ment. in '45–8. iv. 491; v. 321, 639. Alcalde of S. Luis Ob. in '49. He had a fondness for preserving documents, but most of his collection was burned with his house. Died in '74, leaving his S. Miguelito rancho to his widow and children. Doña María Inocenta gave me not only her own recollections on old-time *Cosas de Cal.*, ii. 242, 427, but also the remnant of Don Miguel's *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, containing several important papers. A. (Pedro), juez de campo at Los Ang. '44. iv. 633.

Avis (Wm P.), 1842, Boston man from Honolulu, with letters from Peirce & Brewer, to go into business as a commission merchant.

Ayala (Cármen), at Sta B. '45. iv. 642. A. (Crisógono), ranchero at Sta B. '37–50; grantee of Sta Ana; maj. of S. Buen. in '42–4. iii. 656; iv. 644–5. His wife was Bárbara Vanegas, and they had 5 children. A. (Gervasio), juez de policía at Sta B. '48. v. 631. His wife was Rafaela Moraga, 1 child before '37. A. (Joaquin), owner of land near Sta Inés. v. 632. A. (José), inválido at Sta B. '32; wife Juana Félix; child., María, Rafael, Juan, Prudencio, Antonio. A. (José M.), soldier at Sta B. '32; wife Emedia Valencia. A. (Juan B.), 1775, lieut and com. of *S. Cárlos;* explorer of S. F. bay. i. 241, 245–7. A. (Juan Man.), 1778, com. of *Santiago*. i. 328. A. (Juan Nepomuceno), 1834, Mex. clerk, age 20, who came with the H. & P. colony. iii. 263; took part in the revolt against Alvarado in '37. iii. 523–5.

Ayala (Juan Pablo), sergt of Sta B. comp. '35. iii. 650; lieut '38–9. iii. 583, 651. Admin. S. Luis Ob. '39–40. iii. 683; acting com. Sta B. '45; iv. 641; capt. of defensores and 2d juez '46. v. 140, 631; proposed revolt in '48. v. 586. A. (Pablo), admin. S. F. Solano '37–8. iii. 720–1. A. (Wm), 1832–3, mr of the *Roxana*. iii. 384. Ayals (Manuel M.), 1837, Span. physician in Alameda Co. '76, said to have come in '37 (?). *Alam. Hist. Atlas.*

Ayer (Franklin H.), 1848, Amer. carpenter who arr. on the *Sabine* in May from Boston at S. F., and went to the Mormon Isl. mines. Ment. by Gov. Mason as having furnished gold specimens for Wash. In '52 an advertisement for him from his bro. in China and parents in Somerville, Mass., appears in the *Alta*. In '72 he wrote me a letter on his *Personal Adventures*, from Grayson, Stanislaus Co. A letter to that address in '82 brought no reply. Ayot (Alexis), 1844, perhaps came to Cal. with Frémont. iv. 437.

Ayres (Geo. Wash.), 1812–13, mr of the *Mercury*, captured at Sta B. ii. 268–70, 295, 304, 362. In '20 he was interested with Abel Stearns in obtaining lands in the Sac. Val. for a settlement, but prob. did not revisit Cal. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 38. A. (R. B.), 1847, lieut Co. F, 3d U. S. artillery (v. 518). Azcona, lieut on the *Morelos* '34. iii. 269.

Babcock (Benj. E.), 1848, on the roll of Pion. Soc., died before '81. B. (J.), 1848, sup. of the *Mary*. Bacey (James), 1831, one of Young's trappers; perhaps did not come to Cal. iii. 388. Bachelor (Fred.), 1841, Amer. cooper of the Workman-Rowland party from N. Mex.; went east in '42, iv. 278, but ret. to Cal. in later years, living at Noon's rancho, where he died in '76.

Bachelot (Alexis), 1832, French missionary prefect of the Sand. Isl. in exile; served at S. Gabriel in '32–7; ret. to the Isl. in '37; died '38 on a voy. to the South Sea Isl. iii. 317–18, 364, 384, 408, 643; iv. 102. Bacon (J.), 1846, Co. B, Cal. Bat., artillery (v. 358). Badeau (Francois), 1844, one of Frémont's Canadians. iv. 437.

Baden (James Collins), 1847, Co. F, 3d artill. (v. 518); clerk and copyist for the comp., commandant, and dept. to '51, not deserting like most of his comrades; later a teacher; d. at Watsonville '68, aged 50. He was a son of a colonel in U. S. service, and b. at Baltimore. Ment. by Gen. Sherman, *Mem.*, as his clerk; obituary in *Sta Cruz Sentinel*, Sept. '68. Bader (Christopher), 1847, Co. B, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); a miner at Coloma and elsewhere '48–52; settled later in Butte Co., and lived for many years at Cherokee, where he was in '82, but died before '85, leaving a widow and 9 children, most of them grown. One of the sons, H. F. Bader, writes me from Cherokee April '85. Badger (Wm G. B.), 1848, pass. on the *Sabine* from Boston; at the Mormon Isl. mines. Badillo (Francisco), 1825, Mex. convict who continued his lawless career in Cal.; wife Rafaela García, 4 child.; lynched in '60 with one of his sons. iii. 16, 549, 652. Baewdsxig (?), mr of the *Nikolai* in '40. iv. 105. Bagley (Alden S.), 1848, part owner of the Coloma mill in Dec.

Bailey (Addison), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469), reënlist. at L. Ang. B. (James), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat.; made bricks at S.F. B. (Jefferson), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat., perhaps same as the Jeff. B. who had a farm in Sta Clara Co. '50–74. B. (Theodorus), 1847, lieut, com. of the U. S. *Lexington*; rear-admiral in the war of '61–5. v. 578. Portrait in the *Century*, April '85. B. (Wm J.), 1834, Engl. sailor at Mont., age 25; drove cattle to Or. '37; perhaps the Wm Bailey exiled in '40. iv. 18, 85, 412. Baillie (Thomas), 1844, com. of the Engl. *Modeste*. iv. 567. Bailon (Pascual), 1782, corporal killed on the Colorado. i. 364. Bails (Jonas), 1836, Amer. tailor at Los Ang. from N. Mex., age 29.

Baker, 1845–6, mr of the *Montezuma*. B., 1848, of the firm S. H. Williams & Co. at S. F. B. (Andy), 1846, Co. G, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); at Stockton with Weber '47–8; also employed as a builder in '47, at Mont. in '47; called also Antonio B.; ment. at N. Helv. '48; very likely the 'Antonio' employed by Larkin at S. F. B. (Isaac Munroe), 1846, nat. of Md, b. in '20; marine on the U. S. *Dale* '46–9; one of Marston's men in the Sanchez campaign (v. 379). Being disch. in N.Y. he came to S. F. in '50–65; in the east '65–8; owner of a place at La Honda, Sta Cruz mts, from '64, but in the grocery business at S. F., '75–85. Married Mary A. Smith '75, has 3 children '85. In an interview he gave many items about S. F. in '46–7. B. (John), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). B. (John F.), 1848. Passport from Honolulu. B. (Wm), 1845; Amer. sailor at Mont. Balderrama (José), 1798. i. 606, 733. Should be written Valderrama. Baldomero, grantee of Corral de Padilla '36. iii. 677.

Baldridge (Wm), 1843, Tenn. mill-wright, b. in '11, resid. of Mo. from '20; overl. immig. in the Walker-Chiles party. iv. 392, 399. After working at his trade in different places, in '45 he settled on a Napa rancho as a partner of Chiles; in '46 a member of the Bear organization, v. iii. 179, 189, and later served as lieut of Co. C, Cal. Bat. v. 361, 434. Then he resumed his trade for a time, and I have a contract signed by him in '47 to build a saw-mill for Salv. Vallejo. From '52 Baldridge lived on his rancho at Oakville, always commanding the respect of his neighbors. His *Days of '46*, written in '77, is an interesting part of my collection; and in the testimony given by him at various times for newspapers and books there is to be noted exceptional accuracy. Never married. Still living in '81, and I think in '85. A good sketch of his life, and portrait, in *Napa Co. Hist.*, 387, 20.

Baldwin (Alfred), 1846, native of N.Y.; overl. immig. to Or. in '45 and in '46 to Cal. v. 546. Served at S. José under Watmough, and went south with the Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Resid. of Sta Cruz '47–85. His wife was Fannie Willard, whom he married in '66. B. (Charles H.), 1846, passed mid. on the U.S. *Congress*, left by Stockton in com. of a guard at Mont. '46–7, until the coming of the artill. comp. v. 290, 519; lieut in war of '61–5, and com. of a gunboat in the Pacific; later an admiral in com. of North Pac. station at Mare Isl.; in Cal. '83, as was also a son. B. (James M.), 1814, Engl. sailor left at Mont. by the *Isaac Todd*. ii. 272. B. (James H.), 1847; Co. B, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499).

B. (John), 1841, at Los Ang. from the *Juan José*, but required to depart. B. (Josiah L.), 1847, Co. I, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. at S. José '50. B. (Timothy), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol.

Bale (Edward Turner), 1837, Engl. surgeon, who landed from a vessel at Mont., age 29. ii. 117–18. For 5 or 6 years he practised medicine at Mont., being in '40–3 surg. of the Cal. forces by Gen. Vallejo's appointment, and having married María Ignacia Soberanes. Bale was a man of good education, but always more or less in trouble on account of his debts and personal quarrels. In '40 he opened a liquor-shop in a room hired of Larkin for a drug-store, and was arrested in the resulting complications with the authorities. I have many original documents written by and about him; but have no intention of cataloguing his troubles. In '41 he was naturalized and got a grant of the Carne Humana rancho in Napa valley, where he went in '43, though his family lived for a time at S. F. with John Fuller. iv. 669, 671; v. 678–9. In '44, having been whipped by Salv. Vallejo, he attempted to shoot the latter, was put in jail, and narrowly saved his life. iv. 444–5, 678; the rumored intention of the Kelseys and other foreigners to rescue the doctor also caused much excitement. In '46 he built a saw-mill, and in '47–8 did a large business in lumber, the increased value of his land making him a rich man; but he died '49 or '50, leaving a widow—still living in '85—2 sons and 4 daughters. His son Edward was commissioned in '64 capt. of Co. D, 1st Bat. Nat. Cal. cavalry; and in '71 was in business at Napa. Bale (Wm), 1831, Engl. carpenter at Los Ang. in '36, age 29. iii. 405. Possibly Wm 'Bailey,' q.v.

Ball (Franklin), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); blacksmith at Sta Cruz in Nov. Ballard (John), 1847, Co. C, N. Y. Vol. Ballenback (Wm), 1846, marine on the *Dale*, acting as baker at S. F. in '47; in the mines later.

Ballesteros (Cárlos), killed at Chino rancho '46. v. 313. B. (Felipe) and B. (Francisco), at L. Ang. '46. B. (Juan), regidor at L. Ang. '23, '32, '38; grantee of Rosa del Castillo rancho '31. ii. 559; iii. 633–6. He was prob. Juan Ant., son of J. de Dios. B. (Juan de Dios), corp. of the Sta B. comp. 1787; com. of escolta at S. Ant., S. Luis Ob., and S. Juan B. 1791–7. Also named at L. Ang. 1796, 1819. His wife was Teresa Sepúlveda, and his sons Juan Antonio, b. '87, and Fran. Javier Ant., b. '97. Before '86 he had been a sergt, but was reduced to the ranks for desertion. i. 557, 718; ii. 349, 354.

Ballhaus (Fred.), 1846, German immig. (v. 526), with Hoppe and Harlan; in Cal. Bat. (v. 358), at the Natividad fight, and in Co. B artill. in the south; worked at S. F. and N. Helv. '47–8; in the mines much of the time '48–60; married Katrina Franck '53; to Frazer River '58; from '61 at S. F., brewer, vegetable gardener, and man of property; still living in '85, age 69, with wife and 3 children. He has kept a diary, and tells no end of interesting details of his Cal. experiences. Baltasar, 1824, Ind. executed at Purísima. Balteco (John), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232). Balygin, 1808, mr of the *Nikolai*. ii. 80.

Bancroft (Jerry), 1811, sailor at Drake's Bay. ii. 95. B. (John), 1836, mr of the *Convoy*. iv. 103, 118. In '37–8, mr of the *Loriot* and *Llama;* killed by Ind. at the Sta B. islands. iv. 90, 105; iii. 652–3. His wife, fatally wounded at the same time, was a half-breed Hawaiian, Miss Holmes, a sister of Nathan Spear's wife.

Bandini (José), 1819, Span. b. in Andalucía 1771; came to Amer. '93; a mariner whose home was at Lima, where he married twice and had 7 children living in '28, only one of them ever known in Cal. In '19 as mr of the Span. *Reina de Los Angeles* he brought to Cal. fr. S. Blas a cargo of war supplies, making another trip in '21, and doing a little in contraband trade. ii. 253, 261, 439–40. On returning to S. Blas he raised the Mex. flag on the *Reina*, which, as he claimed, was the 1st vessel to fly independent colors in all the republic. For this and other services Don José was made by Iturbide capt. of militia, and in '22 was retired with that rank, the fuero militar, and right to wear the uniform. A few years later, being a widower, and suffering from gout, he came with his son to S. Diego, where he built a house and spent the rest of his life, taking the oath of allegiance required by the law of '27. iii. 51, 176.

In '27 he wrote a long *Carta Histórica y Descriptiva de Cal.* to Eustace Barron. iv. 151. Erroneously attributed to his son in the 1st ed. of vol. i., list of auth. He died at the Sta Ana rancho in '41.

Bandini (Juan), 1824, son of José, b. at Lima in 1800, and educ. there. The exact date of arrival is not known; but in Dec. '28 his father stated that he had 4 child. by his Cal. wife. It is possible that he came with his father in '19 or '21. His public life began in '27-8 as member of the diputacion; '28-32 sub-comisario of revenues at S. D.; suplente congressman '31-2. Mention in this part of his career. ii. 543, 546-7, 549, 563-4; iii. 36-42, 50, 61-5, 86, 126, 136, 217, 367, 375-6. In '31 he took a leading part in fomenting the revolution against Gov. Victoria, and in opposing Zamorano's counter-revolt of '32. iii. 188-9, 197, 200-1, 203-4, 206, 210, 225. In '33 he went to Mexico as member of congress, but came back in '34 as vice-president of Híjar and Padrés' grand colonization and commercial co., supercargo of the co.'s vessel, the *Natalia*, and inspector of customs for Cal. The disastrous failure of the colony scheme, and the refusal of Cal. to recognize his authority as inspector, were regarded by Don Juan as the most serious misfortunes of his whole life and of his adopted country's history, his failure being rendered the more humiliating by the detection of certain smuggling operations in which he had engaged. iii. 242, 246, 260-7, 297, 365, 370-3, 383, 613, 670. In '36-8 Bandini was in several respects the leading spirit of the southern opposition to Alvarado's govt; at each triumph of the arribeños he was lucky enough to escape arrest, and lost no time in fomenting new revolts. His position was a most unwise one, productive of great harm to Cal.; his motive was chiefly personal feeling against Angel Ramirez, whom he regarded as influential in the new administration, for he had been a personal friend of the northern leaders and a supporter of their general views; and his record as a politician throughout the sectional troubles was neither dignified, patriotic, nor in any way creditable. Under Carrillo he was nominally still in charge of the S.D. custom-house. iii. 415, 419-20, 423-4, 480, 482-3, 488-90, 515-21, 539, 548, 556, 558, 564-6, 578, 609, 614; iv. 98. He was the owner of the Tecate rancho on the frontier, which was sacked by the Ind. in '37-8, B. and his family being reduced to poverty and serious want; but Gov. Alvarado made him admin. of S. Gabriel mission '38-40, granting him also in '38 Jurupa, in '39 Rincon and Cajon de Muscupiabe, and land at S. Juan Cap. '41. iii. 612, 633, 644-5; iv. 68, 92, 297, 626. He was appointed fiscal of the tribunal superior '40-2, was comisionado at the new pueblo of S. Juan de Argüello in '41, and síndico at L. Ang. '44, taking but slight part in the troubles with Gov. Micheltorena. iii. 605; iv. 196, 296, 365, 411, 624, 626-7, 633. In '45-6 Don Juan was Gov. Pico's sec., and a zealous supporter of his admin., particularly in mission affairs and opposition to Castro, being also a member of the assembly and originator of the projected consejo general. iv. 511, 519, 530-2, 540, 549; v. 35, 37, 39-40, 44-5, 48, 51, 66, 264, 278, 559. Later, however, he espoused the U.S. cause, furnished supplies for Stockton's battalion, was offered the collectorship, and named as member of the legislative council in '47, and alcalde of S.Diego in '48. v. 282, 328-30, 356, 433, 618-19. In '49 he declined a judgeship; is said to have impaired his fortune by erecting a costly building in '50 at S.D., where he kept a store; and subsequently appears to have gone across the frontier, where the estate of Guadalupe had been granted him in '46, resuming his Mex. citizenship and serving as juez in '52. He still dabbled to some extent in revolutionary politics, and as a supporter of Melendres had to quit the country with all his live-stock in '55. He died at Los Angeles in '59. It is evident from the preceding résumé of what is for the most part more fully told elsewhere that Juan Bandini must be regarded as one of the most prominent men of his time in Cal. He was a man of fair abilities and education, of generous impulses, of jovial temperament, a most interesting man socially, famous for his gentlemanly manners, of good courage in the midst of personal misfortunes, and always well liked and respected; indeed, his record as a citizen was an excellent one. He also performed honestly and efficiently the duties of his various official positions. In his grander attempts as a would-be statesman, Don Juan was less fortunate. His ideas were good enough, never absurd if never brilliant; but when once an idea became fixed in his brain, he never could understand the failure of Californian affairs to revolve around that idea as a centre; and in his struggles against fate and the stupidity of his compatriots he became absurdly diplomatic and tricky as a politician. He was an eloquent speaker and fluent writer, though always disposed to use a good many long words when a few short ones would better serve the purpose. I have hundreds of his original communications, official and private, in various private archives, besides the valuable collection of *Doc. Hist. Cal.* left by Bandini and given me by his widow. By the kindness of the same lady I also obtained an original MS. *Historia de California* left by Don Juan at his death, which though brief is important, especially when supplemented and explained by the author's private correspondence. Bandini's 1st wife was Dolores, daughter of Capt. José M. Estudillo, whose children were Arcadia—Mrs Abel Stearns and later Mrs Robt S. Baker; Isidora, who married Col Cave J. Coutts; Josefa, the wife of Pedro C. Carrillo; José María, whose wife was Teresa Argüello; and Juanito. His 2d wife was Refugio, daughter of Santiago Argüello, whose children were Juan de la Cruz, Alfredo, Arturo, and two daughters, who married Chas R. Johnson and Dr James B. Winston. Bandini's daughters were famous for their beauty; all or most of his children still live in southern Cal. in '85, some wealthy, all in comfortable circumstances and of respectable family connections.

Bane (C.), 1835, mr of the *Primavera.* iii. 383. Banks (Archibald), 1833, Scotch carpenter at Mont. '33-6; d. at S. F. '38. 409. B. (J. H.), 1848, passp. fr. Honolulu. Bannard (Geo.), 1847, Co. K, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). Bantam (Geo.), 1846, Amer. sailor on the *Cyane;* in Stockton's bat., wounded at the S. Gabriel Jan. '47. v. 395. Baptiste (Jean), 1846, French fr. N. Mex., survivor of the Donner party perhaps. v. 531-41; at N. Helv. '47-8, and one of the earliest miners. There are several of this name not to be identified. See also 'Bautista.' Barajas, sirviente at Sta Cruz, 1795. i. 496.

Barber (A. H.), 1848, of N. Y.; vet. of the Mex. war; settled at Sutterville; lived at Chico from '51 to his death in '66, age 51. B. and sons at Mont. '47-8. *Consul. Arch.*; perhaps the following. B. (John and John, Jr), 1847, at Mont. and in the redwoods '47-8. B. (John), 1848, nat. of Conn., farmer in Napa Val. to '53. *Napa Co. Reporter.* B. (Matthew), 1847, farmer near Martinez in '60, when he testified in S. F. that he was public admin. in '47-9. Barbosa (José), settler at Brancif. 1797. i. 569. B. (Mariano), 1818, sailor who taught Cal. boys to make hats. Barbot (M.), 1848, at S. José '81.

Barbour (John), 1847, lot-owner at S. F. Perhaps 'Barber,' q.v. B. (Nathan), 1846, nat. of N.Y., migrating to Ky, La, Mo., and finally overland to Cal. (v. 526), with his wife Nancy, daughter of Landy Alford. He served in Co. B, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); had a 'Cal. claim' of $250; and in '47 settled at Benicia, where he built several houses, being in the lumber business with Alford. v. 467, 672. His daughter Amelia was the 1st child born at Benicia, and he had 6 others. In '50 the family moved to a farm in Suisun Valley, where the wife died in '68 and the husband in '82, age 69. B. (Roswell), 1846, brother of Nathan, whom he seems to have accompanied in all his Cal. experiences until his death in '71.

Barcelo (Juain), 1826, mr of the *Mero*, doubtful record. iii. 148. Bárcena (José), 1798. i. 606. Barcenar (Guadalupe), drummer at S. F. '23-31.

Barcenilla (Isidoro), 1797, Span. friar; founder of the S. José mission, who left Cal. in 1804. See biog. ii. 114; mention i. 555-6, 577; ii. 131, 137, 159-60. Bargeman (Augustus), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Barger (Wm W.), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). At Sutter's mill when gold was discovered; said to have been the first man to whom the discoverer showed the metal. Went to Utah later. Often called James B.

Baric (Charles), 1834, French from Mex. in the H. & P. colony. iii. 263, 412. For 10 years or more a trader at Los Ang., being 27 years old at arrival, and marrying in Cal. In '37 aided Bandini to capture the town. iii. 518; in '40 had charge of Aguirre's business; interested in the S. Francisquito mines '42; iv. 297, 631; in '44 owner or mr of the *Primavera.* iv. 468.

Barker, 1838, mr of the *Rasselas.* iv. 105. Barker (perhaps Vaca), 1846–7, mr of the *Jóven Guipuzcoana.* v. 578. Barker, 1848, on the *Sagadahoc* fr. Honolulu. B. (John S.), 1847, mr of the *Edward.* v. 577. B. (Peter), 1834, Engl. carpenter working for Kinlock at Mont. B. (Robert S.), 1832, Amer. who joined the comp. extranjera at Mont., iii. 221, 408, and whose name appears on Larkin's books to '36, getting a lot in '35.

Barmore, 1848, mr of the *Sagadahoc.* v. 580. Barnard, 1846, mr of the *Abigail.* v. 576. B. ('Major'), 1846, doubtful mention. v. 111. Barnes (John), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518), who deserted; also named as a laborer at Mont., and ment. by Sherman. *Mem.* i. 31. Barnes, 1822, mr of *Orion*, ii. 474.

Barnett (Elias), 1841, Amer. immig. of the Bartleson party. iv. 270, 275, 279. Lived with Yount till '43, then settled in Pope Valley, marrying the widow of Wm Pope. *Napa Co. Hist.*, 55–6. Had a house in the Sac. Valley '46, acc. to Bryant and Lancey; also seems to have signed a doc. at L. Ang. in June '46. *Dept. St. Pap.*, vii. 65. Served in Co. E, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); and had a 'Cal. claim' (v. 462) of $135. Returning to his Napa rancho, he spent the rest of his life there, dying shortly before '50. B. (E. P.), 1848, from Or. in May on the *Mary Ann*, and after good luck in the mines went back for his family. Barney (Walter), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469).

Barnum, 1843, in the Hastings party from Or. iv. 390. Prob. went back soon. B. (Edgar M.), 1847, Co. I, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); died at Mont. '47. B. (Geo.), 1845, mr of a vessel at Mont. and S. F.

Barona (José), 1798, Span. friar at S. Diego and S. Juan Cap., where he died in 1831. See biog. iii. 625; mention i. 577, 654–5; ii. 107, 110, 159, 345, 348, 394, 553, 555, 655; iii. 96, 310, 351. Barque (Oscar de Grande), 1845–53, doubtful record. iv. 587.

Barragan (Bárbaro), Mex. soldier age 28, murdered at Mont. '36. iii. 675. B. (Manuel), settler at the Colorado pueblo, killed by Ind. 1780–1. i. 359–62. Barrena (José), juez de campo S. Dieguito '41. iv. 628. B. (Tadeo), ditto. Barreneche (Juan Ant.), 1779–80, Franciscan missionary of the Querétaro college, killed at the Colorado River missions. i. 357–63. Barreras (José M.), killed at Los Ang. '45. iv. 492. B. (Juan), resid. of Los Ang. '46.

Barrett, 1845, immig. fr. Or. in McMahon-Clyman party, who prob. went back in '46. iv. 572, 587, 526. Perhaps James B. B. (Francis H.), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol., at S. F. '48. B. (James), 1846, claimant for supplies to Frémont, and owner of S. F. lot '47. v. 676. B. (Wm J.), 1847, accidentally killed at Sac. '80; said to have come with Stevenson's reg. *Sac. Bee.* Barreto (Fabian), 1827, grantee of Pescadero '36; a Mex. resid. of Mont., age 26, wife Cármen García, child. Manuel Fructuoso and María Juliana. The widow had a 'Cal. claim' of $2,582 in '46–7. v. 462.

Barron (A.), 1845, contractor at Mont.; in '58 pass. fr. Honolulu. B. (Charles), 1846, Co. H, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Barroso (Leonardo Diez), 1830, Mex. lieut sent to Cal. and promoted to capt. iii. 54; employed in an investigation at Los Ang. '31. iii. 196; in com. at Paso de Bartolo and Los Ang. '32. iii. 227; departed for Mex. '33. iii. 365.

Barrowman (John), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); tried by court-martial for sleeping on guard at S. Diego; a Utah farmer in '81. Barrus (Ruel), 1847, lieut Co. B, Morm. Bat., also of the reënlisted co.; in com. at S. Luis Rey; sentenced by court-martial to 5 years (red. by gov. to 1 year) of hard labor for passing counterfeit coin. v. 477, 495, 610, 625. A Utah farmer in '81.

Barry (Benj.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). B. (F. E.), 1841, acting mr of the U. S. *St Louis.* B. (Richard), 1828–9, mr of the *Vulture.* iii. 141–2, 149. B. (W. D.), 1845 (?), immig. from Mo. at Sutter's fort. iv. 578, 587; at Sta Clara '50–76.

Bartel (Wm), 1845, Amer. immig. fr. Or. in McMahon-Clyman party. iv. 572, 587; served '46–7 in the Cal. Bat.; still in Cal. '49. Bartels (Lewis), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Batthelow (J. M.), 1848, doubtful record. Barthote, 1846, at L. Ang., doubtful record. Barthrop (Edward), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol.; resid. of S. F. '74–85; asst sup. of the Industrial school; nat. of London; miner in Tuolumne to '61; soldier in 2d Cal. cavalry during the war of '61–5; 4 children in '85.

Bartleson (John), 1841, capt. of the 1st regular immig. party that crossed the Sierra to Cal. He returned to Mo., where he died. iv. 267–76, 342, 684.

Bartlett (A.), 1848, arr. at Honolulu on the *Julian* fr. S. F. B. (Chas H.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol.(v. 499), died at S. F. '81; a Boston man. B. (J.), 1848, passp. fr. Honolulu. B. (John A.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol.; nat. of Mass., b. in '28; at Sonoma and S.F. after his disch.; went to Nic. with Walker; in Boston '58–61; a vol. in the war of '61–5; at Cambridgeport, Mass., in '85.

Bartlett (Washington Allen), 1845, lieut on the U. S. *Portsmouth* '45–8; alcalde of S. F. in '46–7; captured by the Californians while out on a raid for cattle. He performed the routine duties of his position in a satisfactory manner, having the advantage of a knowledge of Spanish. See mention iv. 587; v. 126, 128–9, 137, 295, 379–80, 383, 539, 644–5, 648, 654, 659, 686. Later he commanded a vessel in coast survey service in the Pacific; was sent to Europe on a mission connected with lighthouses; and while serving on the African coast in '55 had his name stricken from the rolls of the navy by the retiring board. In *Carroll's Star of the West*, 278–344, is an elaborate defence and eulogy with favorable testimony from many naval officers, also a portrait. His daughter was the heroine of the famous 'diamond wedding' of the Cuban Oviedo. Bartlett died I think between '70 and '80.

Barton (James R. or H.), 1845, at L. Ang., serving in the Micheltorena campaign. iv. 495. Lieut in the Cal. Bat. '46–7, serving under Stockton. v. 265, 360, 435. Later a resid. of L. Ang.; killed in '57 by the 'Manilas' while acting as sheriff in their pursuit. B. (Wm), 1839, Amer. sailor on the *California;* one of the exiles of '40 to S. Blas, but returned with a claim for damages; at Sta Cruz '43. iv. 18, 21, 33, 119, 356. Bartow, 1842, chaplain with Com. Jones. iv. 310. Bartram (Wm), 1843, Scotchman who worked at the N. Almaden mine in '46; a witness in later litigation; testifying that he was at S. F. in '43, and at Sonoma in '36–7. I met him near S. Luis Ob. in '74. iv. 399. Bartusee (Zama), 1847, Co. F, 3d artill. (v. 518).

Basadre y Vega (Vicente), 1786, Span. commissioner for estab. a fur-trade between Cal. and China. i. 438–42. Basilio, 1824, mr of the *Rurik.* ii. 519. Basilio, 1847, in Sutter's employ. Bassett (Nathaniel S.), 1831, mr of the *Marcus.* iii. 383.

Bassham (Wm R.), 1845, Kentuckian immig. of the Grigsby-Ide party, age 23. iv. 578, 587. He was a clerk at L. Ang. for Dalton in '46; and for Leidesdorff and later Howard & Mellus at S. F. in '47–9, being also the owner of several town lots; a member of the Cal. senate in '49–50; later a resid. of S. José and in business with Belden. In '55–6 he was a witness in the Santillan case, but I find no later record of him. Bastian (James), 1848, Englishman fr. Honolulu who died at S. F. in Oct. Basualdo (Francisco), 1828, Mex. artilleryman, later sergt at Sta B. and S. Diego; killed by the Ind. at Pauma '46. iii. 78, 615, 617. Batan (Désiré), 1845, mr of the *Espadon.* iv. 565. Batchelor (Geo.), 1847, drum-major N.Y.Vol. v. 503; died before '82.

Bateman (E. B.), 1847, Amer. immig. fr. Mo.; member of the 1st legislature '49–50; a physician at Stockton '75, and perhaps later. B. (Lorenzo), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons at Mont. (v. 232–47). Baten (Wm), doubtful name in a Brancif. list of '45; Amer., age 37. Bates, 1840, purser of the *St Louis.* Bates (Dr), 1846, had an acct with Larkin; in '47–8 often ment. at N. Helv., sometimes as a physician, oftener on the sick-list, and finally prospecting for gold and quicksilver. Possibly same as E. B. 'Bateman,' q.v. B. (Asher B), 1848, New Yorker who came round the Horn; d. at S. F. '73, age 63. B. (Frank), 1848; alcalde at Sac.; vice-pres. of a public meeting in Jan. '49; ment. by Colton as owner of Vernon. Perhaps same as the 'doctor.' B. (Manuel), 1826; mr of the *Sta Apolonia.* iii. 148. Bathgate (Geo.), 1848, Co. F, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. before '82.

Baugh (Theodore E.), 1845, of firm Sweeny & B., who built an observatory on Telegraph Hill in '45 (?), and in '52 opened the 1st telegraph. A Pennsylvanian, who died at S.F. in '81, age 58. *S. José Pion.*; iv. 587. Baum (John), 1848, overl. immig. fr. Ohio to Or. '47; and to the Cal. mines '48; returning to Or. in '50. Bausford (John), 1829, Irish sawyer at S. F. '40, age 36; came by sea in '29; alias 'Solis.' *Dwinelle.* Bautista (Juan), 1846, Mexican survivor of the Donner party, said to be still living in '80. v. 531, 535, 541. Perhaps he was of French blood, and named 'Baptiste,' q.v. Bauzá (Felipe), 1791, scientist of Malaspina's exped. i. 490.

Bawden (J.), 1848, commission merchant at S. F.; advert. in *Star*. Baxter (J. G.), 1845 (?), Mass. farmer in Sta Clara '74–6. iv. 587. Baxter (Wm Owen), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol.(v. 499); of Engl. birth; 30 years in the mines; living at Sta Mónica '85, age 58, with wife and 4 children. Bay, 1848, named in the *Californian* as a member of the Sonoma council. Bayley, 1848, (?), at Coloma. *El Dorado Co. Hist.*, 177. Bazard, 1847–8, at Sta Clara.

Beale (Edward F.), 1846, passed mid. and acting master of the U.S. *Congress*, serving in Stockton's battalion. With Gillespie's party sent in Dec. to meet Kearny, and sent back to S. D. with despatches after the fight of S. Pascual. v. 340, 350, 402. In Feb. '47 he was sent east with despatches. v. 430, 436; and at the end of the year was a witness in the Frémont court-martial. v. 456. Returned to Cal. in time to start east again in July '48 with despatches respecting the gold discovery. Soon left the navy, and in '52–4 was supt of Ind. affairs in Cal., and subsequently surveyor-general of the state. Becoming the owner of large Californian estates, in later years Gen. Beale became a resident of Washington, where he still lives in '85. He was at one time U.S. minister to Austria. B. (Thos W.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons. (v. 534.) B. (Wm), 1845, overl. immig. of the Swasey-Todd party. iv. 576. At N. Helv.'46.

Bean (Archi), 1816, sail-maker on the *Lydia* at Sta B. ii. 275. B. (Robert or Wm), trapper with Dye and Nidever in '30; it is not clear from the record that he ever came to California. Beardsley (Amos F.), 1848, New Yorker who came by sea; died at S. F. '69, age 49. B. (F.), 1848, came from Honolulu on the *SS* in January, and returned on the *Julian* in November; possibly same as preceding.

Beasley (Jesse), 1843, perhaps an immig. of the Chiles-Walker party. iv. 393; member of the Sonoma town council '47. v. 668. In comp. with Cooper '48; had a Sonoma rancho '49; living '71 at Stony Creek, Colusa Co. Beattie (Belden), 1847, Co. H, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. at S.F. '49. Beaulieu (Olivier), 1844, Canad. of Frémont's 1st exped., left in Cal. iv. 437, 439, 453. He lived at Sonoma '45–7, being occasionally ment. at N. Helv.; apparently claimant in '53 for the Cabeza de Sta Rosa rancho; still living near S. José in '81 acc. to *S. J. Pion.*, March 19, '81. Becerra, soldier at Mont. '28. ii. 615. B. (Pilar), 1824, Mex. convict liberated in '35.

Becher (Fred. G.), 1835, German assoc. in business with Virmond of Mex., supercargo of the *Catalina* and *Leonor*, who spent most of his time in Cal. fr. '35 to '37. A young man of many accomplishments, linguistic, commercial, diplomatic, and equestrian. Very popular, but in trouble with Alvarado's govt on account of his Mex. interests and sympathies. His name appears in mission accounts of '39–40. Vischer tells us that B. became head of a firm at Mazatlan, and died there at the age of 37. Ment. in iii. 288, 381, 383, 413, 429, 459, 512; iv. 102. Becker (John), 1847, Co. A, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at N. Helv. fr. S. Joaquin '48. Beckstead (Gordon S.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënlisted; living in Utah '81. B. (Orin M.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat.; reënlisted. Beckwith (Seth Lee), 1848, nat. of Conn., who came from Honolulu on the *Kamehameha* and went to the Amador and Calaveras mines; from '50, as before '48, a traveller in many parts of the world, but regarding S.F. as his home, where he still lives in '85, at the age of 64, with a son and daughter.

Beckwourth (James P.), 1844, mulatto of Va, who became in the great west a famous hunter, guide, Indian-fighter, chief of the Crows, and horse-thief. No résumé can do justice to his adventures, nor can the slightest faith be put in his statements. See *Bonner's Life of Beckwourth.* He came to Cal. from N. Mex. '44. iv. 453, 495; and was one of the mountaineers serving against Micheltorena, at the 'battle of Cahuenga' in '45 (v. 494, 503), of which he gives an absurdly false account. Before the troubles of '46 he left Cal. with a large drove of stolen horses to continue his career in N. Mex.

and on the plains. Returning after '48 to take part in no end of stirring events in the flush times, he discovered the pass that bears his name, opening in '52 a hotel and trading-post in Beckwourth Valley. Therein he dictated to Bonner the events of his life as published in '58. But Jim was accused of divers unlawful acts, and besides was unable to content himself long in one place; so he returned to his old life of trapper and trader on the plains, and died in the North Platte country in '67, age about 70. Bedibey (Frank), 1841, of the Workman-Rowland party from N. Mex.; did not remain in Cal. iv. 278.

Bedwell (Franklin), 1840 (?), Tennesseean who went to Mo. with his parents in '19; for many years a trapper in the Rocky Mts and great basin, from the Yellowstone to Sta Fé, with the usual adventures of his class. iv. 117, 120. Acc. to the *Sonoma Co. History*, with portraits, he came to Cal. in '40-1; continued his trapper life for several years, occasionally visiting the settlements, and working a while in the Sta Clara redwoods; but about '43 settled on a Russ. River rancho bought of Cyrus Alexander (?); joined the Bears in '46, being apparently with Ford at Olompali; went south with Frémont, being with Gillespie's garrison at L. Ang., and later one of Stockton's army; returned to his rancho after the peace; went to the mines in '48-9; and finally settled permanently in his Russ. River home. All this may be accurate, though it seems strange that of so early a man, taking part in so many events, I find no original or contemporary mention before '48. In '48 or '49 he seems to have met in Cal. his mother and brother, from whom he had been separated many years. In '58 he married Selina McMinn of Tenn., but had no children. Bedwell was still living in '83, and probably in '85, hale and hearty, though over 70 years of age.

Bee (Henry Jubilee), 1830, Engl. sailor and blacksmith who left the *Dryad* at Mont. iii. 180; joined the comp. extranjera in '31. iii. 221; and perhaps went to S. José as early as '33, though his home for some years seems to have been near Mont., and his occupation that of guiding strangers about the country; baptized as Enrique Ascension, and married in '38 to Clara Moreno. His name appears on Larkin's books and various other records nearly every year. In '36-7 Bee was one of Graham's 'riflemen.' iii. 461, 525; and in Alvarado's service performed more than one feat of valor, if we credit his own version. In '40 he was arrested but not exiled. iv. 9, 17, 23; moving soon to Sta Cruz; and living in '43 at Yerba Buena, where he got a lot, iv. 669, and another later. In '46 he carried despatches from Sloat to Frémont, v. 247, as appears from his receipt of July 12th, for $160, including the value of two horses killed in the service, in *Mont. Consul. Arch.*, though there has been some newspaper controversy on the subject. He subsequently served under Watmough at S. José; was constable at the pueblo in '47; went to the mines in '48; served as clerk in a store till '50; raised potatoes for a few years; and worked as carpenter till '60. He lost his wife in '53, his son in '60, and at the same time a leg in an encounter with the desperado Felipe Hernandez. In '77 he dictated his *Recollections* for my use; and has furnished many reminiscences for the *Pioneer* and other papers. Harry is inclined to draw somewhat heavily on his imagination for historical details; but there is generally a substratum of fact underlying his yarns. Living in '83, and I think in '85.

Beebe (J. W.), 1847, named as the 1st Amer. magistrate at S. Buenaventura. *Signal*. Perhaps same as the following. B. (Wm L.), 1847, nat. of N. Y.; one of the 1st supervisors at S. Luis Ob.; later county judge; still living in '83. *S. Luis Ob. Co. Hist.* Beechay, 1840, doubtful name in Farnham's list of arrested foreigners. Beechey (Fred. Wm), 1826, com. of the Brit. exploring vessel *Blossom*, and author of a *Narrative* of the exploration. iii. 120-5, 110, 146; i. 432; ii. 588, 590, 592, 599-600, 603, 610, 614-16. B. (Richard B.), 1826, mid. on the *Blossom*. iii. 121. Beener (John S.), 1847, advertises loss of a pocket-book between S. Joaq. and S.F. in *Star*; still at S.F. in '54. Beere (Wm), 1848, cabinet-maker at S.F. v. 682. Beers (Wm), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Beeson (Henry), 1846, claimant for supplies to Frémont (v. 462). Perhaps this was 'Bee,' q.v.

Beggs (Peter), 1847, negro servant of Capt. A. J. Smith, accused of robbery at Los Ang. Behn (John), 1841 (?), native of Baden, accredited by Wilson to the Workman party fr. N. Mex.; but not in Rowland's list, and not remembered by Given. iv. 278-9. Appears in the records fr. '44 as otter-hunter and trader at Los Ang. He quit business in '53, and died '68, leaving several children. Béjar, see 'Véjar.'

Belcher, 1848, mr of the *Mary* at S.F. fr. Columbia Riv. B. (Edward), 1826, lieut on the *Blossom* in Beechey's exped. iii. 121; in '37-9, com. of the *Sulphur*, and author of a *Narrative* of the expedition. iii. 614, 670, 699; iv. 93, 106, 142-6. B. (Lewis F.), 1847, at Mont. in company with Aram; in the gold mines '48; about '50 a large dealer in cattle. An eccentric character, native of N.Y., who acquired a large property. Murdered at Mont. in '56.

Belden (Josiah), 1841, nat. of Conn., b. in '15, who after a varied commercial experience in N.Y., La, and Miss., came to Cal. in the 1st immig. party under Capt. Bartleson. iv. 267, 270, 275, 279. Going to Mont., he took charge for Larkin of a branch store and lumber business at Sta Cruz in '42-4, taking part in the raising of the U.S. flag at the time of the Com. Jones affair. iv. 312, 340, 651, 662-4. I have many of his original letters of these and later years. In '44 he obtained naturalization papers, and a grant of the Barranca Colorada rancho in the Sac. Valley. iv. 670. The firm of B. & Chard appears at Mont. in '44-5; B. took some part in preserving order during Gov. Micheltorena's absence; and in Dec. '45 went up to his rancho, returning in March '46. *N. Helv. Diary*, 22, 37. For some months in '46 B. took charge of a store for Capt. Paty at S.F., v. 682, and later in '46-7 worked as clerk and collector for Wm H. Davis, obtaining lots at S.F. and Benicia. v. 672, 676; also interested in a quicksilver mine. *Larkin's Doc.*, v. 361. In '48 he opened at S. José a branch store of Mellus & Howard, but soon followed his customers to the mines for a few weeks, leaving the store in charge of Branham. In '49 he closed up the business, and married Miss Sarah M. Jones, a pioneer of '46. In '50 he was the 1st mayor of S. José, being later member of the council, and in '76 a delegate to the republican national convention. Fortunate purchases and judicious management of S.F. real estate made Belden a capitalist. He continued to reside at S. José with his wife, two sons, and three daughters until about '81, when he changed his residence to New York, where he still lives in '85. A good sketch of his life, with portrait, is found in the *Contemp. Biog.*, i. 246; and in '78 he dictated for my use his *Historical Statement*, a MS. of 70 pp., just such a narrative as might be expected from a clear-headed man of business.

Bell (Alex.), 1842, nat. of Pa, who since '23 had lived in Mex. provinces, becoming a citizen. He came from Sonora on the *Esmeralda*, iv. 341, settling at Los Ang., where he married Nieves Guirado in '44, and engaged in trade for many years. He was prominent in '45 among the foreigners who opposed Micheltorena and Sutter. iv. 495; in '46-7, being síndico at L. Ang., v. 625, served as capt. in the Cal. Bat., v. 360, apparently quitting the town with Gillespie and returning with Stockton; and he had 'Cal. claims' of about $3,500 (v. 462). In '49 Bell built a warehouse at S. Pedro; and in later years was prominent among the vigilantes. He seems to have retired from trade about '54, but continued to reside at Los Ang. till his death in '71, age 70. B. (Geo. W.), 1845, doubtful name of an overl. immig.; perhaps went to Or. iv. 578. B. (John H.), 1831, mr of the *Whalehound*, said to have discov. oysters in S.F. bay. iii. 699. B. (Richard H.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. v. 519. B. (Wm), 1843, named at Los Ang., perhaps by error.

Bellomy (Geo. W.), 1843, Virginian fr. Or. in the Hastings party, wounded by Ind. on the way. iv. 390-1, 399. In '44 he got a carta de seguridad, and next year had a shop at S. José, where he complained of being robbed, and signed the call to foreigners in March. iv. 599. He does not seem to have served in the Cal. Bat. '46, but had a claim of $42, which was paid; in '47 was imprisoned for disobedience to decrees of Judge Burton's court; in '48 owner of the Sta Clara House, still in legal troubles. His wife from '45 was María de Jesus Bernal, later wife of J. T. Perez. Bellomy—or Bellamy—died in '62. Bellow (J. Mitch.), 1846, said to have come in the navy; nat. of La, who was long a policeman at S. José, and died in '79. *S. J. Pion.*

Belt (Geo. Gordon), 1847, Q. M. sergt N.Y.Vol. v. 503; alcalde at Stockton '49; became a rich trader, and was murdered at Stockton by Wm Dennis in '69. Beltran (Nicolás), corporal 1776-81, killed on the Colorado. i. 304, 363. Belty (Wm), 1841, German immig. from Mo. in the Bartleson party. iv. 270, 275, 279. Some say he went back and died in the east; but a man of the same name served in Co. A, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); is named on Larkin's books at Mont. in '47-8; and acc. to Dally, who helped to bury him, was killed by a fall from his horse in the mines in '48.

Ben, 1846, negro servant with Gillespie. v. 24. Benavides (Elias), 1847, at N. Helv. B. (José), soldier at S. F. '44; grantee of a lot '46. v. 680. B. (José M.), settler at S. F. 1791-1800, prob. father of the preceding. i. 716. B. (María), 1847, had bonnets for sale at S. F. *Star*. B. (Miguel), soldier at S. F. '27-31; in '41 living at S. José, age 29; wife Josefa García; child., Patricio, José Ant., Concepcion, Antonia, Nanita, Trinidad. Benedict (C. L.), 1847, owner of a house at Benicia. v. 672. Bengachea (José Ign.), settler at the Colorado Riv. pueblos 1780-1. i. 359, 362. Benitez (José M.), 1803-7, surgeon of the forces at Mont. ii. 140. Benito, neoph. rebel at Sta B. '24-6. ii. 532, 537.

Benitz (Wm), 1841-2, German in Sutter's employ. Arrived Oct. '42 acc. to rolls of the Soc. Cal. Pion.; but in applying for naturalization in '44 he claimed to have come in '41. iv. 341. After being for a time in charge of Hock farm, in '43 he took charge of the Ross estate for Sutter, succeeding Bidwell. iv. 186, 679. In '44 grantee of the Briesgau rancho in Shasta co. iv. 670; in '45 he rented the Ross rancho from Sutter, and later bought a part of it; bondsman for some of the Grigsby-Ide immig. iv. 679, 544, 581. Benitz is said to have been the man who was swindled to the extent of $6,000 by the Sutter-Muldrow claim. He lived at Ross till '67; then moved to Oakland; and in '74 went to the Argentine Republic, where he had a brother. He died there in '76, at the age of 62, leaving a family. Benjamin (Fordyce J.), 1846, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); alcalde at N. Helv. '48; at Sonoma '74.

Bennett (A. B.), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat., enlisting at S. Juan Oct. (v. 358). B. (Charles), 1847, at Sutter's Fort fr. Or.; at the Coloma mill in '48 when gold was found; said to have been killed by Ind. in Or. about '55. B. (Dennis), 1843, prob. son of Vardamon, fr. Or. in the Hastings party. iv. 390, 399. Named in a S. F. padron of '44 as an Amer. carpenter, age 19. B. (Jackson), 1843, brother of Dennis, age 17 in '44, said to have been slightly wounded at the 'battle' of Sta Clara in '47. iv. 390, 400; v. 381. B. (Narciso), grantee of land at Sta Clara in '45; perhaps another son of Vardamon, who came in '43. iv. 587, 673. B. (Thomas), 1816, sailor on the *Lydia*. ii. 275. B. (Titus), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Bennett (Vardamon), 1843, nat. of Ga, who went to Ark. '30, crossed the plains to Or. '42, and came to Cal. in the Hastings party with a large family. iv. 390, 399. After a brief stay in the Sac. Valley B. went to S. F., where he appears in the padron of '44 as an Amer. carpenter, age 40; where he appears in other records of '45-7, including a petition for naturalization in '46; and where he kept a grog-shop, bowling alley, etc. v. 685; being also owner of a Benicia lot. v. 672. He died at S. F. in '49. His wife, Mary, was a good woman, but one of masculine attributes, who had a 'mind of her own,' and body also, in many respects head of the family. In '45 she asked for a separation, complaining to the authorities of her husband's failure to provide for herself and 8 children. In '46 she and some of the children were living at S. José, having a 'Cal. claim' (v. 462). She married Harry Love, and died near Watsonville in '68, age 66. B. (Wm), 1845, doubtful name of an overl. immig. iv. 578. B. (Wm), 1844, immig. fr. Or. in the Kelsey party. iv. 444, 453. Seems to have settled near S. José, where acc. to Hittell he was a wealthy man in '60; perhaps same as Wm H. on the rolls of the Soc. Cal. Pion., as having arr. March '44.

Bennett (Winston), 1843, son of Vardamon, whom he accomp. to Cal. in the Hastings party. iv. 390, 400. He is named in the S.F. padron of '44 as 25 years of age; but he did not remain long at S.F. or in any other place; roam-ing from the Sac. Valley to Marin Co., Yerba Buena, Sta Clara, and Sta Cruz, and taking some slight part in the troubles with Micheltorena in '45. iv. 486–7. In '46 he enlisted in Co. G, Cal. Bat. (v. 358), took part in the fight at Natividad, and went to L. Ang. with Frémont. In '48–9 he had an adventurous career in many places as miner and trader; lived at Sta Clara and Sta Cruz in '50–3, being constable and deputy sheriff part of the time; on a rancho at Pescadero '53–65; at Sta Clara with his mother '65–72; and again on his rancho fr. '72, having married María J. Perez in '71. His *Pioneer of '43*, a narrative of his overland trip and experiences in Cal., was printed in the *S. José Pioneer* of '77, containing many interesting details. He seems to have been a very unlucky man in respect of accidents, the breaking of a leg or arm being by no means a rare occurrence; and it appears that this luck with his old propensity to roam is still retained; for as I write, in '85, the papers announce the accidental breaking of his leg at Silver City, N. Mex.

Benschoten (John W.), 1848, New Yorker who served in the Mex. war, coming to Cal. prob. with Graham's dragoons (v. 522); worked in the mines, and finally settled in S. Joaquin, where he married Jessie McKay in '66. Benson (Christian), 1847, perhaps one of the N.Y. Vol. under another name. B. (Geo.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518). B. (John), 1840, Amer. sailor of the *Morse* at S.F., to be shipped on the *Don Quixote*. Bent (Silas), 1848, mr of the *Preble*. Bentley (John), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 544). Benton, 1848, firm of Ross, B. & Co. at S. F.

Bercier (Francis), 1847, Engl. at N. Helv. Berdle (John), 1836, arms in his possess. seized at L. Ang. Berenback (Antoine), 1847, Co. F, 3d artill. (v. 518). Berier, 1847, at N. Helv.; prob. same as 'Bercier.' Beristain, 1847–8, mr of the *Concepcion*. v. 577. B. (Máximo), 1829, at S. Diego. iii. 141. Beritzhoff (Alex.), 1847, named in a newspaper as mate of the *Jóven Guipuzcoana*. iv. 587; went from N.Y. to Valparaiso on ship *Zenobia*. From Val. to Mont. on brig *Thos H. Benton* in '47. Owner of Stockton *Independent* '65–75. Later U.S. storekeeper int. rev. at S.F.

Bermudez (Antonio, Atansio, Dolores), at L. Ang. '46. B. (Domingo), 1832, at Sta B. B. (Francisco), 1832, soldier at Sta B., wife Concepcion Pico, 2 child. B. (José), at L. Ang. '15–28. ii. 349, 354, 560; two or three of the name at S. Bernardino and S. Gabriel '46. B. (José), at rancho nacional, Mont., '36, age 28, wife Ana M. Martinez, child. José and Martiana. Bernabé, 1824, rebel neoph. at Sta B. ii. 532, 537. Bernaci (Juan), 1791, lieut in Malaspina's exped. i. 490.

Bernal, 1826, majordomo of S. José. ii. 599. I am unable to trace definitely the dif. branches of the Bernal family in Cal., but name many individuals. See list of those in Cal. before 1800 in i. 734. B. (Agustin), soldier at S. F. '19–27; in '37 lieut of militia at S. José. iii. 732; in '41 at S. José, age 39; wife María Juana Higuera; child. José b. '25, Guadalupe '29, Presentacion '32, Abelino '34, Nicolás '37, Juana '39; in '46 juez de campo. v. 662; '53 claimant of Sta Teresa rancho. iii. 713; prob. son of Joaquin. B. (Agustin, Jr), son of the preceding, b. '48; mar. Francisca Soto in Alameda Co. '78. B. (Ana María), mar. 1784 to Gabriel Moraga. ii. 571. B. (Antonio), soldier at S. F. '41–3. iv. 667; still at S. José '50. B. (Apolinario), born in Cal. 1780–90; regidor at S. José 1802; killed by Ind. '13. ii. 134, 339. B. (Basilio), grantee of Sta Clara embarcadero '45–8; also claimant in '53. iv. 373; v. 665. B. (Bruno), in '41 at S. José, age 39 (prob. older); wife Antonia Ortega; children, Antonio b. in '25, Dolores '27, Francisco '31, Pedro '33, José and Gertrudis '35, Guadalupe '36, Rufina '37, Luis '39; Cal. claim of $10,000 in '46; claimant for Alisal, Mont. Co. iii. 676. B. (Jesus), juez de campo at S. José '41. iv. 684. B. (Joaquin), soldier of S. F. at Sta Cruz 1795. i. 496; invál. '19–32; grantee of Sta Teresa rancho '34, being then 94 years old. iii. 713. B. (José), soldier at S. F. '19–30. B. (José 2d), soldier at S. F. '19–24. B. (José), born at S. José in '23; married Alta Gracia Higuera in '55; 10 children; living in Alameda Co. in '80. B. (José Ant.), soldier at S. F. '29–'42. B. (José Ant.), farmer at S. José '41, age 25; wife Guadalupe Butron; children, Juan and Trinidad. B. (José Cornelio), regidor of S. José '28. ii. 605; grantee of land at Mission Dolores '34; elector and militiaman at S. F. '37. iii. 705; grantee of Rincon de Salinas, etc., and Rincon de Ballena '39. iii. 678, 712; in '42 at S. F., age 46, wife Cármen Cibrian, son José de Jesus b. '29; still living '53–4. His widow lived at the mission until after '67. i. 293. B. (José Dionisio), soldier of the Soledad escolta 1791–1800. i. 499. B. (José Jesus), grantee in '39 of the Cañada de Pala rancho. iii. 711; in '41 farmer at S. José, age 31; wife María Ant. Higuera; children, José Gabriel b. '34, Jesus M. '35, José Jesus '37, Dionisio '37. B. (Juan), cattle-owners in S. F. district 1793. i. 707. B. (Juan), soldier at S. F. '20–30; elector and militiaman at S.F. '37. iii. 705; grantee of Laguna de Palos Col. in the contra costa '35–41. iii. 712; iv. 671; in '41 at S. José, age 38; wife Encarnacion Soto (who as a widow was owner of S. F. lots fr. '44. iv. 669; v. 685); children, Guadalupe b.'31, Nicolás '35, Apolinario '37, Juan '40. B. (Juan), farmer at S. José '41, age 31; wife Rafaela Félix; child., Francisco b. '35, Juan '38, Guadalupe '39, Refugio '40; juez de campo '44. iv. 685. B. (Juan), son of Joaquin, at S. José in '77, age 67, who gave me his *Memoria* of several old-time occurrences; perhaps same as preceding. B. (Juan), described by Larkin in '45 as a man of some wealth and local influence at Sta Cruz. B. (María D. Castro de), at S. José '41, age 52; children, Juan b. '20, Gregorio and Francisco '27, Ramon '30.

Bernier (Baptiste), 1844, one of Frémont's men. iv. 437.

Berreyesa (Antonio), son of Nicolás, who in '77 at S. José gave me his *Relacion* of the murder of his uncle by Frémont's men in '46 (v. 171), and of the troubles of his father's family with the squatters and land lawyers. B. (Félix), soldier at S. F. and musician '34–42. B. (Francisco), soldier at S. F. '37; sergt '39; grantee in '46 of Cañada de Capay and Rincon de Musulacon. v. 669, 675; claimant for Rincon de Esteros '53. iii. 712. B. (José Ign.), at S. José '41, age 34; children, Jesus María, José Jesus, Adelaida, María Los Angeles, and Gabriela; grantee of Chiniles rancho '46. v. 669. B. (José Jesus), soldier at S. F. '32–3; sentenced for stealing horses at Mont. '35. iii. 674; at Sonoma, age 28, in '44; grantee of Las Putas '43, and Yacuy '46. iv. 672; v. 669. B. (José de los Reyes), nat. of Cal., son of Nicolás, b. about 1787; sold. at S. F. '19–29, sergt from '30; also employed as a teacher at S. F. in '23. ii. 591, 584; iii. 111, 701; in '31–5 sec. of ayunt. at S. José. iii. 729–30; in '41 at S. José; wife María S. Bernal; children, Domingo b. '22, Francisco '26, Fernando '28, Encarnacion '30, Demesio '33, Madelina '34, but there were several others older; in '42 grantee of S. Vicente rancho. iv. 673. In June '46 while on his way to visit his son at Sonoma the old man was murdered at S. Rafael by Frémont's men. v. 171–4. B. (José de los Santos), son of José Reyes; sergt S. F. comp. at Sonoma '40–2. iii. 702; iv. 678; grantee of Malacomes rancho '43. iv. 671–3; in '46 alcalde at Sonoma. v. 124, 154, 159, 668; in '55 a witness in the Santillan case. B. (María de la Luz), mar. to Joaq. Soto 1803, the 1st marriage at S. José. ii. 138. B. (Martin), sold. at Sonoma '42. B. (Nasario), corporal at S. F. '19–24. B. (Nicolás), settler at S. F. 1777–1800. i. 297, 716; wife Gertrudis Peralta, children Gabriela, María de la Luz, José de los Reyes, Nasario, Nicolás, Juan José, acc. to S. José padron of 1793. B. (Nicolás), son of preceding; sold. at S. F. '19–30; grantee of Milpitas '34. iii. 712; regidor at S. José '36–7, iii. 730; at S. José '41. age 51, wife Gracia Padilla, children, José b. '18, Nicolás '22, Francisco '26, José '28, Antonio '31, Mariano '34, Agustin '36. The murder of his brother Reyes and the plundering of his cattle by the battalion in '46, the later lynching of his brother Demesio, the continued struggle with squatters and land lawyers, in which all his property was stripped from him, drove the old man to madness; and several of his sons also became insane. He died in '63. B. (Rudesindo), ment. in '42. iv. 240. B. (Santiago), at S. José '41, age 37; wife María Rosario Valencia, child María Josefa. B. (Sixto), soldier in S.F. comp. '38–42; grantee of Las Putas '43. iv. 672.

Berry, 1848, from Or., one of the 1st miners at Grass Valley. *Nev. Co. Hist.*, 52, 64. B. (Daniel K.), 1846, overl. immig. from Mo. with his family.

v. 529; served in Co. C, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); fr. '48 one of the 1st settlers of Suisun Valley, where he still lived in '60. B. (James Richard), 1836, Irishman who had lived long in Span. provinces, a great traveller and a man of many accomplishments; grantee of Punta de Reyes in '36. iii. 712; iv. 118; owner of lots at S.F. '41–4. iv. 669; v. 679; at Sonoma in '44, aged 52. I find no later record of him. Bertodano (Cosme), 1794–6, Span. com. of the *Valdés*, *Activa*, *Aranzazu*. i. 523–4, 540. Bertran (Luis), Mex. at Mont. '36, age 40, wife Tomasa Carrillo. Bertrand (Emile), 1847, Co. C, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499).

Beston (Thos), 1847, at N. Helv., with family; apparently an immig. v. 556. Bestor (Norman S.), 1846, assistant to Lieut Emory with Kearny's force. v. 337; at Mont. Feb. '48; had a store at Coloma '48–9. *Sherman.* Beuseman (Chris. M.), 1817, Prussian in the Russ. service, noble of the 4th class; mr of the *Chirikof*, and *Baikal*, '11–12, '25–8. ii. 298, 312, 648; iii. 146. Beverley (McKenzie), 1847, owner of S.F. lot; murderer of Dörnte; later a desperado at large. v. 586, 646, 663, 676, 684.

Bianchi (Nicholas), 1834–5, mr of the *Rosa*. iii. 384. Bicholl (John), 1843, Amer. in charge of Sutter's cattle at Hock; naturalized '44. iv. 400; name written 'Bignol' and also 'Rignoll.' Bickmore (Gilbert), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Biddle (James), 1847–8, com. of the Pac. squadron U. S. N. on the *Columbus*. v. 437–8, 450, 577. Bideler (Thos), 1836, Amer., doubtful name at Los. Ang. Bidilton (John), 1828–9, Engl. catholic at Mont.

Bidwell (John), 1841, nat. of N. Y., born in 1819, who went with his parents to Penn. and Ohio; a school-teacher in Ohio and Iowa; an immig. from Mo. to Cal. in the Bartleson party. For an account of this party, including much about Bidwell personally, and about his diary sent east and published as *A Journey to California*, now of great rarity, see iv. 266–76, 279, 346–7. I have the original bond signed by Thos G. Bowen in B.'s favor on Nov. 18, '41. He entered Sutter's employ, and in '42–3 was in charge of the Ross estate at Bodega. iv. 186, 233, 665, 679; in '43–4 at Hock farm. I have much of his original corresp. of these and later years. In '44, visiting Mont. with a recommend. from Sutter to the gov., he obtained naturalization papers and a grant of the Ulpinos rancho. iv. 674. In return Bidwell was active in support of Micheltorena, going south with Sutter's army, being taken prisoner at the 'battle' of Cahuenga, and even having something to say 40 years later in defence of that most unwise movement of the foreigners. iv. 366, 479–83, 485–6, 508. Returning to N. Helvetia, he continued in Sutter's service as agent and clerk, being the writer of portions of the *N. Helv. Diary*, and his movements from day to day being recorded in other portions; also grantee of the Colus rancho in '45. iv. 516, 671. His travels in the valley and foothills were extensive, and he had many narrow escapes from making the grand discovery of gold. Early in '46 he made arrangements to open a school at Mont., *Larkin's Doc.*, iv. 54; but circumstances occurred to prevent this. He did not at first take an active part in the settlers' revolt, being a Mex. citizen and apparently not warmly in sympathy with this most senseless filibusterism; but he was at one time in charge of the prisoners at the fort, and in July was sec. at the formal organization at Sonoma. v. 100, 125, 128, 179. He went south with Frémont; was put in com. of S. Luis Rey in Aug., and made a perilous trip by sea from S. Diego to S. Pedro for supplies during the Flores revolt; ranking as capt. in the Cal. Bat., and serving as quartermaster with rank of major under Stockton in '46–7. v. 286, 317–18, 324–5, 361, 385, 420, 620–2. Returning to the Sacramento, Bidwell continued his labors as Sutter's agent and surveyor in different parts of the valley until the discovery of gold, when he became the pioneer miner on Feather River, where Bidwell's Bar was named for him. Of his mining experience, as of his official career in later years, I shall have occasion to say something in vol. vi.–vii. of this work. Becoming owner of the Arroyo Chico ranchos granted to Dickey and Farwell, he made here his permanent home, site of the town of Chico from '60, becoming a man of great wealth, and one of the most prominent agriculturists of the state. He was chosen as a member of the constit. convention of '49, though not serving; a senator in the 1st legislature of '49–50; a delegate to the national democratic convention of '60 at Charleston; appointed brigadier-gen. of militia in '63 by Gov. Stanford; delegate to the national union convention in '64; and a member of congress '64-7, being in '75 a defeated, non-partisan, anti-monopoly candidate for gov. of Cal. But it is to the agricultural and industrial development of his county and state that he has given his chief attention, and it is his success in this direction that has evidently given him most satisfaction. His record is in all respects that of an honorable as well as successful man, one of the chief testimonials in his favor being the flimsy nature of the inevitable charges made against him as a candidate for office. His position as the leading representative of his class, that of immigrant farmers, will be questioned, as his success will be begrudged, by none. His *California in '41-8*, a MS. of 233 pages, was dictated for my use in '77, and is regarded as one of the most valuable volumes in my collection of pioneer reminiscences. He has also in later correspondence furnished many useful items for this register. In '68 he married Miss Annie Kennedy of Washington, D.C.; has no children; still residing at Chico in '85.

Biggerton (Susan), 1845, illegally married at Sac., so wrote Leidesdorff. iv. 587. 'Big Jim,' 1830, Irish trapper of Young's party, killed by Higgins. iii. 174. Biggs (Matthew H.), 1848, mining man from Valparaiso with letters from Atherton; named also by Brooks at Mormon diggings.

Bigler (Henry W.), 1847, Virginian of Co. B, Morm. Bat. v. 478, 493, 495. His father was formerly a Methodist preacher, moving to Mo. in '38. After the mustering-out of the bat., B. entered Sutter's employ, and was one of the men working at the Coloma mill when gold was found. His *Diary of a Mormon*, copied by himself in '72, is not only an excellent narrative of the march of the battalion—one of Tyler's chief authorities—but is one of the best authorities extant on details of the gold discovery. Soon after the mining excitement began Bigler returned to Utah, where he still lived at St George in '81. Bigley (John), 1847, owner of a S. F. lot; witness in a lawsuit of '65.

Bihler (Wm), 1848, German butcher from Baltimore round the Horn; following his trade at S. F. '48-50; on a Sonoma rancho '51-9; on a Lakeville rancho '59-80, being a large land-owner, giving particular attention to the breeding of blood stock. *Sonoma Co. Hist.*

Bill, several men known only by this name, most of whom cannot be identified, and none of the others requiring notice. Billings (Orson), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). 'Billy the Cooper,' 1845, Engl. sailor from a whaler at Mont.; killed at the Natividad fight in Nov. '46. iv. 587; v. 371. Acc. to Swan, his full name was never known in Cal.

Bines (Robert), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons. (v. 232-47.) Bingham (Erastus), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). B. (George), 1842, somewhat doubtfully recorded as a boy on one of Com. Jones' vessels at Mont.; returning to Cal. in '49; policeman, miner, saloon-keeper, and soldier to '79, when he lived at Vallejo. *Solano Co. Hist.*, 332-3; iv. 341. B. (Thos), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. Binley (John), 1847, Mormon of Kearny's return escort. v. 453, 492.

Bird (David T.), 1844, overl. immig. of the Kelsey party from Or. iv. 444-5, 453. Also called David S. and David F. In '45 one of Sutter's men in the Micheltorena campaign. iv. 486; perhaps the Burt arrested by Castro at S. José in July '46. v. 136; later lieut of Co. E, Cal. Bat., enlisting at Sonoma in Oct. v. 361. He settled in Yolo Co., and was still at Woodland in '79. B. (Wm), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in '81 at Paris, Id. Birnie (James), 1837, Scotch officer of the H. B. Co. at Vancouver, who came on the *Llama* to buy cattle. iv. 85-6, 90. In '47 his name appears in a S. F. list of uncalled-for letters. B. (Robert), 1832, Amer. who got a passport in Aug.

Birnie (Robert), 1841, son of James, born in Or. '24; came on the *Cowlitz* as clerk for Rae. iv. 217, 279; left the vessel and H. B. Co. at Honolulu in '42, but returned and worked as clerk at Sta B. and S. F., and supercargo of the *Juan José* till '45; his part in the capture of Sutter's gun '44. iv. 483; in Or. '45-7, returning to Cal. '48; clerk for Forbes at N. Almaden '49-50. After engaging in mining, farming, and various other occupations, Birnie became a real estate agent at Oakland, where he still lived in '72 with his wife and three daughters. He gave me a narrative of his *Personal Adventures*. Bishop (Stephen A.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons. (v. 336). Bissie, 1848, named as a Frenchman hanged at Hangtown in Jan. '49 for robbery on the Stanislaus in '48. Black, 1827, named as one of the Jed. Smith party. iii. 160. B. (David), 1847, with the Morm. Bat. (v. 469); a step-son of Capt. Brown. B. (James), 1847, Co. I, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); owner of lots at S.F., or this may have been the following.

Black (James), 1832, Scotch sailor left sick at Mont. in Jan., age about 25. v. 408. Other accounts represent him as having deserted at S.F. In applying for naturalization in Sept. '43 he claimed 10 years' residence. For a year or two he hunted otter with McIntosh, being named in Larkin's books from '34. A witness at Sonoma in '36; met by Edwards near S. Rafael in '37. iv. 86. About '40 he perhaps settled on the Jonive rancho, which after his naturalization and marriage in '43 was formally granted him in '45. iv. 117, 671; named in a Sonoma list of '44 as 34 years old; 2d alcalde of S. Rafael in '45. iv. 677. B. seems to have taken no part in the political troubles of '45-6. About '48 he exchanged his Jonive estate for that of Nicasio, where he spent the rest of his life. He was a judge in '50, and assessor in '52-3; evidently a man of industrious habits and good character for one of his class, though a hard drinker in the later years. Died in '70, leaving a large estate about which there was much litigation resulting from an attempt to break his will. His first wife was Agustina Sais, who died in '64, leaving a daughter, Mrs Burdell, who was living in '80. In '65 he married the widow Pacheco, who survived him. Black (Joseph), 1845, hatter at N. Helv. '45-7; often named in the *Diary*. iv. 587; lot owner at S. F.; on the 1st jury at S. José '48; perhaps his name was 'Block;' or there may have been another Block. B. (Wm), 1814, com. of the *Raccoon*. ii. 272, 304, 373.

Blackburn (Wm), 1845, Virginian cabinet-maker born in 1814; overl. immig. in the Swasey-Todd party. iv. 576, 587. He went to work at Sta Cruz as a lumberman, being a witness at the trial of Williams for killing Naile in April '46. v. 671; but after serving a while in Fauntleroy's dragoons, he joined the Cal. Bat. and was made 2d lieut of Co. A, artillery. v. 361, 435. Returning to Sta Cruz, but also obtaining a lot at S. F., B. opened a store; and served '47-9 as alcalde by the governor's appointment. v. 641-2; being also county judge in '50 after a brief experience in the mines. The decisions of his court are famous for their originality; but if technically somewhat irregular, they were always in accord with common sense and justice. He is said to have built a schooner at Sta Cruz in '48. v. 581; and was chosen a member of the convention of '49, though not serving; claimant of the Arastradero rancho. iv. 655. Blackburn was an intelligent, shrewd fellow; honest and straightforward in his dealings; always jovial and popular whether drunk or sober; in a small way a leader among his companions. After '51 he gave up politics and gave his attention to agriculture, first to raising potatoes, for which he got a premium at the N. Y. fair, and later to fruit culture, his orchard being for many years one of the chief attractions of Sta Cruz. He died in '67, leaving a widow. Several of his brothers came to Cal. after '48.

Blair (Chas D.), 1847, Co. E, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). B. (Nicholas), 1847, ditto; d. at Los Ang. '55. B. (Wm), 1836, doubtful name in Taylor's list, from N. Mex. Blaisdle, 1837, doubtful name at Pt Reyes.

Blake (B.), 1828, agent of a Manila firm at Mont. B. (Geo. C.), 1846, com. of H. B. M. S. *Juno*. v. 579. B. (Homer C.), 1847, officer on the U. S. *Preble*; commodore '79; died '80. B. (Wm), 1832, doubtful record of a carpenter in Solano Co. '69-77. iii. 408.

Blanca (J.), 1841, mr of the *Ayacucho*. iv. 563. Blanchard, 1848, at S. F. from Honolulu in Nov. on the *Currency Lass*. B. (Ira), 1848, in the mines; furnished gold specimens to Gov. Mason; corporal of S. F. guards. B. (Wm), 1811, mr of the *Catherine*. ii. 96, 267. Blanco, at S. D. and Los Ang. '36-46. B. (Juan), 1798. i. 606. B. (Miguel), at S. Gabriel '46. B. (Thos), grantee of land, Mont. '44. iv. 656. Blanks, see 'Banks.'

Blasdell (Lewis), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. B. (Wm), 1842, German at Mont. on the *California* from Honolulu; permitted to land; a blacksmith age 39. Blast (Thomas), 1845, doubtful name of a trader.

Blea (Rafael), 1846, at Los Ang. and S. Bernardino. Blecksmith, (Leopold), 1847, Co. B, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). Blevins (Alex.), 1843, doubtful newspaper mention.

'Blind Tom,' 1833, Engl. sailor at S. José. *Sta Clara Co. Hist.* Blindenberg (L. B.), 1832–3, mr of the *Friend.* iii. 382. Blinn (John), 1836, mr of the *Loriot* '36–7. iv. 105; mr of the *Clementina* '39 and pass. on the *Alciope.* iv. 100, 102; mr of the *Maryland* '41, in which year he died. iv. 207, 567. Blirkin (Wm), 1840, doubtful name in Farnham's list of arrested foreigners. Bliss (Robert S.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Block, see 'Black.'

Bloomfield (Wm), 1840, one of the exiled foreigners. iv. 18. Blossom (J. W.), 1848, at S. F. from Honolulu on the *Sagadahoc.* 'Blue Jacket,' 1846, nickname of one of the guard at Sutter's Fort. v. 125.

Blume (Fred. Gustavus), 1842, German surgeon of the whaleship *Alex. Barclay* at Sauzalito Dec. '42–March '43. iv. 341. Late in '46 he came back to Cal. on the *Currency Lass* from Honolulu with a stock of goods sold at S. F.; and again in April '47 on the *Gen. Kearny,* this time to stay, opening a store at Sonoma with M. J. Haan. In '48 he moved to a rancho in the Bodega region, near Freestone and Bloomfield—the latter named for him—where in '49 he married the widow María Ant. Cáceres de Dawson. Both were living in '80 without children. Dr B. held several local offices, and is postmaster at Freestone in '85. His portrait is found in *Sonoma Co. Hist.,* 280. Blury (Arthur de), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232–47).

Boardman (John), 1843, overl. immig. of the Chiles-Walker party. iv. 392, 400; witness to a doc. at Sonoma '47. 'Bob,' or Juan Cristóbal, 1816, the pioneer negro, left by Capt. Smith of the *Albatross.* ii. 248, 277, 393. 'Bob,' Irish servant of Colton at Mont. '48, who made his fortune in the mines. 'Bob,' a tattooed Marquesan in the mines, ment. by Buffum. Bobo, (Zarah), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons. (v. 336). Bocalon (Agustin), 1808, com. of the *Concepcion.* ii. 87. Bochon (Procopi), 1847, Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Bode (Nicholas F.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518).

Bodega y Cuadra (Juan Francisco), 1775, Span. lieut in com. of the exploring vessel *Sonora,* discovering and naming Bodega bay. i. 241–3, 518; ii. 81; in 1779 com. of the *Favorita.* i. 329; in 1792–3, com. of the S. Blas naval establishment, and commissioner to settle the Nootka troubles with England, visiting Cal., and dying in '93. i. 506, 509–12, 519–20, 522–4, 539, 682. See also *Hist. N. W. Coast,* i. Bodie (Waterman S.), vaguely alluded to as having come in '48. Bogart (Henry), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Boggs (Albert G.), 1846, son of Lilburn W., and overl. immig. with his father and brothers (v. 526); later a prominent citizen of Napa, and county treasurer; still living in '81. B. (Guadalupe Vallejo), son of Wm M., born at Petaluma Jan. 4, '47, often named incorrectly as the 1st child of Amer. parents born in Cal. B. (Lilburn W.), 1846, Kentuckian, b. in 1798; overl. immig. with wife and 8 children. v. 528. He lived many years in Mo., where he was a very prominent man, as pioneer, trader, and public officer, being elected gov. of the state in '36. He took a prominent part in the expulsion of the Mormons, to whose vengeance is attributed a later attempt to murder him which was very nearly successful. Spending the winter at Petaluma and settling at Sonoma he engaged in trade with Scott, and was appointed alcalde to succeed Nash from '47. v. 433, 609–10, 668–9, 681; holding the office till '49, and being elected a member of the constitutional convention, though not serving. In '52 he moved to Napa, where he died in '61. His first wife was a daughter of Silas Bent, and the second, who accompanied him to Cal., a granddaughter of Daniel Boone, dying in Napa in '80 at the age of '97. A good sketch of Ex-gov. Boggs' life is found in the *Napa Co. Hist.,* 373; and a portrait in *Menefee's Sketchbook,* 264. Many of his descendants still live in Cal., but respecting most of them I have no definite information.

Boggs (Wm M.), 1846, son of Lilburn W., b. in Mo. '26; member of the same immigrant party, of which he was captain during part of the journey—

his bridal tour, he having married Sonora Hicklin just before the start. He took some slight part in the final campaign of the war against Sanchez in '46–7. v. 383; and after an adventurous career in the mines settled at Napa, where in '72 he wrote for me his *Reminiscences* of early life in Mo., his father's life, the trip to Cal., and his experiences in '46–8. His *Trip across the Plains*, in the newspapers, covers nearly the same ground. He has occupied several official positions, and has raised a family of five sons—Guadalupe V., Lilburn W., Jr., Angus, Jefferson, and Wm, and a daughter, to whose education special care has been devoted, several of them being teachers. Bohorques, see 'Bojorges.'

Boinger (Fred.), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Bois (Juan), 1828, mr of the *Wilmantic*. iii. 149. Boissé (Gabriel), 1798, Boston sailor at S. Diego. i. 645, 654. Bojorges—more properly written Bohorques—(Angel), at S.F. '37–9; at Sonoma '44, age 33. B. (Bartolo), soldier at S.F. '19; inválido '22–41; regidor at S. José '24–5; elector at S.F. '35. ii. 605; iii. 704; grantee of Laguna de S. Antonio '45, and claimant '54. iv. 673. B. (Gerardo), at S.F. '37. B. (Hermenegildo), soldier of the S. José escolta 1797–1800. i. 556. B. (Ignacio), soldier of the S.F. comp. '35–42; at Sonoma '44, age 26. B. (José Ramon), corporal of the Sta Clara escolta 1776–7; invál. at S. José, 1790–1821. i. 296–7, 306, 478; his wife was Francisca Romero; died '22. B. (Juan), soldier of S.F. comp. '23–31; at Sonoma '44, age 35. iv. 363. In '77 at Sta Clara he gave me his *Recuerdos* of Ind. campaigns. B. (Pedro), settler at S. F. 1791–1800; regidor at S. José 1810. i. 716; ii. 134. B. (Pedro), at S. F. '37; at Sonoma '44, age 24.

Bolan (A. J.), 1845, at Sutter's '45–6, acc. to the *N. Helv. Diary;* iv. 578. Bolaños (Francisco), 1595, one of Cermeñon's men at Pt Reyes; also with Vizcaino in 1602. i. 96, 98. Bolbeda (Louis), 1826, French trapper of Jed. Smith's party, who rem. in Cal. iii. 160, 176.

Bolcof (José Antonio), 1815, the earliest Russian settler; native of Kamchatka, who left his vessel at Mont., age about 20. ii. 274, 393. In '17 he was baptized at Soledad or at least had his Greek church baptism 'ratified;' in '22 married to Cándida Castro, and perhaps made a trip to Mex. ii. 479; in '24 arrested for smuggling, and from that time often named in local records of Branciforte and Sta Cruz. ii. 519, 522, 627; iv. 117, 544; in '29 named as a shoemaker of good conduct; in '31 obtained lands; naturalized in '33; alcalde at Brancif. '34, also '39–42, '45–6. iii. 695–7; iv. 662–4; v. 57, 641–2; being also in charge of the ex-mission from '39; grantee of the Refugio rancho '41. iv. 655. In the Brancif. padron of '45 B. is named with his wife and 11 children as follows: Amadeo b. '25, Francisco '27, Juan '29, Encarnacion '32, Guadalupe '36, Josefa '39, Cármen '37, José Ramon '40; José Dolores '41, María Ant. '42, and María de los Angeles '44. He took no part in the political troubles of '45–7, but in '48 engaged in mining with his sons, being very successful; but not content to let well enough alone, and imbibing somewhat too freely the new spirit of progress, the old man fell a victim to sharpers, gradually lost his lands and money, and died in poverty in '66. I have no record of his sons after '45.

Boles, see 'Bowles.' Bollon (José María), 1834, Portuguese at Mont. Bolton (James R.), 1847, trader at Mazatlan, having some commercial relations with Cal., which country he visited for the first time in June '47 on the *Lady Shaw Stewart*. In later years he became known as the principal claimant for the Mission Dolores estate in the famous Santillan case; in '85 a capitalist residing at S. F.

Bon (John), 1829, mr of the *Wilmington*. iii. 149. 'Bonaparte,' 1836, Frenchman with Yount in Napa Val. Bond (Thos), 1833, named as one of Walker's party. iii. 391. B. (Wm), 1847, Co. D, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499.) Bonechu (Louis), 1824, French vineyardist at L. Ang. '40, age 57, claiming to have been 16 years in Cal. Bones (John), 1821, Irish carpenter at S. Miguel '29–30, 31 years old, and 9 years in Cal. ii. 444; possibly 'Burns.'

Bonifacio (Juan B.), 1822, Italian or Austrian who landed from the *John Begg* with the governor's permission and was employed by Hartnell as stevedore. ii. 478; an illiterate, honest fellow about 24 years old, who married Cármen Pinto in '27; naturalized in '29; 2d in com. of the comp. extranjera '32. iii. 221, 223, 225; died about '34, leaving a widow and 3 children.

Bonilla (José Mariano), 1834, Mex. lawyer and teacher, who came with the H. & P. colony; implicated in the Apalátegui revolt, but not sent away. iii. 263, 286. A man of the same name was member of the Cal. junta in Mex. '25-7. iii. 3. A young man of 27 on his arrival, well educated at the Colegio Nacional; teacher at Sta B. '35. iii. 657; clerk and sec. in dif. public offices '36-40. iii. 463, 605, 685; admin. of S. Luis Ob., and auxiliary juez '42. iv. 331, 657-8; grantee of Huerhuero, or Huerfano, rancho in '42-4. iv. 655-6; partisan of Micheltorena in '45; sec. and appointed fiscal of the tribunal superior. iv. 532; juez and alcalde at S. Luis '46-8, being at one time arrested by Frémont. v. 638-9, 375; sub-prefect '49; later county judge, district attorney, and supervisor. Bonilla was a man who always commanded respect, though not always in sympathy with the Californians, and one whose advice, by reason of his superior education, was always in demand. In '37 he married Dolores, daughter of Inocente García, who in '78 gave me the Bonilla collection of *Doc. Hist. Cal.* He died in '78. B. (Patricio), at Los Ang. '46.

Bonnet, 1844, mr of the *Lion* '44-5. iv. 567; iii. 382-3; also in '46; possibly in '35. Bonney (Jarvis), 1845, Amer. immig. of Grigsby-Ide party, with his family. iv. 578, 580; v. 526. He buried two children at N. Helv. March '46, and in April went to Or., where he was in June. B. (Truman), 1845, prob. a brother of Jarvis, whom he accomp. to Cal. and to Or. with his family. v. 578. He also lost a son at N. Helv.; and his daughter was married in Feb. '46 to A. Sanders. Next year a man named Bonny, very likely one of this family, was met on his way alone from Or. to the states. *Bryant*, 137. Bonnycastle (John C.), 1847, lieut and adj. N. Y. Vol. v. 503; later lieut of 4th U. S. infantry '48-61; at Louisville, Ky, '82. Bons (Wm), 1840, arrested at Branciforte, having no carta. Bonsall—or Bonsell—(Jacob), 1848, owner of a ferry on the S. Joaquin with Doak.

Booker (Henry), 1844, Amer. named in Larkin's accounts '44-5 at Mont.; living on the Sac. '46. *Tustin.* Joining the Bears, he was the messenger who carried Ide's proclamation to Mont. Later in the year he went south with Frémont; was probably one of Gillespie's garrison at L. Ang.; with Mervine's force defeated at S. Pedro; one of Stockton's men at S. Diego; one of the party sent to reënforce Kearny; and finally killed at S. Pascual. iv. 453; v. 110, 159, 346. Perhaps no other man in Cal. had so varied an experience in this most eventful year.

Booth (J.), 1847, at S. F. on the *Currency Lass* from Honolulu. B. (Wm), 1847, said to have settled at Sta Clara with his family. *Sta Clara Co. Hist.* Borbosa, settler at Mont. 1800. i. 679. Borden, 1847, mr of the *Bowditch.* v. 576. Borel, 1847, at N. Helvetia. Borenback (Antoine), 1847, Co. F, 3d artill. (v. 518), acc. to Lancey; not on the rolls. Borgas (José M.), grantee of Pájaro in '43 (Vargas ?).

Borica (Diego), 1794, Span. colonel, gov. of Cal. from Oct. '94 to Jan. 16, 1800; dying at Durango in July 1800. See i. 530-3 and 726-30, with intervening pages, passim, for the events of Borica's rule; also list of auth. in vol. i. He was one of the ablest and best rulers the country ever had, always striving for progress in different directions, avoiding controversy, and personally interesting himself in the welfare of all classes; a jovial bon-vivant, knight of Santiago, and man of wealth. His wife, who accompanied him to Cal., was Doña Magdalena de Urquides. Bork (Louis), 1845, Engl. who got a pass for Sonora at Los Ang. B. (Manuel), 1845, ditto.

Boronda (José Canuto), son of Corp. Manuel B. and his wife Gertrudis Higuera, b. at S. F. 1792; soldier of Mont. comp. from 1812 in the escolta of S. Antonio, S. Miguel, and S. Juan. ii. 232; in the S. F. comp. '26-7; in '28 alcalde of Branciforte. ii. 627; wife Francisca Castro, children María, Concepcion, Antonia, Juan José, and Francisco; grantee of land in Mont. district '43. iv. 656; juez at S. Juan B. '44. iv. 661. In '78 he was living with his daughter Concepcion—grantee of the Potrero. iv. 655—near S. Luis Obispo, and dictated for me his *Notas* of old-time adventures. ii. 339, 446. B. (José Eusebio), perhaps a brother of Canuto, in '36 majordomo of the Verjeles rancho. iii. 679; age 26, wife Josefa Buelna, children José de los Santos and

María del Cármen; in '40 grantee of Rinconada del Zanjon. iii. 678, and juez aux. '41. iv. 653; still living at Salinas in '77, but his *Apuntes Históricos* was very brief and unimportant. B. (José Manuel), prob. son of Manuel, at Salinas rancho '35–6, being juez de campo. iii. 674, 678; age 33, wife Juana Cota, children Juan de Mata b. '21, Carlota '22, Josefa '25, Isabel '28, Ascension '30, Franciso '31, Juan '33, José Manuel '36, grantee of Los Laureles in '39. iii. 667; and perhaps of Tucho in '35. iii. 679; still living in '50. B. (Juan de Mata), juez at S. Cárlos '46; named as the man who killed Capt. Burroughs at Natividad. v. 370, 637; son of José Manuel. B. (Manuel), corporal and carpenter, teacher at S. F. and Mont. 1790–1818. i. 643; ii. 78, 383, 427. B. ('Tia'), woman who kept a little shop at Mont. 1811–36, perhaps a sister of Manuel. ii. 420, 614; iii. 454–5.

Borrego, 1822, Mex. priest who came as a companion of Canónigo Fernandez; not of the best reputation; perhaps a nickname. ii. 458. Borris (James Wm), 1823, New Yorker whose father was Engl. and mother Dutch; baptized in '24 and employed by Capt. de la Guerra as a physician for the troops at Sta B. ii. 495, 526. Very likely his name was Burroughs.

Boscana (Gerónimo), 1806, Span. friar who served in the south until his death at S. Gabriel in '31; a man of learning, whose treatise on the Ind.—*Chinigchinick*—was published later, but whose conduct was not in all respects exemplary. Biog. iii. 641–2; ment. i. list of auth.; ii. 123, 159–60, 345–8, 555–6, 366, 394, 488, 517, 567, 655; iii. 96, 102, 310, 351; iv. 344–5. Bosco (John), 1847, with the Morm. Bat. (v. 469), in the fam. of Capt. Hunt. Bose (Geo. A.), 1848, German farmer in Sta Clara Val. '76. Bosque (Thomas), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. at L. Ang. '47. Bostwick (James C.), 1847, Co. D, N. Y. Vol. Botaires (Pascual), 1846, Cal. claim of $36 (v. 462). Botello (Joaquin), tailor instructor at Mont. 1792–1801. i. 615; ii. 174.

Botello (Narciso), 1833, Mex., native of Álamos, Sonora, who came with John Forster by land, and again with James Johnson in '34, age 24. Erroneously named as sec. at Los Ang. in '26. ii. 560. At first B. tended Rice's billiard-saloon, and soon opened a grocery at L. Ang. Síndico of the ayunt. '35; sec. of the ayunt. from '36, taking a prominent part in many public matters, especially in the southern opposition to Alvarado in '36–8. iii. 419, 518–19, 550, 555, 558, 565–6, 635–6; sec. of prefecture '39–43, of the tribunal superior '42, and grantee of land at S. Juan Cap. '41. iii. 605, 640; iv. 626, 632–3; vocal of the assembly '43–6, taking a leading part in all deliberations of that body, also one of the lessees of S. Buen. mission '45. iv. 361, 410–11, 425, 495, 521, 540, 553, 558, 645; active against the Amer. invasion June–Aug. '46, and also as assemblyman and sec. of Gov. Flores in '46–7, but did not go with F. to Mex. as he wished to do. v. 37–8, 50, 264, 321–2, 408, 625; grantee of La Ciénega '46. In '48–50 B. made several not very successful attempts at gold-mining, also engaging in trade at L. Ang. and S. Juan B.; in later years justice of the peace and notary public. He was a man of good abilities and fair education; always a partisan of his country, Mexico, against Cal. and the U. S., as also of the south against the north. In '78, living at the Sta María rancho near S. Diego in great poverty at the age of 63, Botello dictated for me his *Anales del Sur*, a very valuable narrative of the political and other complications of his Cal. experience. He had no family.

Botero (Pablo), 1801, prospective settler at Branciforte. ii. 171. Botiller (Anastasio), at Los Ang. '46. B. (Francisco and Vicente), ditto. B. (Joaquin), teacher at Los Ang. '30. ii. 564. B. (José Ant.), at Los Ang. '19, and S. Antonio rancho '29. ii. 354, 616; in '36 at Mont., age 50, wife María de la Luz Morales, child. José de Jesus b. '14, Peregrino '24—employed by Larkin as a courier '46—José Joaq. '26. B. (José del Cármen), 1842. iv. 653. B. (Narciso), courier '46. v. 72. Botta (Paolo Emilio), 1827, Ital. scientist on the *Héros* '27–8; author of *Osservazioni*. i. list of auth.; ii. 551; iii. 128–30. Bottene, 1846, mr of the *Cabinet* at S.F.

Botts (Charles T.), 1848, Virginian, who came on the *Matilda* with an appointment as U.S. naval storekeeper at Mont. I have the letter of introd. to Larkin which he brought from Com. Sloat, as well as many naval accounts signed by B. He went to the mines with Colton; was a member of the constitutional convention in '49; member of a leading law firm in S.F. from '50; from '58 a Sacramento journalist, publishing the *Standard*; state printer in '61; also district judge of Sac. district. After the war he spent some years in the south, but returned to the practice of his profession in Cal., residing chiefly at Oakland, where he died in '84 at the age of 75. His wife, who outlived their children, died a few years before her husband; but B. left two granddaughters, daughters of Dr Aylette of Stockton. Judge Botts was a brother of John M. Botts, the famous Virginian politician, and was himself a politician of the better sort, a successful lawyer of marked ability, and a citizen of wide influence.

Bouchaltz (Theodore), 1847, Co. A, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. at Mariposa '83. Bouchard (Hypolite), 1818, French com. of the Buenos Aires insurgents on the Cal. coast. See ii. 220–49, 252, 348, 383, 389. Nothing is known of his earlier or later career. Bouchet (Louis), 1828, French cooper with Mex. passp. at Mont. 28–9. ii. 558; iii. 178; owner of a vineyard with W. L. Hill at Los Ang.; naturalized in '31, and soon married; one of the vigilantes '36 (iii. 430); met by Mofras in '41, who calls him Wm, also called Bauchet and Banchot in some records. He signed a proclamation against Castro in '46; and acc. to *Los Ang. Co. Hist.*, 33, died Oct. '47; but I find his name in an original list of '48. Boudinet (W. E.), 1847, owner of a S.F. lot. Bouet (Jean), 1848, French trader at Los Ang. age 30. Doubtful record. Boulanger (Francis), 1847, Co. B, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Bousol, 1846, came to S. José Valley. *Hall.* Bouzet (E. de), 1846, com. of the French corvette *Brillante*. v. 576.

Bowden (John H.), 1848, from Honolulu; kept a bakery and owned a lot at S.F. Bowen (Asa M.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336), who took part in the battle of S. Pascual, on which he furnished me in '76 a *Statement*. Still at S.F. '84–5, and in serious trouble with the officers of justice. Bowen (Thos G.), 1834, Amer. trapper from N. Mex.; settled at S. José from '36. iii. 117; iv. 412. He kept a distillery, and his name, variously written, appears in Larkin's books and other records from year to year; one of Graham's riflemen '36 (iii. 457); grantee of Cañada de S. Felipe in '39, having been naturalized and married. iii. 677, 711; arrested but not exiled '40. iv. 17; in '41, being a S. José trader age '33, with one child, he became security for some of the Bartleson immig. iv. 275, 684, 686; failed in business '44; signed the call to foreigners '45. iv. 599. I find no record of him after '46. B. (Thos), 1846, prob. a son of the preceding, named by Frémont as a wild young fellow of S. José, whose mother owned land at the mission. B. (Wm), 1844–5, sailor from the *Sterling* at Mont. iv. 587. B. (Wm J.), 1847, came from Honolulu on the *Currency Lass*; later miner, and lumberman at Bodega; part owner of the *Sabine*, making several voyages, married at Sidney. In '82 he had for many years been a resident of Berkeley. Very likely same as preceding.

Bowers (James H.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); later hotel-keeper at Stockton; died at S. F. '70. Bowing (Henry), 1847, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënlisted at Los Ang. Bowles or Boles (Joseph), 1838, Amer. on Larkin's books at Mont.; somewhat prominent in the Graham affair of '40, and exiled to S. Blas, but came back in '41 after a visit to N.Y. to urge his claim for damages. iv. 18, 31, 33, 119. On the *Alert* at Sta B. '42; perhaps at N. Helv. '47. B. (Samuel), 1848, overl. immig. with Allsopp, whose partner he was in a S. F. boarding-house till '50; when he went to the mines. Bowman (Joaquin, Joseph, or Gilbert), 1826, Kentuckian trapper of Jed. Smith's party. ii. 558; iii. 155, 160, 176; settled at S. Gabriel as a miller, and still lived there in '44 at the age of 63.

Boy (John), 1847, owner of lots at S. F. Boyce (Geo. W.), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); at Salt Lake City '82. Boyd (Wm), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. B. (Geo.), 1848, perhaps at S. F. B. (R.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Boyer, 1848, mr of the *Persévérance*. v. 579. Boyers (Wm), 1847, Co. E, N. Y.Vol. (v. 499); at S. F. '82. Boyle (Dr), 1845, doubtful name of an immig. iv. 578. B. (Henry G.), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. v. 481, 496; in Utah 82, chaplain of the legislature. B. (James), 1846, Amer. carpenter at Mont. '46–8.

Brackenberry (Benj. B.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Brackenridge

(J. D.), 1841, botanist of U. S. ex. exped. iv. 241–2, 245. Brackett (John Ely), 1847, lieut 2d U. S. artillery; capt. Co. C, N.Y.Vol. v. 504; com. of the Sonoma garrison '47–8. v. 609–10, 667, 669; later a lawyer, being a member of the legislature of '49–50, and major-gen. of Cal. militia. He died at Rock Island, Ill., Jan. '55. His son or brother—for I have lost the reference—Col Albert G. Brackett, com. of the mil. district of Nevada '66, furnished me in '76 a *Sketch of the 1st Reg. N. Y. Vol.*, and several other MSS. containing useful information. See i. list of auth. Bradford (Wm), 1846, lieut on the U.S. *Warren*.

Bradley (Thomas Westly), 1843, Tennesseean immig. from Mo. in the Chiles party. iv. 392, 400; employed a while by Sutter, but in '44–9 lived in Napa Valley, joining the Bears. v. 111; but not apparently going south with the battalion, and marrying Rebecca Allen of Mo. in Dec. '46. From '49 he lived in Contra Costa county, and in '85 was still on his farm near Lafayette with a large family. Of his six sons, James Warren was b. in '47 and John Willard in '48; there were 4 daughters, 3 of them married before '85. Portrait in *Contra Costa Co. Hist.*, 296. Bradley, 1841 (?), a man who accompanied Brooks —*Four Months*, etc.—in his gold-hunting tour of '48, being named on nearly every page; claimed to have been in Cal. eight years, to have been an officer of volunteers in the war, and to be a friend of Capt. Folsom. iv. 279.

Bradshaw (John), 1827, one of the best known Boston traders on the coast; master of the *Franklin* in '27–8, of the *Pocahontas* '30–2, and of the *Lagoda* '34–5. Often in trouble with the authorities on account of his smuggling exploits, as elsewhere narrated. ii. 551; iii. 132–4, 147–8, 165–7, 176–7, 210, 382–3. Capt. B. never returned to Cal. after '35, but I have his letter to Capt. Cooper in '36; and a letter of Jan. '84 from his daughter, Mrs H. E. Roundy, informs me that he died at his home in Beverley, Mass., May '80, at the age of 94. B. (Julian), 1845, overl. immig. in the Grigsby-Ide party; bonds given by Yount; prob. went to Or. in '46. iv. 526, 578. B. (Samuel), 1848, in the mines with Brooks; formerly carpenter on a whaler. B. (Wm D.), 1846, lieut Co. D, Cal. Bat. v. 361; had a Cal. claim of $132 (v. 462). Brady, 1848, with Newell & Gilbert. B. (James), 1846, at N. Helv. in Jan.; perhaps same as preceding. B. (James), 1847, Co. K, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). B. (John R.), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol.; died at Stockton after '50.

Braham (A.), 1845, at N. Helv.; prob. 'Bruheim,' q.v. Bralee (Thomas), 1846, Engl. sailor disch. from the *Savannah;* a resid. of Mont. and Carmelo Val., except 2 years at the mines, to '77 and later, being a dairyman, with two sons and a daughter. Braley (Albert), 1845, mate on the *Morea*.

Branch (Francis Ziba), 1831, trapper of the Wolfskill party from N. Mex. iii. 387, 405; a nat. of N. Y. After a few years of hunting he opened a store and boarding-house at Sta B., though often engaging in a hunt, to keep up memories of old times. He married Manuela Carlon in '35. iv. 117; and the padron of '36 shows that he had then one son. Selling his store in '37, he applied for naturalization—obtained in '39—and got a grant of the Sta Manuela rancho near S. Luis Obispo. iii. 679; iv. 655; where he spent the rest of his life, a rich man of good repute. He died in '74 at the age of 72, leaving many children and grandchildren. His portrait is given in *S. Luis Ob. Co. Hist.*, 216. Branda (Juan), at Sonoma '44.

Brander (Wm), 1833, Scotch carpenter, 29 years old, at Mont., his name appearing often on Larkin's books and other records in '33–45. iii. 409; arrested but not exiled in '40. iv. 17; got a carta, and in '41–2 was a lumberman near Sta Cruz. In Oct. '45 he was found dead on Amesti's rancho, believed to have been killed by Ind. iv. 543.

Branham (Benj. F.), 1846, son of Isaac and overl. immig. at the age of one year; sheriff of Sta Clara Co. '85. B. (Isaac), 1846, Kentuckian immig. (v. 526), with his wife Amanda A. Bailey and son Benj. F., settling at S. José, where he was a member of the town council '46–7. v. 664; and where he still lived in '81. Portrait in *Sta Clara Co. Hist.*, 304. He had a son Charles b. '54, and a daughter Mary b. '60; besides 4 children born before he came to Cal. Branisan (Floria), 1846, pass. on the *Guipuzcoana* from Callao. Banks (Robert), 1848, visited S. F. from Honolulu on the *Julian*. Brannan (Peter), 1846, Irish bricklayer who served in the Cal. Bat. at the Natividad fight; later worked at his trade; in the mines '48; soon after drowned at S. F. *Swan.* Perhaps his name was Brennan.

Brannan (Samuel), 1846, Mormon elder and chief of the colony sent from N.Y. on the *Brooklyn.* See full account of the colony, v. 544 et seq.; mention v. 471, 644-5. B. was born at Saco, Me, in '19; learned the printer's trade in Ohio from '33; travelled as a printer through many parts of the country; and from '42 published the *N.Y. Messenger* and later the *Prophet,* as organs of the Mormon church. Of his conversion and early experience as a latter-day saint not much is known, the subject being avoided both by himself and his old associates; but he was clearly a leading spirit in the church, and was just the man to take charge of the Californian scheme. There is no good reason to doubt his devotion to the cause, but it was his firm intention to build up his own fortunes with those of his sect; he was greatly displeased with President Young's change of plans respecting Cal.; and having failed during a visit to Salt Lake to modify the president's views, it required but few years to divest himself entirely his of old-time religious fervor and become an apostate. Meanwhile, at S. F. he was a leading spirit from the first, preaching eloquently on Sundays, publishing the *Star,* buying town lots, taking part in political controversies, working zealously for the advancement of the town's educational and other interests, always aggressive but liberal in his views, showing no signs of sectarianism. For mention in this part of his career '46-7, see v. 494, 649-51, 666-8, 681-2. In '47 he established the firm of C. C. Smith & Co. at Sac., later Brannan & Co., in which Mellus & Howard and Wm Stout were partners. The immense profits of his store after the discovery of gold in '48-9, with his mining operations at Mormon Island, and the increase of S.F. real estate, made him a little later the richest man in Cal. Of his career after '48 something will be found in vol. vi. of this work; also in my *Popular Tribunals,* B. having been prominent in connection with the vigilance committees. I do not attempt even to outline his most remarkable career as capitalist and speculator. In many parts of the state and even beyond its limits he acquired immense interests, showing in their management the ability and energy so characteristic of the man. He probably did more for S.F. and for other places than was effected by the combined efforts of scores of better men; and indeed, in many respects he was not a bad man, being as a rule straightforward as well as shrewd in his dealings, as famous for his acts of charity and open-handed liberality as for his enterprise, giving also frequent proofs of personal bravery. In '59 he purchased the Calistoga estate, in connection with the improvement of which his name is perhaps most widely known. Here he established a distillery on a grand scale, and here in '68 he received eight bullets and nearly lost his life in a quarrel for possession of a mill. Meanwhile he had given himself up to strong drink; for 20 years or more he was rarely sober after noon; and he became as well known for his dissolute habits and drunken freaks as he had been for his wealth and ability. Domestic troubles led to divorce from the wife married in '44, who with their child had come with him in '46 and borne him other children in Cal.; division of the estate was followed by unlucky speculations, and Brannan's vast wealth melted gradually away. In the days of his prosperity he had liberally supported the cause of Mexico against the French invasion and its tool Maximilian, and just before 1880 he obtained in return a grant of lands in Sonora, embarking with somewhat of his old energy in a grand scheme of colonization, which has thus far proved a total failure. For the last year or two down to '85 Brannan has lived at Guaymas or on the frontier, remarried to a Mexican woman, a sorry wreck physically and financially, yet clear-headed as ever and full of courage for the future. Thousands of pioneers in Cal. remember this erratic genius with the kindliest of feelings, and hope that he may yet add a brilliant closing chapter to the record of one of the most remarkable characters in Californian annals.

Brant (Henry), 1845, one of Frémont's men. iv. 583. Brasher (S. M.), 1841, mid. on the *St Louis.* Brass (Benj.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënlisted at Los Ang. Brasseau (Chas), 1847, at N. Helv. Braun (Jean

Louis), 1831, Frenchman, 26 years old, from N. Mex. perhaps with Wolfskill or Jackson. iii. 387. Braun (Philip), 1847, Co. H, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). Braunc (Chas J. W.), 1845, perhaps one of Frémont's men. iv. 583, 587; accidentally burned to death in El Dorado Co. '79.

Bravo (David), soldier at Mont. '36, age 43. B. (Juan de Dios), 1832, in the comp. extranjera at Mont. iii. 221; regidor at Los Ang. '35. iii. 635 B. (Juan N.), 1842–5, sub-lieut of the batallon fijo. iv. 289. B. (Manuel), 1842, ditto. iv. 289. B. (Marcelino), invál. at Brancif. 1799. i. 571.

Bray (Edmund), 1844, Irish immig. in the Stevens party, age 37. iv. 445, 453. He was employed by Sutter from '45, serving in the Micheltorena campaign. iv. 486; went to the mines in '48. He was disabled by a fall in '56, and in '72 had been for 6 years in the Sac. county hospital, where he wrote for me his *Memoir*, an excellent narrative of the journey overland. B. (Edward), 1847, mr of the *Henry*. v. 578; owner of a S.F. lot. Brazier (Richard), 1847, sergt Co. E, Morm. Bat. v. 477; prob. did not come to Cal. Breager, with a party of trappers between '32 and '40. iii. 392.

Breck (James Wm), 1829–30, Boston man who perhaps visited Cal. on a whaler, and possibly remained at that time, ii. 573, iii. 179, though some say he came back from Honolulu in '37 to become a permanent resid. of Sta B., where he married and had many children; still living in '76 at the age of 76. Also named as owner of a rancho near S. Luis Ob., and as an otter-hunter in '41–5. Information about him is very unsatisfactory. Breckenridge (Thomas E.), 1845, one of Frémont's men, serving in the Cal. Bat., and as one of the Sta B. garrison '46. v. 306, 453, 583; had a Cal. claim (v. 462) of $20, and was at Washington May '48 to testify at the court-martial.

Breen (Patrick), 1846, Irishman who came to Amer. in '28, and from Iowa overland in the Donner party (v. 530–44, where all the members of this family are named), with his wife Margaret and 7 children, the whole family surviving the perils of that terrible journey. Breen's original *Diary of the Donner Party* is one of the most highly prized treasures of my Library. The Breens lived at Murphy's on the Cosumnes till Sept. '47, then at S. José till Feb. '48, when they settled at S. Juan B. Here Patrick died in '68 and his widow in '74. Portraits and biog. sketches of the family in *McGlashan's Donner Party*. The Breens have always been regarded as honest, hard-working people. B. (Edward J.), 1846, son of Patrick. His sufferings on the overland trip were aggravated by a broken leg; living at S. Juan in '85 with 2d wife and 5 children. B. (Isabella), 1846, infant daughter of Patrick; married Thos McMahon '69; at Hollister '85. B. (James F.), 1846, son of Patrick, b. in Iowa '41; educated at Sta Clara college; lawyer at S. Juan B. He has been district attorney, assemblyman, county judge, and from '79 superior judge of S. Benito. Married in '70, and living in '85 with wife and two children. B. (John), 1846, oldest son of Patrick, 14 years old, and strongest of the family except the mother, yet barely escaping death. In the mines at Mormon Isl. '48, and in the winter built a house where Placerville stood later. Returning to S. Juan and buying the old residence of Gen. Castro, he married a daughter of Ed. Smith in '52, and in '85 still lived there with wife and 9 children. In his *Pioneer Memoirs*, Breen has contributed an interesting narrative of 80 p. to my collection. B. (Patrick, Jr), 1846, son of Patrick, 9 years old on arrival; a farmer at S. Juan, married in '65, and living in '85 with wife and 4 children. B. (Peter), 1846, son of Patrick, a child in '46; died unmarried in '70. B. (Simon P.), 1846, son of Patrick; living '85 at S. Juan with wife and 2 children. B. (Wm M.), 1848, son of Patrick, b. at S. Juan; died '74, leaving a widow and child.

Brenard (Sam.), 1848, named as one of the murderers of the Reed family. v. 640. Brenerd (T.), 1848. at Mont. Brennan, see 'Brannan.' Bressak, 1845, at Mont. Brestone (Robert), 1838, named in *Larkin's Accts.* Bretely (Jose), 1841, at Sta B.

Brewer (Charles), 1832, mr of the *Victoria*. iii. 384. A Boston man of the well-known firm of Peirce & B. at Honolulu. Revisited Cal. in '79 with his daughter; living at Jamaica Plains, Mass., at the age of 80 in '84, when he also printed for his family a small vol. of *Reminiscences*, of which he presented a copy for my collection. B. (C, 2d, G. W., and H. B.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Brewerton (Geo. D.), 1847, lieut Co. C, N.Y. Vol., trans. to Co. K. v. 504; went east in '48 with Carson's party to N. Mex. (see *Brewerton's Ride*, in i. list of auth.); later lieut 1st U.S. infantry; colonel in '78; living in N.Y. '79. Brewster, 1829, said to have been master of the whaler *Alvins* (?). B. (F. M.), 1848, on the *Julian*.

Brian (Henry), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Briant (John S.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënlisted at Los Ang. Bridger (James), 1835 (?), noted trapper of the plains and mountains. It is not clear that he visited Cal. before '49, but he is likely to have done so. iii. 413. Bridges (J. C.), 1843, Kentuckian immig. from Or. in the Hastings party; employed by Sutter and perhaps by Smith at Bodega, but died in the winter of '43-4. iv. 390, 396, 400. Brien (D. L.), 1847, asst surg. U.S. *Columbus*.

Briggs (1846), in Sutter's employ. B., 1832, mr of the *Phœbe*, reported as dead the same year. B. (C. P.), 1844, sailor at S.F. from the *Morea*. iv. 453; later in Leidesdorff's employ; and perhaps one of the Bears in '46 (v. 101); but all seems to rest on his own statement in '72. He was perhaps the P. A. Briggs who joined Co. G, Cal. Bat. (v. 358), at S. José in Nov; and the C. P. A. Briggs married at S.F. '47 to Catherine Coombs. (See i. list of auth.) B. (Calvin T.), 1837 (?), overl. immig., nat. of Vt, died '68, aged 60. *Soc. Pion.*, records; also reported to have come in '32 on a whaler, to have been a trapper on the coast, and later resid. of S. Joaquin. *S. F. Examiner*, iii. 408. B. (Castor, or Caspar), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at S. F. '74-82. B. (Charles), 1847, settler at Benicia; B. & Russell, lumber dealers. v. 672. B. (Francis), 1845, perhaps one of Frémont's men; in Cal. Bat. (v. 358); one of Talbot's garrison at Sta B. iv. 583; v. 316. B. (Geo.), 1847, mr of the *Isabella*. v. 511. Briggs, 1848, of sloop *Stockton* running from S. F. to Sonoma. v. 646. Brigham (E. R.), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Brincken (Wilhelm), 1840, one of the Graham exiles who did not return. iv. 18. Bringas (Luis M.), ment. in connection with J. M. Herrera's trial '27. iii. 61-2. Brinsmade (A. A.), 1848, at S. F. August-Sept., treasurer S. F. guards.

Briones (Antonio), corporal at S. Juan Cap., killed by Ind. i. 315. B. (Antonio), soldier and Ind. fighter 1810; smuggler '20-1. ii. 91, 411, 440-1, 564. B. (Canuto), S. F. militia '37. B. (Desiderio), ditto; at S. F. '41; wounded by Ind. '39; juez de campo S. José '43. iv. 76, 685. B. (Felipe), regidor at S. José '20. ii. 378; on S. Mateo rancho, elector S. F. '35. iii. 704; killed by Ind. '40. iv. 76. B. (Gregorio), soldier of S. F. comp. '16-27. ii. 371; militiaman S. F. '37; alcalde contra costa '35. iii. 704; regidor S. F. '36. iii. 705; alcalde S. Mateo '38. iii. 705; owner of lots at S. F. '41-5. iv. 669; v. 683; at Sonoma '44, age 47; juez at S. Rafael, and grantee of Baulines '46. iv. 677; v. 669-70. B. (Juana), mentioned as a widow at S. F., and also as the wife of Apolinario Miranda, noted for her kindness to sick and deserting sailors; had an adobe house in the North Beach region in '36; owner of lot '41-5. iii. 709; iv. 669; later claimant for Purísima rancho, Sta Clara Co. iii. 712; still living at Mayfield '78 at a very advanced age. B. (Manuel), soldier at S. Juan B. before 1800. i. 558. B. (Manuela Valencia de), widow at S. José '41, age 47; children, Ramon b. '13, Desiderio '16, Isidora '20, Casimiro '24, Felipa '18, María Ant. '27, Angela '30, Encarnacion '32, Marcelino '34, Vicente '36, Cármen '38. B. (Marcos), soldier at Soledad, invál. at Brancif. 1791-1800. i. 499, 571; comisionado at Brancif. 1812. ii. 390; still living at S. José '41, a native of Sinaloa, age 87. B. (Pablo), in Marin Co. and Sonoma from '37, prob. son of Gregorio. B. (Ramon), soldier at S.F. '37, '44.

Bristler (John), 1846, bugler in Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Bristow (Elijah), 1845, an old Kentuckian at N. Helv. iv. 578; an overl. immig. and called by some a Mormon. J. H. Brown says that B. came with himself and in the Grigsby-Ide party. Wintering at the fort, where he was badly hurt by being thrown from a horse, he went to Or. in '46. v. 526; where he died in '72. *Hist. Or.*, i. 568-9. Britton, 1845, at N. Helv. Dec., perhaps an error. B. (W. F.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Brizzee (Henry W.), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl. at L. Ang.; in Arizona '82.

Broadhurst (Stephen), 1848, overl. immig. from Mo. with his wife; in Merced Co. '73. Brock (Elisha E.), 1848, Virginian, overl. immig., accomp. by his family; a miner on the Yuba; farmer at Sta Clara, and from '62 near Gilroy, where he died in '69. His widow, Eliza S. Day, survived him: there were 9 children, 3 of them born in Cal. B. (Hiram), 1846, Cal. Bat. '46–7 (v. 358); in S. Joaq. Valley '48. Brockee (Joseph), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); drowned in Stanislaus Riv. '47. Broder (Andrew H.), 1847, Soc. Cal. Pion. rolls. Brohan (John), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol.; died at Stockton '50.

Brolaski (Henry Lyons), 1841, overl. immig. of the Bartleson party. iv. 267, 270, 275, 342; at Mont. Feb. '42, but soon sailed for Callao, from which place he writes in '44 to Larkin and T. H. Green. He succeeded his brother in business at Callao for three years from '44; at St Louis Sept. '48, anxious to come to Cal. and establish a saw-mill; but said to have been living in Mo. as late as '70. He sometimes signed Brolaskey. Brooks (S. S.), 1848 (?), storekeeper at Colima. *El Dorado Co. Hist.* Brooker (Alex. V.), 1846, at S. José; in '47 digging a cellar for Larkin at S.F. Brookey, overl. immig. with Bryant. v. 528; ment. by Sherman as a worthless fellow at S.F. '47; prob. same as preceding. Brookman (Israel), 1846, doubtful mention as a Bear Flag man living in '62. Brooks (Chas W.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). B. (Edward J.), 1847, Co. I, N.Y.Vol. B. (Geo.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. B. (H. L.), 1848, ditto. B. (J. Tyrwhitt), 1848, Engl. physician, who came by sea from Or., and made a tour in the mines; author of *Four Months among the Gold-Finders.* B. (Wm S.), 1847, on the U.S. *Preble;* later in govt employ at S.F. and Mare Isl., where he was in '79; twice married with 8 children. *Solano Co. Hist.*, 334.

Brotchie (Wm), 1837, Engl. master of the *Cadboro*, *Llama*, *Nereid*, and *Cowlitz*, on the coast '37–42, in service of H. B. Co. from Vancouver. iv. 101, 105, 564. Brothers (P.), to Honolulu from S. F. on the *Francisca.* Broughton (Wm Robert), 1792, com. of the H. B. M. S. *Chatham;* and of the *Providence* 1796. i. 510–13, 538–9, 685; author of *Voy. of Discov. to the North Pac. Ocean*, Lond. 1804. B. (Sam. Q.), 1846–7, Co. B, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Brower (Geo.), 1845, at Mont. from N. Y. Browett (Daniel), 1847, sergt Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 477); in Sutter's employ '47–8 as carpenter and boat-builder; killed by Ind. on his way to Utah July '48. v. 496.

Brown, 1793, mr of an Engl. vessel. i. 514, 705. B., 1803, mr of the *Alexander.* ii. 12, 15–17, 94, 103, 108, 130, 144. B., 1831, deserter from the *Fanny.* B., 1845, cook for Sutter from Oct. B., '46–8, often named at N. Helv.; may be the preceding or one or more of the following. B., 1848, came with Peter J. Davis; family. B., 1848, mining at Coloma. B., 1847, from Honolulu to S. F. on the *Guipuzcoana.* Brown (Albert), 1844, Amer. 28 years old at S.F. B. (Alex.), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in '82 at Lynne, Utah. B. (Benj.), 1832, named in a board bill at Mont.

Brown (Charles), 1833, nat. of N. Y., b. in '14, who deserted from the whaler *Helvetius* at S. F. iii. 409, 382; ii. 590–1. In later years Brown always claimed to have come in '29; but the archive evidence is conclusive against the statement, both himself and his comrade deserters testifying in early years and in different doc. that they came in '33, to say nothing of the fact that the *Helvetius* does not appear in the lists of '29. He lived for a time at Pinole with Felipe Briones; served P. Quijas at S. Rafael; went to Sonoma with the H. & P. colony; got a land grant in '34 in Napa Valley, which he sold to Capt. Stokes. iii. 712; was severely wounded in an Ind. exped. to the north. iii. 360; and worked at shingle-making for Geo. Yount—all this by his own account before the end of '35, but most of these events are prob. antedated. The 1st original evidence of his presence is a permission to cut timber given by Vallejo in May '37; in '38 he was baptized by P. Quijas as Cárlos de Jesus, and about the same time married a daughter of Antonio García of S. José; arrested in '40 but not exiled, being at that time at work in the redwoods of Sta Clara Co. iv. 9, 17, 23; naturalized in '41, claiming 9 years' residence; in '44 named in a S. F. list, owning a lot at the mission. iv. 676, 673; in '45 took part in the Micheltorena campaign by exchanging himself as a prisoner for Manuel Castro. iv. 487. To about '49 he lived on a rancho near Searsville, and later at the Mission Dolores, where in '78 he gave me his narrative of *Early Events*, and where he died in '83 at the age of 69. His second wife was Rosalía de Haro, widow of A. A. Andrews, who survived him with several grown children, and who I think still lives in '85. Brown (Chas), 1845. iv. 587; real name 'Dittmann,' q.v. B. (Chas), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). B. (Chas), 1848, at Sta Cruz '81. *S. J. Pioneer.*

Brown (Ebenezer), 1847, sergt Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); at Mont. '48. B. (Edmund Lee), 1847, sergt Co. E, Morm. Bat. v. 495; reënl. at Los Ang.; a Virginian who remained in Cal.; alcalde at S. Diego and in charge of the mission '47-8. v. 618-20; claimant for Laguna de Santos Calle rancho. iv. 671; died at Davisville '72 age 68.

Brown (Elam), 1846, nat. of N.Y., b. in 1797, moving to Mass., Ohio, Ill., Mo., and finally overland to Cal. with his children in a party of which he was captain. v. 528. He went to Sta Clara; served in Aram's comp. (v. 378); was named for the proposed legis. council in '47. v. 433; bought the Acalanes rancho. iii. 711; and was juez of the contra costa in '48. v. 662. In '49 he was a member of the constitutional convention, and also of the first two legislatures. From '48 to '85, being now 88 years old, Brown has lived on his Contra Costa farm, a rich man and respected citizen. His second wife, married in '47, was Mrs Margaret Allen, who died in '84 at the age of 89. His daughter Margeline became the wife of Napoleon B. Smith, and was still living in Contra Costa Co. '85. His sons were Thomas A., Warren J., and Lawrence M. The *Contra Costa Co. Hist.*, 515, contains Brown's reminiscences of his overland trip and Californian experience, in which as is common with '46 immig., an exaggerated importance is attached to the Sanchez campaign of Sta Clara. See also list of auth. vol. i. Brown (E.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu.

Brown (Francis), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). B. (Geo.), 1844, Amer. sailor on the *Admittance*, discharged sick in '45. B. (James), 1847, capt. Co. C, Morm. Bat.; left behind in N. Mex., but came to Cal. by the Truckee route before the end of '47. v. 477, 482, 494; delivered an oration at a battalion reunion at Salt Lake City '55. B. (James), 1847, returned with Stockton or Frémont; a witness at Washington Jan '48. v. 454; possibly same as preceding. B. (James), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). B. (James S.), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat.; in Sutter's employ; at the Coloma mill when gold was discov.; at Salt Lake City '82. B. (James), 1837, named in Larkin's books; cook on the *California* in '40. B. (Jeffery), 1836, on Larkin's books '36-40; arrested at Los Ang. in '40. iv. 14, 118.

Brown (John), 1828 (?), Swede known as Juan Flaco or 'lean John,' and famous for his ride from Los Ang. to Mont. with despatches in '46. iii. 178; v. 303-4. He claimed to have come on a Mex. vessel in '28 after an adventurous career in the Engl. navy and the service of Bolívar in S. Amer.; also to have been one of Graham's men in '36-7 (iii. 457), and one of Sutter's men in the campaign of '44-5 (iv. 476); he died at Stockton in '59. I find no original evidence of his presence before '46; but there was a John Brown on Larkin's books '37-9; a Jean Louis Braun at Los Ang. '36; and a John 'Moreno,' Dutch sawyer at S.F. '42. B. (John), 1804, negro deserter from O'Cain's ship at S.D.; sent to S. Blas. ii. 26. B. (John), 1825-7, mr of the *Jóven Tartar* (?). iii. 149. B. (John), 1846, Co.C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). B. (John), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); Utah farmer '81. B. (John G.), 1841, in U.S. ex. exped. iv. 241.

Brown (John Henry), 1843-5, Engl. sailor who came to Amer. about '30, wandered westward, and about '40 went to live with the Cherokee Ind. In '43, with a party of Cherokee fur-traders under Dan Coodey the half-breed, he crossed the country by the Humboldt and Truckee route, spending the winter at what was later Johnson's rancho—not visiting Sutter's fort, though some of the Ind. did so—returning in the spring of '44 eastward, and meeting the Stevens party (iv. 445) on the way. After many adventures in the great basin and Texas, Brown came back to Cal. in '45 with the Grigsby-Ide party (iv. 578). All this rests solely on his own statement; but there is little doubt that he came overland in '45, in a party that was with the Grigsby-Ide part of the way, and about which there is much confusion that I am unable to clear up (iv. 578, 587). He may have been the B. employed by Sutter as cook in Oct. '45; but the 1st definite record is that of his departure from N. Helv. for S.F. Jan. 14, '46. At S.F. he was a well-known character as bar-tender and hotel-keeper '46–50. At 1st with Ridley; kept the Portsmouth House from Oct. '46; the City Hotel, cor. Kearny and Clay streets, sometimes known as Brown's Hotel, at different times in '47–50; nominal owner of a dozen city lots or more in '48. v. 672, 680. In Dec. '46 he married Hetty C., daughter of E. Ward Pell, and in April '47 advertised her as having left him; but he soon married again and had children by his 2d wife. In '50–81 he lived at Sta Cruz, and then returned to S.F., where in '85 he keeps a grocery, being 75 years old. John Henry is one of those who claim 'to know more than any other live man' about early times in S.F., and one of these days he is going to publish what he knows, thus gaining no end of fame and money. He gave me, however, some useful items. B. (J. H.), 1847–8, made a trip to Honolulu on the *Mary Ann*, returning in Dec. '48; perhaps same as the preceding.

Brown (Lawrence M.), 1846, son of Elam; died in Contra Costa Co. '77, leaving a widow and 2 children still living in '85. B. (Martin), 1845, immig. from Or. in the McMahon-Clyman party; probably returned to Or. '46. v. 572, 526. B. (Philip), 1847, lot-owner at S.F. v. 676. B. (R.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. B. (Richard), 1845–7, a Delaware Ind. of Frémont's comp. B. (Robert), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). B. (Robt), 1828, 'Roberto el Baleado,' a horse-thief operating in Cal.; the reference may be to Peg-leg Smith or to Juan Flaco. B. (Sam.), 1946, overl. immig. of German descent who in '47 built houses for Larkin at Benicia. v. 671; in Napa Valley '48; went to Or. about '50, becoming a farmer at French Prairie, and a candidate for the state senate in '66. B. (Talbot), 1844, Amer. at Mont., who got a passport for one year. B. (Thomas), 1839, named in Larkin's books '39–40; said to have come in '34. *Sta Clara Co. Hist. Atlas.*

Brown (Thomas A.), 1847, son of Elam, b. in Ill. '23, overl. immig. to Or. '43, who visited Cal. '47. In '48 he came to Cal. to stay, settling at Martinez in '49. In Or. a surveyor; in Cal. at 1st miner and trader; holding several town and county offices, and becoming a lawyer; married in '51 to Caroline Camron. County judge '56–64, and '74–80; assemblyman '65–8; candidate for U. S. senate; judge of the superior court of Contra Costa from '80; still living '85, with wife and 3 sons. Portrait in *Contra Costa Co. Hist.*, 56. B. (Warren J.), 1847, son of Elam, b. in Ill. '26; started with his father in '46, but was left sick at Ft Bridger and went to Or., coming to Cal. in Sept. '47. Lumberman and miner '47–8; storekeeper '49–50 at Martinez, where he lived till '71, having married Laura A. Hastings in '54. He held the offices of county surveyor, assemblyman, and sheriff. From '75 he lived on a farm at Lafayette, where he was still in '85; no children. B. (Wm), 1844, sail-maker on the *Vandalia*, implicated in a robbery. B. (Wm), 1847, witness at Wash. in Frémont court-martial Jan. '48; perhaps went east with F. or Stockton. v. 454. B. (W. B.), 1847, in list of letters S. F. B. (Wm H.), 1847, N.Y.Vol., under another name; at Oakland '74. B. (W. H.), 1841, acting lieut on U.S. *St Louis*. B. (Wm W.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënlisted.

Brownell (Russell G.), 1847, musician Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Browning (John W.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Brownlea (J. J.), 1841, assist surg. on U. S. *St Louis*.

Bruce (David), 1845–7, sail-maker on the U.S. *Portsmouth*. Brucon (John), 1840, Amer. deserter from the *Morse*, age 19, at S. F. Bruen (John H), 1847, perhaps of N.Y.Vol. under another name; died at S. Isidro '78. Bruheim (Adolf), 1842, German, age 21, who came on the *California* from Honolulu as servant to a passenger, being permitted to remain. iv. 341; went to N. Helv.; employed by Cordua on Feather River '45–6; and named as one of the 1st Donner relief party. v. 539; no record of him after '47, but I think he lived at S. F. in later years under another name. Bruner (Christian), 1846, overl. immig. with his wife and brother; employed by Sutter '47, also owning a lot at S. F.; in '57 at S. F. he was sentenced to state prison for 11 years for murder committed when in liquor. *S. F. Herald.* B. (Jacob), 1846, brother of the preceding; settled at Sonoma. Brunson (Clinton D.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in Utah '81. Brusle (Jackson), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. Contra Costa Co. '54. B. (Wash.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol.

Bryan (Abner), 1845, at N. Helv. '45-6; iv. 578, 587; testified before the land com. after '50. I am informed by D. L. Adams, whose mother B. married, that he is still living '85 in Sta B. Co. B. (J. W.), 1847, farmer in Sta Clara Co. '47-76; a native of Mo. B. (Wm), 1848, at Monterey; perhaps 'Bryant.' Bryant (A.), 1847, acting mr of the U. S. *Dale.*

Bryant (Edwin), 1846, nat. of Mass., and a journalist of Ky, who came overland at the head of a party. v. 527-36. He took a prominent part in enlisting men for the Cal. Bat., in which he served as lieut of Co. H. v. 359, 361; alcalde of S. F. Feb.-May '47, also lot-owner. v. 648, 676; returned east with Gen. Kearny, and testified at the Frémont court-martial. v. 452, 456, 543. He came back across the plains in '49, and was for 4 or 5 years a prominent citizen, property owner, and politician; also visited Cal. several times after he went east to live; died at Louisville, Ky, in '69 at the age of 64. His *What I Saw in Cal.*, published just after his 1st visit, is a standard authority on events of '46-7. B. (Nathaniel C.), 1846, mid., acting master of the U. S. *Dale.* B. (Stephen), 1842, Amer. cook on the schr *California.* B. (Wm), 1846, overl. immig. accompanied by his wife Lucy Ann. v. 528; at Benicia '47-8, where he built houses for Larkin. v. 672; in the mines from end of '48, and died of cholera in '50. According to testimony in later litigation, he was the owner of Mare Island, living on it in '47-8. His widow married a man named Grissom, and in '77 was living in Sonoma Co. Bryen (Geo.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons. v. 336.

Buchalas, 1846, doubtful name of an immig. v. 529. Buchanan, 1845, Amer. immig. from Or. in the McMahon-Clyman party. iv. 572, 587; perhaps at N. Helv. '47-8. B. (John), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat.; at Manti, Utah, '82. B. (John C.), 1846, Kentuckian immig. with Bryant's party. v. 528; of the firm McDonald & B. at S.F., auctioneers, Jan.-May '48; owner of many city lots; alcalde's clerk '47. v. 648, 651, 676, 682-3. Perhaps a resid of S. F. in later years. B. (McKean), 1846, nat. of Penn., purser of the U. S. *Dale* '46-7; died in Mass. '71; father of the actor of the same name. Buck (Nicholas), 1847, sail-maker on the U. S. *Independence.* Buckbee (Flavius), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Buckelew (Benj. R.), 1846, New Yorker and overl. immig. with Hoppe and Harlan. (v. 526); kept a jewelry and watch-maker's shop at Clark's Point S. F. '47-8, being also publisher of the *Californian*, owner of many lots, and member of the town council. v. 648-9, 658, 672, 684. He was interested in several newspapers and was engaged in trade after '49. Claimant of the Pt Quintin rancho. iii. 712; and owner of part of the Nicasio rancho. Died in Marin Co. '59 at the age of 37, leaving a family. Buckland (Alondus D. L.), 1846, of the Mormon colony with family. v. 546; one of the founders of New Hope on the Stanislaus, which he was the last to leave, settling at Stockton in '47-8, and later builder of the Buckland House in S. F. B. (Hannah D.), 1846, mother of Alondus. v. 546; owner of S. F. lot; in Utah '84. Buckle (Robert), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); owner of a lot at S. F.

Buckle (Samuel), 1821-3, Engl. sailor and laborer at Mont. '29, claiming 6 years' residence, age 28; in '33 a contractor to furnish lumber; in '40-1 described as an Engl. sawyer, age 45, and residence 19 years; naturalized in '41, when he lived at Branciforte, having been baptized as José Samuel, often called Manuel, and his name being written also Boc, Bocle, Bockel, Bokle, Bugle, and Buchel. ii. 445, 495; iii. 180. In '45 named in the Brancif. padron as a bachelor aged 50. No more is heard of him by the name of Buckle; but he seems to have been the Samuel Thompson who appears often in Larkin's books and corresp. as a lumberman at Sta Cruz from '33 to '48. The newspapers tell us how Samuel sailed for many years in search of his brother Wm, but gave up the search and settled at Mont., soon meeting his brother accidentally at Sta Cruz; but about dates and details of this strange meeting there is much confusion. Nor have I any clew to the motive of the two for using two names, Buckle and Thompson. Samuel died at the house of Chas Martin in the Sta Cruz Mts in '72.

Buckle (Wm), 1823, baptized as José Guillermo, brother of Samuel, at Mont. '29, age 25, and married; also claiming 16 years' residence in '39, when he was naturalized, having moved with his brother to Branciforte and obtained the grant of La Cabonera in '38. ii. 495; iii. 677; in '43 he signed a doc. against Graham, iv. 356, and obtained a license to build a vessel of 35 tons. In '45 he is named in the Brancif. padron as 42 years of age; wife Antonia Castro, children Guillermo b. '33, José Ant. '35, María Teresa 31, María Sebola (?) '36, Francisco '38, Guillerma '39, Josefa '40, and María Jesus '44—all b. at Branciforte. It was at his house that Henry Naile was killed in '46. v. 641. There is no later record of Buckle, but Wm Thompson appears in Larkin's accounts and other records from '33 to '47; was one of the foreigners arrested in '40; and was 2d juez at Sta Cruz in '46. He died about '59. ii. 479; iii. 409; iv. 17; v. 641. Buckler, 1845, a settler in the Sac. Val. Buckley (Newman), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); a book-agent in Springville, Utah, '82. Buckner (Thos M.), 1848, Kentuckian miner from Or.; at Spanish Dry Diggings, El Dorado Co., '82. Budington, 1843-4, mr of the *Wm C. Nye*. iv. 570; in Conn. '82. Budd (Chas K.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); in Sonoma '68. Buel (Frederic), 1841, said to have visited Mont. by sea before '46. *Oakland Home Jour.*, Nov. 1, '73; said also to have served after graduation at Yale on the whaler *Braganza*. *Wood's Recoll.*, 39; and this vessel was on the coast in '41. v. 279. B. was a presbyterian clergyman, agent for the Amer. Bible Soc. on the Pac. coast for 20 years; d. at Oakland '73.

Buelna (Antonio), Mex. soldier before 1780; in the Soledad escolta, settler at S. F., holder of a rancho near Mont. before 1801. i. 499, 683, 716, 734; ii. 171; teacher at Mont. and S. José 1818-21, '29. ii. 378-9, 427, 603, 613. B. (Antonio), perhaps son of the preceding, also a soldier at one time, possibly confounded with his father or another Antonio in some records; member of the diputacion from '28. iii. 36, 41-3, 50, 63; alcalde of Mont. '31. iii. 187, 194, 212, 672; dip. again in '35-9; com. of S. José troops in Alvarado's revolt, sent to the south as comisionado '37. iii. 291, 454-5, 457, 460, 469, 481, 491, 506, 585, 692; grantee of S. Gregorio and S. Francisquito in '39. iii. 678, 713; in com. of exped. against Ind. and foreigners '39-40. iv. 22, 256. In '41 at S. José, age 50, wife Concepcion Valencia, children Juan b. '16, Concepcion '38; juez de paz at Sta Clara '41-2. iv. 683-6; but died in '42. Though somewhat prominent as shown above, B. was a very ignorant and commonplace man. B. (E.), prob. son of Ant., and claimant of S. Gregorio in '52. iii. 678. B. (Félix), resid. of S. José from '37; 2d alcalde '39, '44, '45. iii. 731; iv. 685; in '41, age 27, wife Bernarda Sepúlveda, child. Juliana and María; '46 2d juez. v. 664; sub-prefect '49; moved to Mont. '54. He furnished a *Narracion* for my use in '76. B. (Joaquin), brother of Antonio, writer of various verses; comisionado at Brancif. 1818. ii. 244-5, 390; teacher at S. José '21. ii. 603; alcalde or juez auxiliar at Brancif. '26, '32, '38-9. ii. 627, 696-7; grantee of Sayante rancho '33. iii. 679; sec. ayunt. '36. iii. 697; juez aux. at Pilarcitos, Refugio, etc. '40-2, '46. iii. 676; iv. 653; v. 637. B. (José F.), elector at S. José '43. iv. 361, 685. B. (José Ramon), grantee of Potrero y Rincon de S. Pedro '38. iii. 678; alcalde at Brancif. '45. v. 664; age 30, wife Rafaela Perez, child. Guadalupe, Matilde, and Juan. B. (Juan), at S. F. and Mont. from '26. ii. 612; in '41 at S. José, age 49, wife Ascension Bernal, child. Trinidad, Antonia M., Francisco, and Alta Gracia. B. (María Antonia), teacher at Mont. '18-24. B. (Ramon), soldier before 1780; settler at Los Ang. from '93-1819; regidor in 1802. ii. 110, 349-50, 354. Buenaventura (José), 1829, Irishman, family name not known; at Los Ang. with certif. of good character, age 47.

Buffin, 1845, possibly in the Grigsby-Ide party, but prob. went to Or. iv. 578-9. Buffum (Edward Gould), 1847, lieut Co. B, N.Y.Vol. v. 504; having been previously connected with the *N. Y. Herald*. After his discharge went to the mines in '48, and in '49-50 was a reporter on the *Alta*, serving also as sec. of various public meetings. Then he went east and published his *Six Months in the Gold Mines*, Phila, 1850. Returning to Cal. '53, he rejoined the *Alta* corps, acting at times as editor, notably during the time of the vigilance com. of '56; member of the legislature '55; went in '57 to Paris, where he wrote letters for the *Alta* and *N.Y. Herald*, and where he committed suicide in '67, at the age of about 45. He was a man of good character and abilities. Buhne (H. H.), 1847, Danish mate of the *Clementine*, who came back in '49, and from '50 was a pioneer of Humboldt Co., where he still lived in '82 with wife and 5 children, a prominent man of business. Portrait in *Humb. Co. Hist.*, 164. Bujan (Antonio), 1844, a militiaman at S. F., called Buyano, aged 25, and Mex., but he was a foreigner who came earlier, perhaps in '42, witness in the Santillan case; in later times he kept a wayside inn and saloon in Visitacion Valley, S.F., where he still is perhaps in '85.

Bull (James H.), 1844, at S. F. Bull, 1848, mr of the *Olga*. Bullard, 1846, owner of a Los Ang. rancho (?). Bullen (Newell), 1846, of the Morm. col. with wife and 3 children. v. 546; owner of a S. F. lot '47. v. 680; died in Utah, where his family resided '84. Bullock (Ezekial), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at S. F. '74-82. B. (James D.), 1848, mid. on the U. S. *Warren*. Bultice (Vincent), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); died before '82.

Bund (John), 1847, Co. I, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at Hawkeye, Calaveras Co. '71-4. Bunker (Benj.), 1841, gunner on the U. S. *St Louis*, and in '47 on the *Independence*. B. (Alex.), 1822, mr of the *Ontario*. ii. 474. B. (Edward), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); a bishop in Utah '82.

Burch (Chas H.), 1846, claimant for supplies to Frémont (v. 462) to the extent of $39; at N. Helv. '47-8; went to Or. and ret. in '48. Burger (Chas), German of the Donner party who died in the mts. v. 531, 534. Burgeman (Emil), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Burgess, 1846, immig. with Bryant; perhaps did not come to Cal. B. (Edward), 1847, Co. B, N. Y.Vol., transf. to Co. G (v. 499); owner of a S. F. lot. v. 676; went to Honolulu on the *Julia* '47, ret. in '48; at Honolulu '71. B. (Thos H.), 1845, Kentuckian immig. in the Grigsby-Ide party. iv. 578, 587; joined the Bears, with Ford at Olompali in '46. v. 167; Cal. claim of $35 (v. 462); went south with Frémont; with Gillespie at Los Ang., and at S. Pascual. v. 347, 350; at N. Helv. '47-8. Burhell (Richard), 1846, Co. B, Cal. Bat. (v. 358), enlisting at S. José. Burke (Jas), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol.; died on the Stanislaus '51.

Burke (James W.), 1824, Irish trader from S. Amer. on the *Jóven Tartar*, who settled at Sta B. in '28, ii. 526, 573, being then 30 years old. His name —often Santiago and Walter—appears often in commercial and other records from '30; married Josefa Boronda, and in '36 had 6 children, being then regidor and an applicant for lands. iii. 426, 654. Still living at Sta B. '76, but seems to have died a year or two later. Burkins (James), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518). Burling (Joseph), 1795, Irish sailor at Sta B. desiring to remain, but sent to Spain '96. i. 538-40.

Burnett (Horace), 1848, nephew of Peter H., with whom he came from Or. and engaged in mining. B. (Peter H.), 1848, nat. of Tenn., b. in 1807; a trader and lawyer in Tenn. and Mo.; overl. immig. to Or. in '43; farmer, member of legislature, and judge of supreme court in Or.; came to Cal. by land after the discov. of gold, and worked in the mines for a month or more in '48. In Dec. he came to N. Helv., and became agent for young Sutter in settling the captain's complicated business and the sale of town lots, thus paying off old debts and laying the foundation of a handsome fortune. His family came from Or. in May '49, and his management of Sutter's business ceased in July. He took a prominent part in public meetings to secure a state govt; went to S. F.; was made judge of the supreme court; sold half his Sacramento property for $50,000; moved to S. José; and was finally elected governor of Cal.—all before the end of '49. He was one of the luckiest men of the time. Resigning his office in Jan. '51, he devoted himself mainly to the management of his private business, practising law to a limited extent, residing at S. José except in '52-3 at Sac. and several long visits to the east. He was judge of the supreme court in '57-8; in '60 published *The Path Which*

Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church; and from '63 was president of the Pacific Bank at S.F. His *Recollections*, in MS., were copied for my Library in '78 and published in '80. Still living in '85, possessing great wealth and a good reputation. Burnett has never been credited with any brilliant abilities, nor charged with any great weakness; lacking force and decision in official positions; an honest, industrious, kind-hearted, diplomatic, lucky man; of many but harmless whims in private life. His wife died in '58; but he has several sons and a married daughter.

Burnie, 1829, mr of the *Ann.* iii. 146. Burns (Daniel M.), 1840 (?), sec. of state in '80; native of Tenn., age 49 in '79; said in newspaper sketches to have come to Cal. at the age of 10. iv. 120; his name is in a list of letters at S. F. in '48. B. (James), 1840, in Farnham's list of arrested foreigners. B. (John), 1830, Amer. at S. Miguel. iii. 180; joined the comp. extranjera in '32. iii. 221; was perhaps the John Byrnes on Larkin's books '34. B. (P. T.), 1847, in Sutter's employ at N. Helv. B. (Wm), 1839, Engl. who came with Sutter. iv. 119, 138; in '40 he asked for a pass to quit N. Helv. and settle at Sta Cruz; in Farnham's list of arrested foreigners. iv. 17. Burques (Pedro), soldier at the Colorado Riv. pueblos 1780–1, killed by Ind. i. 359, 362.

Burr (Chas C.), 1846, of the Morm. colony with wife and child, one child having died at sea. v. 546; owner of S. F. lot '47. v. 678; in Utah '84. B. (Nathan), 1846, of the Morm. col. with wife, father of Chas. C.; died in Utah before '84. v. 546. Burrell (Chas), 1846, sailor on the U. S. *Dale*, long a resident of S. F. in later years. B. (Cuthbert), 1846, at Gilroy '78.

Burroughs (Chas), 1846, apparently an immig. of this year; prominent in raising men for the Cal. Bat., in which he seems to have ranked as captain—or perhaps was to have been made captain. Chief in com. at the fight of Natividad, where he was killed in Nov. v. 360, 363–71. Beyond the part that he took in this affair, and his general reputation as a brave and popular man, though a gambler, nothing seems to be known of him. His name is often written Burus and Burrows, and it is not sure that his name was Charles or that he came in '46. B.—or Borris—(Wm), Amer. doctor at Sta B. 1823–4. ii. 495, 576. Burrows, 1841, from Or. with wife and child in Emmon's party of the U.S. ex. exped. iv. 278.

Burt, 1846, doubtful name of a man captured with Weber by Castro. v. 136; probably 'Bird,' q.v. B. (Wm), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Burton (E. F.), 1848, memb. of N.Y. territorial pioneers '78. *Upham's Notes.*

Burton (Henry S.), 1847, lieut-col N. Y. Vol., and for a time in com. at Sta B. v. 503, 511, 513, 630–1; in com. of the exped. to La Paz '47–8. v. 583. He was a graduate of West Point and lieut of Co. F, 3d artill., of which he took com. as capt. on the mustering-out of the regt. v. 515, 520. He remained several years in Cal., and was collector of customs at Mont. '48–9. He was promoted to major in '61, and in '65 to brevet brigadier-gen., dying in R.I. '69. His wife, who survived him with two children, was Doña Amparo Ruiz of Lower Cal., whose father and grandfather were prominent in the early annals of the peninsula, and who has gained some literary as well as social distinction. Burton (B.), 1847, lieut who raised and commanded a volunteer cavalry comp. at Mont. in April. v. 449, 521, 636. I am unable to say who he was. B. (James), J. B. & Co. ment. at Mont. in connection with naval stores. B. (James C.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499).

Burton (John), 1825 (?), Amer., who at S. José in '29 claimed to have come as master of the *Juan Battey*, lost at S. Diego, and to have been 3 years and 5 months in Cal.; a native of Provincetown, who left home in '22; then 40 years old. iii. 29, 147. In '30 a farmer, also engaged in trade. ii. 602; generally said to have arrived in '30; married in '31 Juana Galindo; often named in various records from this time; regidor of S. José '37. iii. 730; arrested in '40 as a formality, but not exiled. In '41, age 48, children José Miguel, Juan, and Silveria; witness of Naile's murder. iv. 686; signer of the call to foreigners in '45. iv. 599; alcalde in '46–7. v. 662. I have no later record of him; perhaps died in '48. B. (John B.), 1840, Amer. mechanic who came on the *Cervantes* to

Mont. B. (Joseph), 1848, Boston man age 30, who came from Honolulu in Aug. and died at S.F. in Oct.

Burton (Lewis T.), 1831, Tennesseean from N. Mex. with the Wolfskill party. v. 386, 405; settling at Sta B., and engaging in otter-hunting, trade, and finally farming. iv. 117. In '36 he described himself as a catholic bachelor, 24 years old, in business with Branch; in '39 he married María Antonia, daughter of Cárlos Carrillo; naturalized in '42. Larkin gave him a high character in his *Notes* of '45; and he had a Cal. claim of $400 in '46 (v. 462), 304. He became a wealthy merchant and ranchero; claimant for the Jesus María and Chamizal ranchos. v. 655, 677; and died at Sta B. in '79. A second wife was the daughter of José Ant. Carrillo.

Bush (Richard), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Bushane (Leandro), 1847, died at N. Helv., formerly a corporal at the fort, and apparently an Ind.; Otith B. also died. Bustamante y Guerra (José), 1791, com. of the *Atrevida* in Malaspina's exped. i. 490. Buten (Wm), 1845, doubtful name of an Amer. in a Branciforte padron, age 37. Butler, 1846, bugler in Cal. Bat. v. 374. Butler (Amos), 1847, at S. F. from Astoria on the *Henry;* in list of letters '48. B. (Nathaniel), 1847, at Mont. July.

Butron (Felipe), named in '40 in connection with the Graham affair. iv. 6; leader in a proposed attack on Mont. '45. iv. 515, being then a capt. of aux. cavalry; in '46 a lieut in the Cal. Bat. v. 360; in '47 lieut in an exped. against Ind. v. 662. B. (Juan de Dios), soldier in Mont. comp. '36, age 31. B. (Manuel), soldier of Mont. comp. 1775, married to a neophyte, and the 1st grantee of land. i. 311, 608, 610, 683; a settler at S. José 1786. i. 477. B. (Manuel), prob. son of preceding, grantee of Alisal '28, and of Natividad '30, '37. ii. 616, 664, 677; in '36 living at Natividad, age 58, wife María Ignacia Higuera, children Josefa b. 1806, Nicolás '21, Ramona '21, Manuel '24. B. (Ramon), son of Manuel, claimant for Natividad. iii. 677. B. (Sebastian), settler before 1800; in '41 at S. José, age 61.

Butterfield (Jacob K.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); at Taylorville, Utah, '81. Butters (Thomas), 1841, Engl. sailor disch. from the *Leonor;* Bidwell mentions a Thos Battus at Bodega about the same time. Button (Montgomery), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat.

Buzzell (Joseph Willard), 1841 (?), deserter from the whaler *Orizaba* at Halfmoon Bay, spending some time with Graham at Sta Cruz, later a trapper at N. Helv., till he went to Or. in '43, where he married—apparently one of the Kelsey family. This is his own statement in newspaper sketches. iv. 279. In '44 he came from Or. in the Kelsey party. v. 444; served Sutter in the Micheltorena campaign; signed the call to foreigners at S. José '45. iv. 599; and worked for Leidesdorff at S. F. His name often appears in the *N. Helv. Diary*, and occasionally in records of Mont. and S. José. A daughter Ellen is said to have been born at N. Helv. '45. In '46–7 B. served in the Cal. Bat. (v. 358), under Frémont, Gillespie, Mervine, and Stockton in the south. Returning he went to Stockton with Weber, acquiring land on which the town stood later, and building a cabin. *Tinkham*, *Carson*, etc. A son was born '47. *S. J. Pion.* His name appears at Sutter's fort '47–8; daughter Lizzie Agnes born at Stockton, Sept. '48. Still living in '60; acc. to *Yolo Co. Hist.* drowned at Halfmoon Bay a few years before '79. It was in 1864.

Bybee (Henry G.), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). B. (John), 1847, ditto. Byers, 1847, at Honolulu from Mont. on the *María Helena.* B. (Josiah Stoddart), 1846, applicant for land at S. José; a mid. on the U. S. *Congress. Sta Clara Co. Hist.*, 331. Byrens (Allen T.), 1846, mid. on the U. S. *Dale*, at S. José, Dec. Byrnes (Ed.), 1834, Irish. in Mont. list. B. (Wm), 1848, at Honolulu from S. F.; declined to serve as alcalde at S. José. v. 662.

Caamaño (Jacinto), 1792, Span. com. of the *Aranzazu*, engaged in northern coast explor. i. 509–11; *Hist. N. W.C.*, i. 267 et seq.; com. of the *Princesa* in 1797 and of the *Concepcion* 1798. i. 540, 543–4. Caatrell (John), 1846, doubtful name in a Los Ang. list. Caballer, see 'Cavaller.'

Caballero (Andrés A.), 1781, lieut of the escort to Cal. and return to

Sonora. i. 342. C. (Felix), 1833, Dominican friar of L. Cal.; a famous missionary of the frontier, who crossed the line to Cal. '23, '29, '33, and doubtless on other occasions. ii. 486, 507; iii. 96, 557. C. (Francisco), Sta B. ranchero '45. C. (María Antonia), grantee of Sisquoc in '33. iii. 656. Cabello (Martin S.), 1834, Mex. revenue officer with the H. & P. colony; receptor in charge of S. Diego custom-house '34–8; prob. left Cal. about '38. iii. 267, 377, 499–501, 609, 613; iv. 98; Cabiner, 1846, mr of the *Isaac Howland.*

Cabot (Juan), 1805, Span. friar who served for 30 years in Cal., chiefly at S. Miguel, retiring to his college in 1835. Biog. in iii. 683–4; ment. i. list auth.; ii. 123, 149, 159–60, 325, 327, 331, 375, 384–6, 393, 536, 620, 622, 655; iii. 92, 96, 169, 309. C. (Miguel), 1836, nephew of the two friars, who came to Cal. to receive the stipend due Fr. Pedro after his death. C. (Pedro), 1804, Span. friar, brother of Juan, who served 32 years in Cal., chiefly at S. Antonio, dying at S. Fernando '36. Biog. iii. 645–6; ment. ii. 152, 159–60, 385, 394, 621–3, 655; iii. 92, 96, 418, 686. Cabott (F.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Cabrera (Agapito), at Sta Inés college '44. iv. 426. C. (Pedro), Peruvian, juez de policía at Los Ang. '47. v. 626.

Cabrillo (Juan Rodriguez), 1542, Portuguese discoverer of Cal., who died at the Sta B. islands in Jan. 1543. See full account of the voy. of exploration. i. 69–81; also *Hist. N. Mex. States*, i. 133.

Cace (Henry P.), 1845, nat. of R. I. at Mont; perhaps 'Case.' Cáceres (Francisco), Span. ex-sergt of dragoons, who was regidor at Mont. in '28–29. ii. 612; iii. 51, 53; and in '31 the only Span. in S. F. district. iii. 399, 699. He is named as a resid. and house-owner of S.F. from '38, being síndico in '39. iii. 705; v. 684. He died at Freestone in '48 at the age of 76. His wife was Anastasia Boronda who died in '49. The children were Antonia, Francisco, Cármen, Guadalupe Antonio, Julian, Rafaela, Ciro, Helena, and Teresa; all dead before '85 except Ciro and Francisço. The latter is named in a Sonoma list of '44 as 18 years old. The daughter Antonia married James Dawson '40, and Dr Fred. Blume in '49, dying in '80 without children. She was the grantee and claimant of Pogolomi rancho. iv. 672. Cacho (Rafael), grantee of S. Gerónimo rancho '44. iv. 673.

Cade (Jonathan), 1846, of the Mormon col. with wife. v. 546; perhaps his name was Kincaid; sergt-at-arms in S. F. council '49; but died in Utah. Cadel—or Kadel—(Peter), 1846, said to have arrived in July; at N. Helv. from S. Rafael and Sonoma '47–8; lot-owner S.F. '47; died at Oakland '75, age 61. C. (Tobias), 1847, lot at S. F.; at N. Helv. '48. Cadena (Antonio), 1836, Mex. corporal in Hidalgo bat. at Mont. age 30; tried for murder. iii. 675. Cady (Chas L.), 1845 (?), said to have been in Lake Co. as a hunter, being also there in '75. *Lakeport Bee;* iv. 587; in '46–7 member of the 2d Donner relief. v. 539; estab. a mail service July '47 bet. S. F. and Sac. via Sauzalito and Sonoma. *Californian*, July 24th; kept a store at Coloma with Shannon '48–9. *El Dorado Co. Hist.*, 177. Cahill (Martin), 1847, Co. A, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Stockton '71–82.

Calder (Lawson M.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Caldwell (Arthur S. C.), 1846, overl. immig. in Young's party with family. v. 529; wife Margaret, son, and three daughters; in Cal. Bat., enlisting at Mont. Nov. (v. 358); bought a house at S. José '48. *Pico, Doc.*, i. 140; named as a wealthy citizen in '60. C. (Colohill), 1846, Cal. Bat., enlisting at S. Juan; Cal. claim of $6· (v. 462); prob. son of preceding, or possibly the same. C. (Matthew), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); Utah farmer '82. Calheart (Seth), 1827, mr of the *Massachusetts.* iii. 148. Calkin (Milo), 1846, house lately occupied by him rented to another Jan. '47. Calkins (Ed R.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl. at Los Ang. C. (Sylvanus), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat.

Call (Daniel), 1816, Amer. carpenter, age 17, who landed from the *Atala* at Sta B., where in '36 he had a wife and two children. ii. 248, 282, 393. Callaghan, 1846, three brothers in the Los Ang. region. iv. 495; their names as signed to a doc. of June '46 seem to be 'Ein,' 'Epli,' and 'Geral,' but it appears that 2 of them were Evan and Isaac. They served under Gillespie, and were among the chino prisoners. v. 314; in '47 one was in charge of S. Buen.

mission, being juez de paz in '48. v. 634; and another had some petty position at S. Pedro. Acc. to B. D. Wilson, Evan C. came to Cal. in '44. C. (James), 1847, drowned at S. F.'51; said to have been one of the N.Y.Vol., but not on the rolls. C. (John), 1847, lot-owner at S. F.; still there '50. Callahan (Carolus B.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons (v. 336). C. (Thos W.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 460); reënl. at Los Ang. Callegan, 1769, com. of the *S. José*, lost on the voy. to Cal. i. 124. Callender (Mills L.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol.; lots at S. F. '47–8. v. 679; sec. of town council '48; still there '52–4; d. Brooklyn, N. Y., '71 (?). Callis (Eulalia), 1783, wife of Gov. Pedro Fages. i. 389–93, 487.

Calvin (Vincent), 1844, overl. immig. of Stevens party. iv. 445; at N. Helv. and S. José '45–8. Calzada (José Ant.), 1787, Span. friar who served 27 years in Cal., being founder of Sta Inés, where he died 1814. Biog. ii. 368; ment. i. 388, 459, 575, 577, 664–5; ii. 28–9, 123, 159, 394. Calzado (Dionisio), at Branciforte 1803. ii. 156. Calzado (José), 1798. i. 606.

Cam (Isidro), 1830, New Yorker, age 26, whose only known exploit was to fight with Leandry about a dog, for which he served a month in the chain-gang at Mont. Camacho, com. of transport vessel 1783–90. i. 444. C., killed at Jamul '37. iii. 614. C. (Anastasio), soldier at S. Diego 1775. i. 255. C. (Tomás M.), soldier killed on the Colorado by Ind. 1781. i. 363. Camareno (Nicolás), settler at S. F. 1791–1800. i. 716. Camarrillo (Juan), 1834, Mex. who came prob. with the H. & P. col. (iii. 259); trader at Sta B., where he was síndico and juez at different times '40–6. iii. 655; iv. 490, 631, 642; moved to S. Buen. '59, where he became owner of the Calleguas rancho. He died '80, at the age of 68; his wife was Martina Hernandez, married in '40; and he left 7 children, one of his daughters being the wife of José Arnaz. Portrait in *Sta B. Co. Hist.*, 392.

Cambon (Pedro Benito), 1779, Span. friar who served chiefly at S. F., but was founder of S. Gabriel and S. Buen., retiring to his college '91. Biog. i. 712; ment. i. 173, 176, 179–81, 187–9, 193–4, 235–6, 246, 255, 271, 287, 289–90. 292, 297, 329–30, 352, 373, 376, 378, 382, 388, 399, 469, 473, 575–6. Cambuston (Henri), 1841, Frenchman from Mex., who became a teacher at Mont. iv. 279; married Gabriela Soberanes; fined for smuggling '44. iv. 566; quarrel at Mont. with Prefect Castro '46. v. 34; at the military junta. v. 61; grantee of land in Butte Co. v. 675. A man of some ability, but often in trouble on acct of intemperate habits; witness in the Limantour case; sent to the Stockton insane asylum about '56, where he died 4 or 5 years later. Camero (Manuel), 1781, mulatto settler at Los Ang.; regidor in '89. i. 348–9, 461. Cameron, 1848, at Sutter's Fort. C. (James), 1845, doubtful record of an overl. immig. iv. 578. C. (John), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). C. (John), real name of John 'Gilroy,' q.v.

Camp, 1837, of the Willamette cattle comp. iv. 85. C. (J. G.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Campa y Cos (Miguel), 1775, Span friar of L. Cal. 1769–73, who was chaplain of Heceta's exped. at Mont. and on the north coast '75. i. 122–3, 194, 235, 240–2, 247.

Campbell, 1806, otter-hunter. ii. 40–1. C. (Anthony), 1840, Engl. sailor disch. from the *Fly* at S. F., and killed by Ind. near Sta Clara on his way to Mont. April '41. iv. 120, 280, 684, 686. C. (Benj.), 1846, Kentuckian settler at Sta Clara, building a saw-mill on Campbell's Creek in '47–8; still living in '76. C. (Colin), 1840, Scotch sailor at Mont. iv. 120; presbyterian sawyer at Aptos '41–2. C. (James), 1846, sailor of the *Congress* in Stockton's bat., wounded at the Mesa Jan. '47. v. 395. C. (James T.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. S. F. '53. C. (John G.), 1844, one of Frémont's men; also in '45; Cal. Bat. Co. A. iv. 437, 583. C. (Jonathan), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). C. (Patrick), 1846, sailor on the *Cyane*, in Stockton's bat., wounded at S. Gabriel Jan. '47. v. 395. C. (Joseph T.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons, killed at S. Pascual. v. 346. C. (Peter), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. C. (Richard), 1827, said to have come from N. Orleans to S. Diego. iii. 162. C. (Reuben P.), 1848, lieut of Graham's dragoons. v. 522. C. (Sámuel), 1833 (?), accredited to this year by the newspapers, and said to have been a rich merchant of S. F.; d. Red Bluff '70. iii. 409. C. (Samuel), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). C. (Thomas), 1846, Kentuckian overl. immig. from Mo. with his wife and her parents and brothers named West. v. 528. Known as Major C. on the trip; one of Burroughs' men at Natividad (v. 363); and went south with the Cal. Bat.; surveyor at S. José, and member of the council '47. v. 664; in the mines '48–9; later resid. of S. José to '77 and later. C. (Wm), 1842, said to have been killed. iv. 686. C. (Wm), 1846, apparently overl. immig. and perhaps a brother of Thomas; came to S. José with his family; surveyor '47. v. 664. In Tulare '83, age 90, veteran of 1812 and battle of N. Orleans; 2 sons. C. (Wm), 1847, Co. K, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); deserted, and was hanged in Dec. '48 at S. José for robbery and attempted murder. v. 663–4. C. (Wm), 1848, overl. with Lawton and Johnson; editor of *Sierra Democrat* and clerk of legislature '56; county judge of Sierra to '63; district attorney at Virginia City, dying '76. *Nevada Transcript*, Jan. 28, '76. Campo, see 'Fernandez' del C. and 'Perez' del C.

Cané (Vicente), 1825, Span. sailor landing from the *Asia* at Mont. iii. 51, 92–3; permitted to remain and marry in '28; grantee of S. Bernardo rancho '40; admin. and juez at S. Luis Ob. '40–1. v. 657, 683. Canedo (Dolores), at Los Ang. '46. C. (Gerónimo), settler at Los Ang. 1812. ii. 350. C. (José), soldier and corp. '23–4. ii. 555–6. C. (José), soldier at Sta B. '32, wife Luisa Valenzuela. C. (José), at S. Juan Cap., age 58, wife María, children Antonia b. '26, Felipe '28, Juliana '31, Juan '37, Leonardo '43. C. (José María), at S. Juan Cap. '41–6. iv. 626; age 36, wife Feliciana. C. (Juan), at Los Ang. '46. C. (Juan N.), at S. Juan Cap. '41. iv. 626. C. (Manuel), soldier killed on the Colorado. i. 363. C. (Rafael), at Los Ang. '46. C. (Silvestre), ditto. Cañete (Joaquin), sent to escort Gov. Fages' wife to Cal. 1783. i. 390.

Canfield (Cyrus C.), 1847, lieut Co. D, Morm. Bat. v. 477; also lieut of the reënl. men. v. 495; collector of the port of S. D. '48. v. 619; acquitted on trial for passing counterfeit money. v. 610–11. C. (Geo. W.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Phil. '82. C. (O. F.), 1847, in Sonoma Co. '50–77. *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 102. Canian (Wm), 1832, doubtful name of a mr of the *California*. Cañizares (José), 1769, pilotin who kept a diary of Rivera's exped. to Cal.; com. of *S. Antonio* '74, of *S. Cárlos* '76, being an explorer of S.F. bay and planner of the presidio; again at Mont. '84; com. of *Aranzazu* '89. i. 132, 136, 208, 225, 246, 287, 289, 329, 410–11, 438, 441, 444. Cann (Dan. M.), 1847, Co. F, 3d artill. (v. 518). *Lancey*, not on roll. Cannell (John), 1847, lot at S.F. Cannifax (Abstrum R.), 1847, contractor at mission S. José to make shingles for Larkin. Cannon (Manena), 1846, one of the Mormons, who prob. did not come to Cal. v. 547. Cano (Gil.), com. de policía at Mont. '36. iii. 675; Mex., age 23, wife Josefa Soto, children Rafael, María, Luisa, Nicolás.

Cantan (Gustavus A.), 1847, lot at S.F. Cantua (Dolores), soldier of S.F. comp. '19–27; ment. in '18. ii. 232. C. (Guadalupe), in '36 at the Guadalupe rancho, Mont. district, age 51, wife Cármen Castro, children Josefa b. '18, Gracia '29, Ramon '31, Ramona '33; majordomo and juez de campo '35–6; in '41 grantee of S. Luisito near S. Luis Ob. iii. 674–7; iv. 656. C. (Ignacio), settler at S.F. 1791–1800. i. 716. C. (Juan Ign.), son of Vicente, wounded at the Natividad fight '46. v. 367. C. (Julian), at S. Isidro rancho '36, age 40, wife Isabel Ortega, child. Manuel b. '16, Manuela '20, Faustina '22. C. (Manuel), soldier of S.F. comp. '32–9; at Sonoma '44, age 25; in Sutter's service '45; militia alférez killed at Olompali '46. v. 166. C. (Manuel), son of Julian, at S. José '50. C. (Manuel), at Los Ang. '46; connected with the Flores revolt, a good judge of aguardiente, nicknamed 'governor' for a time. v. 308, 331. C. (Pablo), soldier of S.F. comp. at Sonoma '42. C. (Vicente), majordomo at Patrocinio (Alisal), '36, age 45, wife Juana Soto, child. Juan Ign. b. '28, Juan María '31, María Ant. '33, Cármen '36; juez de campo and auxiliar '35, '39, '41. iii. 674–5; iv. 653; grantee of rancho nacional '39. iii. 677; admin. Soledad '39–40. iii. 691; Cal. claim (v. 462) of $3,661 in '46; still in Mont. dist. '50. Cantwell (Thos), 1847, in S. Diego district. Caples (James), 1847, roll of the Soc. Cal. Pion.

Carabajal (Rafael), at Los Ang. '48. Carabanas (Nicolás), corp. of the S. Juan Cap. escolta 1776. i. 303. Carabantes (Agustin), settler at Los Ang. 1807. ii. 350. C. (Salvador), at Sta B. 1797. Carbajal, surg. of the *Princesa*, 1786. i. 397. C. (Josefa), wife of Surgeon Dávila, d. S.F. 1780. i. 468. Carbit (Thos), 1847, said to have come with the N.Y. Vol., but not on the roll; d. Oregon City, Cal. '61, age 35. *S. F. Herald*.

Card (Geo. H.), 1840, nat. of R. I., mate of a trader—probably the *Alert*—on the coast '40–2; returned in '48; wrote newspaper articles on his Cal. experiences; d. at Stockton after '68, age 74. iv. 120, 136. Cárdenas (José), 1825, officer of the *Asia;* mr of the *Rover* '26. iii. 25–6, 120. C. (Melchor), sirviente at S.F. 1777. i. 297. Cardwell (Henry), 1848, sheriff at Los Ang. v. 626; perhaps same as following. C. (Herman C.), 1844, nat. of Vt (or Va), who came to Cal. on a whaler, settling at Los Ang. perhaps in '46; in Cal. Bat. (v. 358), having a Cal. claim (v. 462) under name of H. H. C.; in the mines '48–9; memb. of 1st legisl. '49–50; seriously injured in '50 by a fall from his horse; d. at Los Ang. '59. I find little about him except in newspaper sketches. Cariaga (Saturnino), grantee of Real de las Águilas '44. iv. 655. Carl (John), 1847, at S. Buen. Carlon, soldier killed in 1790. i. 465. C. (José), inválido at Sta B. '32. C. (Seferino), soldier of Sta B. comp.; grantee of Arroyo Grande rancho '41. iv. 655; one of this family was the wife of F. Z. Branch. Cárlos, neophyte leader of rebels at S. Diego 1775–6. i. 253, 266. Carlton, 1848 (?), later a judge in Tuolumne Co.; d. '55. Carlton (W. H.), 1848, clerk for A. J. Grayson, S.F. Cármen (José del), Ind. chief killed '44. iv. 409.

Carmichael (Lawrence), 1833, Scotch trapper from N. Mex., who went to Or. '34 with Young and Kelley. iii. 388, 409; returned to drive a band of cattle to the Willamette '37. iv. 85; and again came back on the *Nereid* via Honolulu '38. iv. 105; and settled at S. José. He was one of the exiles of '40, but returned in '41 with a pass and a claim for $7,000 damages for interrupted business. iv. 18, 32–3, 116. His name often appears in the records from '41; in '45 one of the party capturing Prefect Castro. iv. 487; in July '46 had trouble with Henry Naile about a house; in Aug. sec. of the juez at Sta Cruz. v. 641; and later in '46 shot by a party of Mex. for the alleged reason that he was bearer of despatches for the Amer., but very little is known of this affair, of which I find no contemporary record.

Carnes (Henry S.), 1847, lieut Co. F, N.Y. Vol. v. 504; collector of the port of Sta B. '48. v. 575; later a member of the legisl., district judge, and postmaster at Sta B., where he lived in '79; at S. Buen. '82. C. (Thos), 1847, Co. B, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); drowned at Stockton '51. Carnicer (Baltasar), 1797, Span. friar who served chiefly at S. Cárlos and retired in 1808. Biog. ii. 147; ment. i. 500, 561, 577, 686; ii. 7, 149, 159–60.

Carpenter (Benj.), 1845, Amer. immig. from Or. in the McMahon-Clyman party; prob. went back to Or. '46. iv. 572, 576. C. (Chas R.), 1847, Co. F, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); died in Cuba '60. C. (Isaac), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). C. (John), 1845, named as a captive exchanged for Manuel Castro. iv. 487, doubtful. C. (Lemuel or Samuel), 1832, Amer. from N. Mex. iii. 388, 408; accredited to '31 and '33 in two lists of '36; prob. came in winter of '32–3; 22 years old in '36, 28 in '40; had a soap-factory on the S. Gabriel River and a vineyard in co. with Chard; one of the vigilantes '36, and not arrested '40; served '45 against Micheltorena. iv. 495; in '48 had an orchard near S. Buen. Claimant for Sta Gertrudis '53. iii. 634; where on account of financial troubles he committed suicide in '59. C. (Roman), 1840, named on Larkin's books; perhaps the 'Roman carpenter' or 'Roman the carpenter.' C. (Wm), 1841, doubtful record at Los Ang. C. (Wm M.), 1848, physician at N. Helv., room-mate of P. H. Burnett. Carpentier, memb. of legisl. '55, accredited to '48 in the *Chart*.

Carr (Overton), 1841, lieut U. S. ex. exped. iv. 241, 567. C. (Griffith), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358), enlisting at Sonoma. C. (Stephen), 1847, Co. A, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. Stanislaus Co. '49. Carranza (Domingo), 1798, Span. friar, who served at Sta Cruz and S. Luis Rey, retiring in 1810. Biog. ii. 108;

ment. i. 498, 577; ii. 154–5, 159–60, 197. Carrasco (José M.), Sonoran at Mont. '36, age 39, single; at Mont. and other places to '47. C. (Juan), 1791, com. schr *Horcasitas*. i. 493. C. (Juan), nat. of Buenos Aires, insane, found dead at Arroyo Mocho '38. iii. 732. Carreaga (Saturnino), 1845, juez at S. Juan B. iv. 662; see 'Cariaga,' prob. the same man.

Carrigan (Thos), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Carriger (Daniel S.), 1846, Cal. Bat. (v. 358), enlisting at Sonoma. C. (Nicholas), 1846, Tennesseean immig. from Mo. with family. v. 528; his father died and a daughter was born on the journey. He served in the Sonoma garrison and as mail-carrier from Sonora to S. Rafael during the war; a miner in '48–9; farmer at Sonoma from '50, where he still lived in '80, aged 64, with 9 child.; (d. '85). I obtained from him a brief *Autobiography;* portrait in *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 312; a son, Dav. W., was born in '47. Carrillo, sirviente at Sta Cruz 1795. i. 496.

Carrillo (Anastasio), son of José Raim., b. at Sta B. 1788; sergt distinguido of the Sta B. comp., named in connection with many Ind. exped., etc. 1818–30. ii. 235, 334, 361, 528–9, 561, 572; iii. 78, 103; comisionado in charge of Los Ang. '18–25. ii. 350, 559; member of the dip. '27–8; habilitado '27, '29–34. ii. 572; iii. 36–42, 63; '31–6 alférez of the comp. iii. 650–1, 281; in '32 his family consisted of his wife Concepcion García and child. Micaela, Manuela, Soledad, Francisco, and Luis; his other sons being Guillermo and Raimundo; commisionado to secularize Sta B. '34. iii. 346, 657; in '36 retired from the army on full pay; in '37 com. to treat with Alvarado, majordomo at S. Fernando, grantee of Pt Concepcion. iii. 519, 647, 655; '38 comisario sub. at Sta B. 549, 651; memb. of dip. '39–40. iii. 590; grantee of Cieneguita '45. iv. 642; sub-prefect '45–6. iv. 631, 641. Thus it will be seen that Don Anastasio was a prominent man of Sta B., where he still lived after '50.

Carrillo (Cárlos Antonio de Jesus), son of José Raimundo, b. at Sta B. 1783; soldier in the Mont. comp. from 1797, and soldado distinguido from '99; named as clerk in a murder trial 1806. ii. 191; sergt of the Sta B. comp. from '11 to about '25, taking an active part in defensive operations against Bouchard in '18 and the rebel Ind. in '24. ii. 236–7, 275–6, 361, 363, 492, 534, 537, 572. Quitting the military service, Don Cárlos was partido elector in '27, and memb. of the dip. '28. iii. 33, 41, 140, 572; being in '30 elected member of congress for '31–2, and working earnestly in Mex., if we may judge by his own corresp., for the interests of his country. iii. 50, 214, 232–5, 260, 311–13, 319, 398. He worked particularly in favor of the missions, drawing his inspiration from Capt. de la Guerra; and also in the interest of Californian as against Mex. officers. One of his speeches, the *Exposicion sobre el Fondo Piadoso*, was the first production of a native Californian printed in book form. Back in Cal., he was grantee of the Sespe rancho '33, was memb. of the dip. '34–5, and was made comisionado for the secularization of S. Buen. in '36. iii. 246, 249–50, 258, 342, 353, 421, 488, 549, 656, 660–1; iv. 46. He was a warm supporter of Alvarado's revolutionary govt in '36, and not as has been often said a leader of the southern opposition. iii. 490–2. In '37, however, his brother obtained for him in Mex. an appointment as gov.; and Don Cárlos, making Los Ang. his capital, strove ineffectually in '37–8 to assume the governorship, which Alvarado very properly refused to surrender. This interesting but somewhat ridiculous episode of Cal. history, with its attendant military campaigns, is fully recorded in iii. 534–81, 594, 612, 614, 631, 699; iv. 47, 81, 89. In '43–5 he was member of the junta, and in '45 grantee of Sta Rosa Island. iv. 157, 361, 495–6, 521, 547, 643; Cal. claim of $14,000 '46–7. v. 467; memb. of the Sta B. ayunt. '49. Carrillo died in '52 at the age of 69. In person Don Cárlos Antonio, like most of his brothers and cousins, was large and of magnificent presence; distinguished for his courteous and gentlemanly manners. In all Cal. there was no more kind-hearted, generous, popular, and inoffensive citizen than he. For public life he was much too timid and irresolute; as congressman he was but the mouth-piece of his brother-in-law Capt. de la Guerra; as politician and aspirant for the governorship he was the softest of wax in the hands of his astute brother José Antonio; as military leader in the burlesque child's-play warfare of '38 he cut but a sorry figure; yet everybody understood his character and he had no enemies. His wife was Josefa Castro, who died in '53; his sons José, Pedro C., and José Jesus; his daughters Josefa wife of Wm G. Dana, Encarnacion wife of Thos Robbins, Francisca wife of A. B. Thompson, Manuela wife of John C. Jones, and Antonia wife of Lewis Burton. Carrillo (Dolores), at Sonoma, age 20, in '44.

Carrillo (Domingo Antonio Ignacio), son of José Raimundo, b. at S. Diego 1791; soldado distinguido in S. Diego comp. from 1807; cadet from 1809; prosecutor in a case of '11. ii. 341, 345. In '18 he had left the service, and Capt. de la Guerra wished to send him to Mex. for a few years; but failing in this had him restored as sold. disting. of the Sta B. comp., and in '21 he was transf. as cadet to S. Diego. Ment. in '24-9 at S. D., sometimes as revenue col. and habilitado, promoted to alférez in '27. ii. 536, 543, 547, 572; iii. 41, 134, 141. In '30 he was transf. to Sta B., where he was elector, acting com., and a supporter of Victoria. ii. 572; iii. 50, 99, 223; in '34 prom. to lieut, admin. of Purísima, and grantee of Las Vírgenes. iii. 346, 349, 634-5, 650-1, 665-6. In '36 com. at Sta B., and though having trouble with Gov. Chico, opposed Alvarado unlike other Barbareños, and was removed from the com.; but in '38 he opposed Carrillo. iii. 422, 436, 485, 503, 565. I find no record of Don Domingo after '37, and cannot give the date of his death. His wife, married in 1810, was Concepcion, sister of Pio Pico; his sons Joaquin, José Antonio, Francisco, Alejandro, and Felipe; daughters María wife of José M. Covarrubias, Angela wife of Ignacio del Valle, and Antonia. His widow in '78 gave me a small col. of *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, remnant of the family archives, including no less a paper than the original treaty of Cahuenga. C. (Francisco), son of Anastasio, who died young. C. (Francisco), son of Domingo; married Dorotea Lugo. C. (Guillermo), 1769, corporal of the S. D. comp., and later sergt; died in 1782. i. 301-2, 314, 452. I do not know that he left any descendants. C. (Guillermo), son of Anastasio; married Manuela Ortega; still living in '79.

Carrillo (Joaquin), nat. of Lower Cal., for 22 years a soldier, part of the time at S. Diego, where, having retired from the service, he lived with his family in '27. He was probably a cousin of José Raimundo, but I find no information about his parentage. It is related that he played well on the violin, and was once put in the stocks by Com. Ruiz because he was too long tuning his instrument for a favorite air. The romantic marriage of his daughter to Capt. Fitch in '27 is recorded in iii. 140-4; marriage of another daughter to M. G. Vallejo '32. iii. 472. In '35 he tried to get a grant of the S. D. mission estate; and the same year his wife called upon the gov. to prevent his sale of the garden given to their children by Com. Ruiz, their godfather. iii. 617. I suppose he died before '40. His widow was María Ignacia Lopez, who in '41 was grantee of the Cabeza de Sta Rosa rancho in Sonoma Co. iii. 673; and for whom was built about this time the 1st house in the Sta Rosa region. Among the sons were Joaquin, Julio, and José Ramon; daughters, Josefa wife of Hen. D. Fitch, Francisca Benicia wife of M. G. Vallejo, María de la Luz wife of Salvador Vallejo, Ramona wife of Romualdo Pacheco and later of John Wilson, Juana, and Felicidad who was claimant of part of the Sta Rosa estate and wife of Victor Castro. C. (Joaquin), son of Joaquin, at Sonoma '44, age 24; grantee of Llano de Sta Rosa the same year, for which he was later claimant. iv. 673; first settler in Analy township. In '46 2d alcalde of Sonoma, imprisoned by the Bears. v. 129, 157, 162.

Carrillo (Joaquin), son of Domingo, who seems to have been a cadet in the Sta B. comp. '28. ii. 576; in '35 or a little later he married his cousin Manuela, daughter of Anastasio; maj. and later admin. of Purísima. iii. 353-4, 612, 666; grantee of Lompoc '37. iii. 655; juez at Sta B. '40-2, being proposed for sub-prefect. iii. 655; iv. 641-2; in '45 lessee of Sta Inés, suplente in assembly, grantee of Mision Vieja de Purísima, and S. Cárlos de Jonata. iv. 540, 553, 558, 643, 647; in '46 juez and assemblyman, and purchaser of Sta Inés. v. 38, 321, 561, 635. He was appointed prefect in '49, was subsequently county judge, and was district judge for a dozen years from '52, being a man of broad views and good sense, and though not speaking English and knowing but little of legal technicalities, he had good advisers and left a good reputation. He died in '68. C. (José), son of Cárlos Antonio, ment. in '29 as prospective mr of a Cal. schr. iii. 140; also ment. in '31. iii. 555; grantee of Las Pozas '34. iii. 655; took some part in the political troubles of '37–9. iii. 556, 580; capt. of auxiliary cavalry and acting com. at Sta B. '45–6. iv. 538–9, 641; v. 35. Still living in '50 and later. His wife was Catarina Ortega, by whom he had 4 children before '37; his 2d wife, and widow, was Dolores Dominguez, who in '78 gave me what were left of Don José's *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, including several valuable papers.

Carrillo (José Antonio Ezequiel), son of José Raimundo, b. 1796 at S.F.; said to have been a teacher at S. Diego in 1813 and later. ii. 344; house-lot at Los Ang. '21. ii. 562; member of dip. '22–4; governor's sec. '26; alcalde of Los Ang. '27–8; elector in '29–30, but defeated for congress. ii. 462, 513, 536, 560–1, 563–4; iii. 7, 13, 50, 63, 95. In '31, having a quarrel with Alcalde Sanchez, and being arrested and exiled, he became a leading instigator of the movement against Gov. Victoria. iii. 196–7, 203–4, 206–8, 630, 652; in '32 favored Pico against Echeandía. iii. 218; in '33–4 suplente congressman, member of the dip., and alcalde of Los Ang. iii. 242, 246–50, 258, 275, 327, 342, 366, 373, 635, 637, 644. In '35–6 C. was in Mex. as member of congress; otherwise as 1st vocal of the dip. he would have been gov. ad. int. instead of Castro in '35; and might in '36–7 have given a more formidable aspect to the southern opposition to Alvarado. iii. 258, 291–2, 299. He came back at the end of '37, and from that time to the beginning of '39 engaged in fruitless efforts to rule Cal. by making his brother Don Cárlos gov., being more than once a prisoner, and on one occasion spending some months in captivity at Sonoma, where by his diplomatic skill he wellnigh won over Gen. Vallejo to his cause. iii. 534–45, 547–9, 551, 555, 558–9, 564, 566, 570–1, 573, 578, 580; memb. of the dip., ministro of the tribunal superior, believed to be engaged in various plots '40–3. iii. 602, 604–7, 632; iv. 193, 282, 284, 296, 319; in '43–4, grantee with his brother of Sta Rosa Isl., capt. of Los Ang. defensores, and not very active openly in opposition to Micheltorena. iv. 351, 407, 462, 475, 643; but finally induced in '45 to join the revolutionists. iv. 491–3, 509, 522. Under the new administration in '45, after declining the appointment of 1st justice of the tribunal, C. become lieut-col of militia, comandante de escuadron, and com. principal of the southern line. In this capacity as representative of Gen. Castro in the south he became a northern partisan in the sectional quarrels, and was banished to the frontier by Gov. Pico. iv. 520, 523, 531–2, 538–41. Returning in '46 he joined Castro at Sta Clara, as mayor-gen. of the Cal. forces, and retreated to the south in July. v. 39, 41, 53, 105, 134–5. In Flores' revolt C. was 2d in com., defeating Mervine, and frightening Stockton away from S. Pedro; then engaging in a plot against Flores, but resuming his allegiance for the final struggle against the invaders, and finally signing the treaty of Cahuenga as Mex. commissioner in Jan. '47. v. 309, 318–20, 324, 331–3, 391, 404–5. In '49 he was a member of the constitutional convention, and this would seem to have been the end of his public life. He died at Sta B. in '62. His 1st wife was Estefana Pico, and his second Jacinto Pico, both sisters of Don Pio. A daughter married Lewis T. Burton, but I know nothing of any other children. Thus Don José Antonio's name was constantly before the Cal. public for over 25 years. He was a man of remarkable natural abilities for the most part unimproved and wasted. Slight modifications in the conditions and his character might have made him the foremost of Californians—either the best or worst. None excelled him in intrigue, and he was never without a plot on hand. A gambler, of loose habits, and utterly careless in his associations, he yet never lost the privilege of associating with the best or the power of winning their friendship. There was nothing he would not do to oblige a friend or get the better of a foe; and there were few of any note who were not at one time or another both his foes and friends. No Californian could drink so much brandy as he with so little effect. A man of fine appearance and iron constitution; of generous impulses, without much principle; one of the few original and prominent characters in early Californian annals. C. (José Antonio), son of Domingo, at school in Lima '29; grantee of Lompoc '37 and Purísima—mision vieja—'45; also in charge of S. Miguel. iii. 655; iv. 643, 660; his wife was Felicidad Gutierrez.

Carrillo (José Raimundo), 1769, nat. of Loreto, who came as a soldier and rose to be capt., dying in 1809. He may be regarded as the founder of the Carrillo family, which must be considered in several respects the leading one in Cal., by reason of the number and prominence of its members and of their connection by marriage with so many of the best families, both native and pioneer. The captain's wife was Tomasa Ignacia Lugo; his sons and some of his grandsons are named in these pages; his only daughter, María Antonia, married Capt. José de la Guerra y Noriega. See biog. ii. 99-101; ment. i. 463, 466, 551-2, 665, 679-82, 692-3, 701; ii. 28, 30, 116-19, 140, 143-4, 174. He signed his name Raymundo, dropping the José. C. (José Ramon), son of Joaquin (of S. Diego), who in '44 was at Sonoma, age 21, having come north with his mother a few years before. In '46 he was an officer in Padilla's band of Californians who captured and killed Cowie and Fowler during the Bear revolt. v. 160-4. It was claimed by himself and friends, then and later, that the murder was committed against his protest or without his knowledge, and I have no reason to suppose that he was in any way responsible for that unfortunate occurrence. He joined Castro's force as lieut., and with him went south, taking part with his countrymen in the last campaigns of the war '46-7. v. 308, 312, 325, 329, 331, 351, 388, 617; and remained in the south. He was a rough and reckless fellow, often in bad company, but not regarded as a bad man by those who knew him best. He was tried by the courts and by the vigilantes for murder, and acquitted; but soon, in May '64, he was shot from behind the trees at Cucamonga. Whether this murder was committed by a vigilante not pleased with the verdict, by some avenger of the Sonoma victims, or by a private foe, was never known. C. (José Ramon), at Sta B. '44; grantee of Matzultaquea rancho '45. iv. 496, 635. Perhaps same as preceding; if not, I have no idea who he was. C. (Juan), soldier of the S.F. comp. at Sonoma '41.

Carrillo (Julio), son of Joaquin, brother of Ramon, who came north with his mother about '40, and in '44 is ment. in a Sonoma list as 19 years of age. In '46, going to visit his brother-in-law, Gen. Vallejo, a prisoner at Sutter's Fort, Don Julio was himself thrown into prison for several months. v. 124, 128, 298-9; had a Cal. claim of $17,500, most of which was disallowed. v. 467. From '49 he was a resident of Sta Rosa, where he was the owner of a large tract of his mother's rancho. iv. 673; but like most of his countrymen lost his land. Still living at Sta Rosa, '85, in poverty, but a man of good repute. C. (Luis), son of Anastasio; married Refugio Ortega; 2d alcalde of Sta B. '47. v. 631; died in early times. C. (María del Espíritu Santo), grantee of Loma del Esp. Sto rancho, Mont. dist. '39. iii. 677. I am unable to say who she was.

Carrillo (Mariano), 1769, brother of Guillermo, uncle of José Raim., had a brother Raimundo who never came to Cal.; their parents were Juan Carrillo and Efigenia Millar. Came as a corp. and d. as alférez in 1782; had no family. Biog. i. 385-6; ment. 252-3, 304, 315-16, 335-40, 426-7. C. (Pedro C.), son of Cárlos Antonio, educated at Honolulu and Boston; arrested at Sta B. by Castro '38. iii. 555, 569; grantee of Álamos y Agua Caliente, and Camulos '43, and S. Diego Isl. '46. iv. 634, 642; v. 619; elector at Los. Ang. '45. iv. 540; receptor at S.D. '46. v. 618-19. In the troubles of '46-7 Don Pedro favored the Americans from the first, and was made collector at S. Pedro, S. Diego, and finally at Sta B. v. 267, 287, 402, 446, 572, 626, 631; alcalde of Sta B. '48. v. 586-7, 631, 611. He was town surveyor of Sta B.; and later justice of the peace at Los. Ang., where he still resides in '85. In '77 he allowed me to copy his col. of *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, including his father's original commission as gov. His wife was Josefa Bandini, and there are several sons and daughters.

Carrillo (Raimundo), son of Anastasio; clerk at Sta B. mission '35, and admin. '36-8. iii. 657-8; sub-prefect '39-40. iii. 654-5; iv. 15, 641; secretary of juez, '41. iv. 632, 641; in '41 grantee of S. Miguel rancho. iv. 643; in '43 juez at Sta B. and grantee of Nojoqui. iv. 642–3; capt. of defensores '49. iv. 407: suplente of sup. court, and elector of Sta B. '45. iv. 532, 540; in '46 com. at Sta B. v. 330, 400, 630. He was alcalde of Sta B. in '49, and still lived there in '50 and later. His wife was Dolores Ortega, and there were several children. Carrillo (Ramona), daughter of Joaquin; grantee of rancho at S. Luis Ob. '41. iv. 655; later Mrs Wilson; still living in '85. C. (Tomás M.), 1848, named by Brooks as a robber shot by Bradley. C. (Vicente), soldier of S.F. comp. at Sonoma '41–2. C. (W.), 1841, nat. of L. Cal.; in Sonoma Co. '51–77. Carrion (Manuel), 1837, Frenchman at Sta Cruz desiring to marry. iv. 118. C., several of the name at Los Ang. '46.

Carson (Christopher), 1830 (?), Kentuckian trapper, guide, and Ind.-fighter, born in 1809, who claimed to have come to Cal. with Ewing Young, and very likely did so. iii. 175, 180. At any rate, he came in '44 as guide and hunter with Frémont; and again with the same officer in '45. iv. 437, 583. His acts in '46, in connection with F.'s operations at Gavilan in the Sac. Valley, on the Or. frontier, in the S. Rafael campaign of the Bear revolt, are mentioned in v. 3, 6, 24–5, 94, 121, 127, 171–2, 175. Going south, he was sent east with despatches in Aug., but met Kearny in N. Mex. and returned with him, taking part in the S. Pascual fight, and subsequently serving in the Los Ang. campaign. v. 216, 236-7, 350, 417. In March '47 he was again sent to Washington with despatches, accompanying Lieut Beale. At Wash. he was appointed lieut—though the appointment was not confirmed—and sent back to Cal., arriving in Dec., returning in '48, and then settling in N. Mex. Again in '53 he came to Cal. with a flock of sheep. In N. Mex. he was farmer, hunter, and guide; an Ind. agent from '54; colonel and brevet brigadier-gen. of volunteers at the end of the war of '61–5. He died at Ft Lyon, Colorado, in '68, at the age of 59. His first wife was an Indian woman, by whom he had a daughter; the 2d wife was Josefa Jaramillo, who bore him 3 children. *Peters' Life and Adven. of Kit Carson* was published in '59; *Abbott's Christopher Carson* in '76. Kit Carson was a small, wiry man, of undoubted bravery and skill in all that pertained to his profession, comparatively quiet in manner, and somewhat less garrulous and boastful than many of the frontiersmen; yet the difference between him and others of his class in character and skill was by no means so marked as has been represented in eulogistic biog. sketches. No one, however, begrudges Kit the fame his biographers have given him. It is their custom, ignoring faults, to concentrate in one trapper all the virtues of his class for dramatic effect. Carson's statements on his Cal. experience were not noticeable for their accuracy; his connection with the Haro-Berreyesa murder—though he doubtless obeyed orders—is not creditable; and I suppose his influence to have had much to do with Frémont's stupid folly of the Gavilan, and Kearny's disaster at S. Pascual.

Carson (James H.), 1847, nat. of Va; sergt in Co. F, 3d artill. v. 519-20; in the mines '48; an active prospector, who gave his name to several 'diggings,' and whose little book—*Early Recoll. of the Mines*—was pub. at Stockton in '52. He died in '53, his wife and child arriving a little later, but returning to the east. C. (John), owner of S.F. lot '46; went to U.S. C. (Jose Manuel,) 1840, at S. Gabriel with a Sonora pass to visit Cal. C. (Lindsay), 1847, settler in Russ. Riv. Valley; still there after '56. *Son. Co. Hist.*, 358. Carson (Moses), 1832, brother of Kit, from N. Mex. with Ewing Young. iii. 388, 408. He remained for some time in the Los Ang. region, and in '36 obtained a certif. of 10 years' resid. in Mex. Territory and 4 in Cal., being then 31 years old. In '45 he went north to take charge of Capt. Fitch's Russ. Riv. rancho; joined the Bears in '46, and was the messenger who announced the capture of Sonoma at N. Helv.; also in Cal. Bat. (v. 358), and had a Cal. claim of $653, not allowed (v. 462). After his discharge he returned to Healdsburg, but soon after '50 recrossed the continent and soon died. C. (Richard), 1847, sup. of the *Confederacion*. v. 577. Carstens (H.), 1848, German said to have come this year; in S. Mateo Co. '59–78.

Carter, 1825, mr of the *Jura*. iii. 147. C., 1845, a physician at N. Helv.

'45-6. iv. 580; perhaps Geo. C., 1848, mr of the *Kamehameha III.*; of C. & Davis at S.F.; perhaps Joseph O. C. (David), 1848, at Mont. from Boston with letters from J. C. Jones. C. (Geo.), 1845, immig. apparently of the Grigsby-Ide party. iv. 578, 587; perhaps the G. S. Carter who served in the Cal. Bat. (v. 358). C. (Geo.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). C. (Geo.), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). C. (Henry), 1831, mr of the *Wm Little.* iii. 384. C. (J. B.), 1846, lieut on the *Savannah.* C. (John), 1844, Amer. sailor from the *Tasso;* landed sick at S.D. iv. 453; sent to Mont. on the *Admittance;* aided by the consul, and shipped in '46. C. (John), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). C. (Joseph O.), 1831, Amer. mr of the *Volunteer* and *Harriet Blanchard* '31-3, and of the *Rasselas* '36-8. iii. 382, 384, 405; iv. 105, 141. His wife and child often accomp. him on his voy. bet. Cal. and the islands. Went to Boston on the *Alciope* in '40. iv. 100; d. at Honolulu about '51. His son Henry A. Carter was Hawaiian min. at Wash. '84. Also called J. D. and John O.; possibly more than one man. C. (Philo J.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl. at Los Ang. C. (R.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. C. (R.R.), 1846, mid. on the U.S. *Savannah.*

Cartney (Barthol.), 1847, lot-owner at S.F. Cartwright, 1841, mr of the *Sapphire.* iv. 568. C. (H. B.), 1848, at Benicia. *Yuba Co. Hist.*, 86. Carver (M.M.), 1848, Kentuckian from Or., and member of the const. convention '49. Cary (Lewis), 1848 (?), in Colusa '80; said to have come by the isthmus in '48. *Col. Co. Hist.*, 81. Cásares, see 'Cáceres.' Casarin, see 'Jimeno C.'

Case (A. L.), 1841, lieut U.S. ex. exped. iv. 241. C. (B. A.), 1847, nat. of Conn.; settler at Sta Cruz; died in Mendocino '71. His wife, Mary Amney of Vt, taught at Sta Cruz '48, and still lived there in '80. Casement (Wm), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Casey (Michael), 1847, Co. I, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). C. (Neil), Co. B, N.Y.Vol. Cash (A.), 1837, mr of the *Harvest.* iv. 104. C. (James H.), 1844, Amer. sailor from a whaler at Mont. iv. 453; enlisted Nov. '46 in Co. G, Cal. Bat., and was wounded at Natividad. v. 371; mentioned also in '48. C. (John C.), 1847, lieut of marines on the *Columbus.* Casper (Wm W.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); Utah farmer and col of militia '81. Cassel (John), 1847, perhaps of N.Y.Vol., not on roll. Cassidy (Hugh), 1847, Co. F, 3d artill. (v. 518). Cassin (John W.), 1846, sergt Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336); went east '49, but returned from Washington Ter. '52, settling in Tuolumne; a farmer in Tehama '62-77, the time of his death. Castañares (Gregorio), regidor at Mont. '44. iv. 653. C. (José), juez de campo at Mont. '35. iii. 674.

Castañares (José María), 1833, Mex. from Puebla; clerk for the admin. of customs Rafael Gonzalez, whose daughter, Ana María, was his wife; 29 years old in '36, when his amours with Ildefonsa Herrera were the basis of a causa célebre at Mont. iii. 436-9. He was a handsome fellow, but arrogant in manner. He went to Mex. a little later, but in '40 came back on the *Catalina.* iv. 31; in '42 fiscal and ministro suplente of the tribunal. iii. 605; iv. 299, 296; in '43 grantee of the Arroyo de los Calzoncillos rancho. iv. 671; in '44 lieut-col of the defensores and a supporter of Micheltorena. iv. 405, 407, 509, 654; in '45 sent to Mex. by Gen. Castro on a mission of which little is known, and never returned. iv. 530, 601; v. 32. In '47 he appears as a colonel in the Mex. army. C. (Manuel), 1840, brother of José María, who came from Mex. to take charge of the Mont. custom-house, but became, instead, sec. of the prefecture '40-2. iii. 675; iv. 31, 626, 652; in '42 sent to Mex. by Alvarado as a commissioner, returning with appointment as admin. of customs; also fiscal of the tribunal. iv. 283-5, 296, 312, 339, 341, 352, 563; in '43 still admin. of customs, elector for Mont., grantee of Mariposas, and finally elected member of congress. iv. 355, 357, 361, 377, 386, 672. His labors in congress '44-5, as shown by his *Coleccion de Documentos* published in '45, are recorded in iv. 412-18, 431, 449-50, 457, 524-5; v. 32. He never returned to Cal., but in later years gave testimony in the Limantour case, which was pronounced false by Judge Hoffman. He was a man of some ability, and more popular than his brother. I think his family came and went with him.

Castañeda (Juan), 1837, Mex. capt., nat. of Texas, and com. of the L. Cal.

frontier, who came to Cal. with José Ant. Carrillo, and took a prominent part in the mil. operations to support Cárlos Carrillo in '38, until captured. iii. 546, 549–50, 553–5, 569, 661. In '39 he was made sec. of the com. gen., and sent on a mission to Mex. by Vallejo. iii. 599; iv. 285; returned in '42 with Micheltorena, or at least about the same time; in '43–6 not much is heard of him, but he was the grantee, as was claimed, of several pieces of land, having a lot at S.F. iv. 352, 669, 671; v. 41, 561, 665, 680. After '50 a witness in land cases. A man of good manners, fair education, and little force.

Castillero (Andrés), 1836, Mex. capt. of the L. Cal. frontier comp., who came to Mont. apparently with Gov. Chico; at the downfall of Gutierrez he was not exiled, but chose to go away, perhaps to Mex. iii. 460–3; in '37 he came back as a comisionado of the Mex. govt and induced Alvarado to submit to centralism, being at once sent back to Mex. to work for Alvarado's interests. iii. 521, 526–31, 572, 624. Successful again, he returned to Cal. in '38. iii. 574–6; iv. 101; in '39 was grantee of Sta Cruz Isl., and went to Mex. as congressman and habilitado-gen. of the Cal. companies. iii. 582, 590, 656; iv. 66, 100, 102, 143. In '45 he came back once more as a comisionado of the govt to prepare for the reception of Mex. troops and defence against Amer. invaders. iv. 528, 535, 537, 602–3, 606, 614; v. 17. It was at this time that Castillero found and denounced the famous New Almaden quicksilver mine, for which he figured as claimant in the litigation of later years. v. 665. He was sent to Mex. again on govt business early in '46 and did not return till after the war. v. 32–3, 577. I have no record of him after the litigation of '49–61, during which he resided chiefly in Mex.

Castillo (Ambrosio, Enrique, Gabriel, José M., Loreto, and Manuel), at Los Ang. '46. C. (Felipe), Sonoran cigar-maker and trader, age 25, who took part in the Apalátegui revolt at Los Ang. '35. iii. 282–5; went to Son. but returned in '45. iv. 572; grantee of Valle de S. Felipe, and sent overland with despatches to Son. '46. v. 332, 619. C. (José), juez aux. Mont. '44. iv. 653. C. (José María), soldier at S. José mission 1797–1800. i. 556. C. (José María), regidor at Mont. '31–2. iii. 672–3. C. (Francisco), sec. to sub-prefect at Sta B. and to prefect at Los Ang. '39–40. iii. 640, 654–5. C. (Pedro del), Mex. infantry sergt from S. Blas about '25; elector at S.F. '27. ii. 592; regidor Mont. '33. iii. 673; receptor of customs at S.F. '33–6; iii. 377, 700. C. (Nícanor de Jesus Garnica del), 1842, came from N. Mex. in a colony, and after a short stay at S. Luis Ob. came to Mont., living later at S. José, and finally near Salinas, where in '77 he gave me some *Recuerdos* of events in '44–6.

Castillo Bueno (Juan), 1602, sergt in Vizcaino's exped. i. 98. Castillo Negrete (Francisco Javier), 1834, came from Mex. with the H. & P. col.; síndico and sec. of ayunt. at Mont. '35; sec. of Gov. Chico; grantee of Quien Sabe and Sta Ana ranchos '36; either exiled with Gutierrez or sent by Chico as an agent to Mex. a little earlier in '36. See iii. 466; also 263, 426, 674, 678. C. N. (Luis), 1834, Span. lawyer, brother of Fran. J., who also came with the colony as district judge of Cal.; a bitter opponent of Alvarado's govt, who went away voluntarily with Gutierrez in '36; a poet as well as lawyer; later gov. of L. Cal.; died in '43. Biog. iii. 463–6; ment. iii. 263, 267, 277, 372, 415, 480, 484, 486–7, 534, 586. Castle (John), 1845, deserter from the *Hopewell*, at S. Diego. Casto (James), 1847, Co. D., Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Caston (Geo. R.), 1847, Co. D., N.Y. Vol. (v. 499).

Castro. Except in the case of a few of the most prominent of the name, no attempt is made here to follow the complicated connections of this family or group of families, doubtless the most numerous in Cal. Castro, in a S.F. padron '44, age 25. C. (Agustin), son of Mariano, at Las Ánimas '36, age 24. C. (Albino), son of Francisco M., age 16, in '41; d. without issue before '52. C. (Angel), sub-maj. of S. Juan B. '35. iii. 692; at S.F. del Rosario rancho '36. iii. 678; nat. of Cal., age 45, wife Isabel Butron, child. Ramon b. '16, Guadalupe '20, José '23, Josefa '30, Concepcion '32, Juana M. '31, José Joaq. '33, Josefa '34; ment. '40. iv. 6; in '42 grantee of Los Paicines, and com. of a militia comp. at S. José and Brancif. iv. 655, 663, 686; juez at S. Juan B. '44, '46; family insulted by Frémont's men. iv. 561; v. 9, 640; tax-payer in Mont.

Co. '50. C. (Antonio María), soldier of 1780, retired in 1809; grantee of Vega del Pájaro rancho '20. ii. 383, 664; iii. 679; suplente of dip. '22, and vocal '25. ii. 462; iii. 18. C. (Antonio), son of Francisco M. iv. 71, 544, 679. C. (Antonio), perhaps son of Ant. María, or in some items there may be confusion bet. him and his father and others; regidor of Mont. '30–1. ii. 612; iii. 212, 672; comis. of S. Antonio mis. '31. iii. [illegible]7, 687; alc. at Pájaro '35. iii. 674; supl. juez at S. Juan B. '39, '46. iii. 693; v. 640. C. (Antonio), possibly the same, or the son of Fran. M., at S. José '41, age 41, wife Bárbara Soto, child. Francisca b. '24, Concepcion '28, José de Jesus '29, María S. '30, Gabriela '12, José '36, José Ant. '39. C. (Antonio María), son of Joaquin, at S. José '41, age 16. C. (Blas), son of José Ant., at S. Antonio rancho '36, age 20. C. (Cándida), wife of José Bolcof. ii. 479; grantee in '39, with her sisters, of Refugio rancho.

Castro (Cárlos), bro. of Francisco, Ignacio, and Mariano; maj. at Sta Cruz '12. ii. 388; supl. of the dip. '22–4. ii. 462, 543–4; síndico at S. José '28, also supl. vocal '28–9. ii. 605; iii. 42–3; in '34 grantee of Las Llagas rancho, Sta Clara Co. iii. 674, 677, 712; where he lived in '36, age 60, nat. of Cal., wife María del Rosario García; supl. vocal of junta '39. iii. 590. Don Cárlos is described as an eccentric old fellow, who tempered his hospitality by an affectation of abusing his guests. By a padron of '41 he was a Sonoran, age '62, while his wife was a year younger than in '36! C. (Cárlos), ment. at S. Luis Rey '39. iii. 625. C. ('Chanate'), see 'C. (Manuel).' C. (Crisanto), son of Mariano, at S. José '41, age 11. C. (Cruz), at S. Bern. '46, age 28. C. (Evaristo), son of José, at Las Ánimas '38, age 22. C. (Felipe), prob. son of Mariano, soldier at Mont. '36, age 26. C. (Francisco), piloto and master of transport vessels 1776–8. i. 287, 266, 328.

Castro (Francisco María), nat. of Sinaloa, b. 1775; prob. bro. of Cárlos, Ign., and Mariano; for 13 years artill. soldier and corp.; settler at S.F. before 1800, in which year he was alcalde. i. 716, 718. In '22 elector, member of dip., alc. at S. José (?). ii. 454, 462, 584, 604; in '23 explor. exped. north of bay, and grant of the S. Pablo rancho, renewed in '34, where Don Francisco spent the rest of his life. ii. 497–9, 594–5, 664; iii. 713; vocal and elector '25, '27. ii. 592; iii. 17–18. Duhant-Cilly, *Viaggio* ii. 88–9, says that Don Francisco was of French descent; I find no other evidence of this fact, or of any direct relationship to the other Castros. He died in '31, leaving a widow, Gabriela Berreyesa, who died in '51; 7 sons—Alvino, Antonio, Gabriel Vicente, Jesus María, Joaquin Isidro, Juan José, and Victor; 4 daughters—María de Jesus who d. before '52 without issue, María Gregoria who married José Ramon Estrada and died without issue before '52, Francisca who married Joaq. Moraga and died before '52 leaving 5 children, and Martina the wife of Gov. Alvarado. iii. 593, 679. The San Pablo estate was left half to the widow and half to the 11 children, and by deaths and the mother's will Doña Martina C. de Alvarado became owner of 15-22. But the lawyers got in their work in the distribution, and the whole family has been kept in a state of landed poverty by litigation, which in '85 is not entirely at an end. C. (Francisco), son of Guillermo, at Mont., '36–41, age 4–7. C. (Fran.), son of Juan José, at S. José '41, age 8. C. (Fran.), son of Rafael, at Brancif. '45, age 20. C. (Fran.), son of Simeon, at Mont. '36, age 4. C. (Fran.), Cal. claim of $3,045 in '46.

Castro (Gabriel Vicente), son of Francisco M., resid. at S. Pablo; elector at S.F. '35. iii. 704; sergt in militia comp. '37; juez de campo '43. iv. 685; ment. in '44. iv. 463; lawsuit '47. v. 663. C. (Guadalupe), bro. of Rafael and Juan José at Brancif. '45, age 30, single; juez de paz '43. iv. 663. C. (Guad.), son of Angel, age 16 in '36. C. (Guad.), son of Joaquin, at Brancif. '28; claimant of S. Andrés rancho '52. iii. 678. C. (Guad.), son of Juan José, at Brancif. '45, age 19. C. (Guillermo), prob. son of Cárlos, at Las Llagas '36. iii. 677; lieut of S. José militia '37. iii. 732; grantee of S. Lorenzo rancho '38–41. iii. 711, 713; iv. 673; in '38 surveyor at S. José. iii. 730; in '41 at his rancho, age 31, wife Luisa Peralta, child. Juan b. '31, Francisco '34, José Ramon Simon '34, Concepcion '35, Encarnacion '46, Loreto '37, Luisa '38; in '41–4 juez of the contra costa. iv. 684–5; in '45 suplente min. of the sup. tribunal. iv. 532.

Castro (Ignacio), bro. of Cárlos, Fran., and Mariano; soldier of S.F. 1780; settler at S. José 1786; alcalde 1799, 1804, '9, '10. i. 477–8, 716; ii. 134; perhaps the same man who was drowned near Mission S. José in '17. ii. 382. C. (Ign.), son of Joaquin, at Brancif. '28. C. (Ign.), son of Mariano, at S. José '41, age 20. C. (Isidoro), his daughter married Surg. Dávila. i. 469. C. (Jesus María), son of Francisco M.; resid. of S. Pablo; age 18 in '41; in S. F. militia '37. C. (Jesus M.), son of Juan José, at Brancif. '28, age 13. C. (Joaquin), soldier of S.F. comp. 1777; wife Martina Botiller; settler at S. José 1790, etc. i. 478, 617; perhaps the same who owned the Buenavista rancho near Mont. '95, and obtained La Brea 1801–2. i. 683; ii. 171, 664. C. (Joaquin), inválido soldier and settler at Brancif. from 1799. i. 571; married María Ant. Amador; maj. of Sta Cruz '18. ii. 244–5; fined '27. ii. 627; in '28 at Brancif., a widower, child. Guadalupe, Ignacio, Joaquin, Vicenta, Daría; Rafael, and Juan José were apparently his sons; there had also been a daughter Plácida de Jesus, b. 1803; ment. in '30. ii. 627; alcalde '31. iii. 696–7; grantee of S. Andrés rancho '33. iii. 678. C. (Joaquin), son of preceding; at Brancif. '45, age 25, wife Eusebia Valencia, child. José and Marcelina. C. (Joaquin), prob. son of Joaq. of '95; at La Brea '36, age 41; at S. José '41, age 47; wife María Inés Sepúlveda, child. Mariano b. '21, Antonio M. '23, Lugarda '28. C. (Joaquin Isidro), son of Francisco M.; regidor at S.F. '35. iii. 704; lieut of the civic comp. '37. iii. 701; grantee of El Sobrante '41. iv. 673–4; ment. '41–3. iv. 199, 684, 686; Cal. claim of $8,516 (v. 462) in '46; claimant for S. Pablo, and executor of his father's estate. iii. 713.

Castro (José), son of José Tiburcio, b. about 1810; at school in Mont. '15–20. ii. 429; his 1st public service seems to have been as sec. of the Mont. ayunt. in '28. ii. 612; though in these years it is difficult to distinguish in the records between him and his father, both called generally José. Arrested by the rebels of '29. iii. 69, 89; sec. in '30, also arrested again for expressing contempt for the Mex. iii. 49–50; ii. 612. Besides being engaged to some extent in otter-hunting '31–4, Castro was still sec. of the ayunt. '31, also named as comisionado to secularize S. Miguel, and a member of the dip. which Victoria refused to convene. iii. 186 et seq., 307, 374, 394, 684–5; 7th vocal of the dip. '33. iii. 246, 249–50, 291; 3d vocal in '35, but acting as 1st in the absence of the 1st and 2d, and thus acting gov. Sept. '35 to Jan. '36. iii. 298–300, 414–16, 426; also comisionado at S. Juan B. in '35. iii. 692. He took part in the troubles with Gov. Chico. iii. 424, 440; and in Oct.–Nov. '36 was Alvarado's chief supporter as mil. com. in the overthrow of Gutierrez. iii. 453–75. From Nov. 5th, the downfall of G., he was com. gen. of Cal. to Nov. 29th, and gov.—as presid. of the dip.—to Dec. 7th; then, as lieut-col of civic militia—under Vallejo, who remained at the north as com. gen.—he went south to take charge of Alvarado's cause in the complicated campaigns of '37–8. iii. 493, 501, 503, 505, 509–10, 520–1, 522–3, 526, 546, 551–6, 558–62, 577–8, 580, 582; claiming also a grant of Yerba Buena Isl. in '38. iii. 713. In '39 he was commissioned by the Mex. govt as capt. of the Mont. comp. iii. 584, 671; was vocal of the junta, one of the terna for gov., and grantee of S. Justo rancho; and prefect of the Mont. district '39–40. iii. 584–6, 588, 590, 603–4, 675, 678; iv. 75. In '40 Castro arrested the foreigners and went with them to S. Blas, being tried by court-martial and acquitted in Mex., and returning to Cal. in '41. iv. 6, 11–35, 37, 193, 202–4; mention in '41–3 as capt., promoted to lieut-col in '42, member of the junta, etc. iv. 282, 292, 295, 313, 339, 357, 360–2, 364, 652; in '44 lieut-col of the defensores, and sent to establish a frontier garrison in the S. Joaq. Val. iv. 407–9; a leader in the revolt against Micheltorena '44–5, and after M.'s overthrow became com. gen. of Cal. iv. 458, 460, 463, 483, 485, 488–510; his official acts in '45, controversy with Gov. Pico, precautions against foreign invasion, tour in the north, treatment of immigrants, etc. iv. 518–45, 556, 558–60, 589–90, 601, 603, 606–7, 652; continuation of the controversy in '46, troubles with Frémont and the Bears, negotiations with Larkin, operations at Sta Clara, and retreat to the south in July. v. 5–53, 60–1, 72, 78–100, 105–9, 132–3, 185, 230–3, 245, 637, 661, 675; final operations in the south, negotiations with Stockton, and flight to Mex. Aug. '46. v. 261–78, 407–9. Don José came back to Cal. from Sinaloa in '48, v. 585–6, 640, 678, and lived as a private citizen at Mont. and S. Juan till '53, when he went again to Mex., being made sub-jefe político and mil. com. of the L. Cal. frontier from about '56. In '60, while holding this office, he was killed in a drunken brawl—or, as some say, assassinated—by one Manuel Marquez. His widow, Modesta Castro, was still living in Cal. as late as '77. Thus, José Castro was the most prominent of his name as a public man. No Californian has been so thoroughly abused as he in what has passed for history. It should be stated at the outset that nine tenths of all that has been said against him by American writers has no foundation in truth. Of his conduct in the sectional quarrels of '45–6, there is not much to be said in his favor, except that it was somewhat less discreditable than that of his opponent, Pico; but with his acts in the contest with the settlers and the U.S. little fault can be justly found. He did not maltreat the exiles of '40, as charged by Farnham and others. He did not break his pledge to Frémont in the spring of '46, nor did he do any of the absurd things attributed to him in connection with the Gavilan affair; but his conduct was far more honorable, dignified, and consistent than that of Frémont. He did not threaten to drive the immigrants back into the snows of the Sierra, but treated them with uniform kindness; nor did he incite the Ind. to burn Sutter's grain-fields. In the southern negotiations of August he bore a much more honorable part than did Com. Stockton. He was not a very able man, but with ten times his ability and resources no resistance could have been offered to the U.S.; he was not a very brave man, but he showed no cowardice in the operations of '46. Indeed, his record as a public man in Upper Cal. was, on the whole, not a bad one. He had much energy, was popular with most classes, was true to his friends, and as a public officer fairly honest. About his private character there is great difference of opinion among competent witnesses, native and foreign, who knew him well. He must have had some good qualities, yet it is clear that he had some very bad ones. He was addicted to many vices, and when drunk, especially in the later years, was rough to the verge of brutality; yet a kind-hearted man when sober. Of commonplace abilities and education, in most respects inferior to such men as Vallejo, Bandini, Alvarado, and Carrillo, he was yet by no means the cowardly, incompetent braggart that he has been generally painted. Castro (José), sirviente at S.F. mis. 1777. i. 297. C. (José), soldier of S.F. comp. '19-22; in '36 at Las Ánimas, age 39, wife Inés Robles, child. Evaristo b. '14, Juana '21, Estefana '23, Salvador '26; prob. a son of Mariano. C. (José Antonio), nat. of Sinaloa; at S. Antonio rancho '36, age 50, wife Merced Ortega, child. Blas b. '16, Mariano '18, Rudesindo '20, Estefana '21, Bautista '23, Emiliana '24, Blanca '25, Manuel '28, Francisco '29, Perseverancia '30, Tomás '31, Juan '32, Ventura '34. iii. 678; grantee of Lomas Muertas and Estanislao '42–3. iv. 655, 672; in S. José dist. '50. C. (José Ant.), son of Mariano, at S. José '41, age 14. C. (José Ant.), son of Rafael, at Brancif. '45, age 18. C. (José Ant.), son of Simeon, at Mont. '36, age 6. C. (José Ignacio), at Brancif. '45, age '28, wife Ricarda Rodriguez, child. José Ramon b. '37, José Simon '39, María '44. C. (José J.), at S. José '39. iii. 731. C. (José Jesus), son of Antonio, at S. José '41, age 12. C. (José Joaquin), son of Angel, age 3, '36. C. (José Manuel), son of Juan José, at Brancif. '45, age 21. C. (José María), son of Rafael, at Brancif., age 22, in '45; witness in the Santillan case. C. (José Ramon Simon), son of Guillermo, at S. José '41, age 7. C. (José Saturnino), soldier at S.F. '19–22.

Castro (José Tiburcio), son of Macario, nat. of Sinaloa, who came to Cal. prob. before 1800; perhaps the man ment. 1801, '16. ii, 152, 371. He was a soldier, and finally a corporal. In '19 alcalde of S. José, having a rancho in that vicinity. ii. 378; suplente or vocal of the dip. '22, '24, '27. ii. 462, 510–11, 612; iii. 36; alcalde of Mont. '27. ii. 612; in '28–9, memb. of dip. and partido elector. ii. 613; iii. '41–4; alc. '29. ii. 612; iii. 69, 73; vocal '31, taking part against Victoria. iii. 187, 189; comisionado for Soledad '31. iii. 307, 690; grantee of Sauzal rancho '34, '45. iii. 679; maj. and admin. at S. Juan B. '35–6. iii. 354, 692; memb. of the junta dip. '39. iii. 590; prefect of the

1st dist. in '40, succeeding his son. iii. 652, 656, 675–6. His wife seems to have been an Álvarez; but I have no record of any children except José and the wife of Santiago Moreno, nor of the date of his death. Don Tiburcio was a man of little ability and still less education, but of excellent character. C. (Juan), had a son in the Mont. school '46. C. (Juan), son of Guillermo, S. José dist. '41, age 10. C. (Juan Bautista), son of José Ant., at S. Antonio rancho '36, age 13; perhaps the alférez of aux. cavalry at Mont. '45–6 of same name. v. 41. C. (Juan B.), son of Simeon, b. '35; in later years a prosperous ranchero at Castroville, where he still resides in '85. C. (Juan José), son of Francisco M.; militiaman S.F. '37; grantee of Y. B. Isl. '38; in '41 in S. José dist (at S. Pablo), age 38, wife Petra Bernal, child. Maiseta (?) b. '28, Magin '30, Francisco '33, José María and Narcisa '38; grantee of El Sobrante and other lands in the contra costa '41, '44. iv. 671; living in '52; d. before '82, the date of his widow's death. C. (Juan José), bro. of Rafael and Guadalupe, at Brancif. '28, wife Manuela Juarez, son Manuel; regidor '33. ii. 627, 696; in '45 at Brancif., age 38, wife (2d) Rita Josefa, child. José Manuel b. '24, Guadalupe '26, Trinidad '28, Jesus María '32, José Domingo '33, Cármen '34, Amoina (?) '36, Angustias '42. C. (Juan María), at Mont. '36, age 14; Mrs M. Castro de Estrada was apparently his sister. C. (Leandro), son of Simeon, b. '34; in later years ranchero near Castroville; still living '85. C. (Luis), Span. soldier who left the *Aquiles* at Sta B. iii. 27, 51–2; at S. Gabriel '28–9, 60 years old, single, of good conduct. C. (Luis), at Los Ang. '46, possibly the preceding.

Castro (Macario), native of Sinaloa, soldier from 1778, who came to Cal. in 1784; was corp. of the S. D. comp. at S. Juan Cap. '85–7; and at S. José and Soledad '90–4, being comisionado of S. José '92–4. i. 479, 499, 716; sergt from '94. i. 680; frequent mention '95–1800, in con. with Ind. affairs and explor. exped. i. 548–9, 552, 558–9, 683, list auth.; invál. and comisionado at S. José 1788–1807, and a prominent citizen in many respects. ii. 16, 132, 134–5, 140–1. I find no record of him after 1807. His wife, who came with him to Cal., was María Potenciana Ramirez; their children were José Tiburcio, Agapito, Simeon, Mariano, María de Jesus, María Dolores, and Cármen, all born before 1793. Don Macario, as the grandfather of José and Manuel, may be regarded as the most prominent among the Castro founders. C. (Magin), son of Juan José, S. José dist. '41, age 11. C. (Manuel de Jesus), son of Simeon, b. '21; sec. and collector at Mont. 39. iii. 675; sec. of the prefecture '42–3. iv. 652. He was prime mover in the revolt against Micheltorena, taking an active part throughout in '44–5, being once captured and exchanged, and finally comisionado to make a treaty. iv. 458–9, 462–8, 486–7, 500–509. Under the new admin. he was made prefect of the Monterey district in '45, being also made lieut of the Mont. comp., and taking a most prominent part in public affairs, as representative of the civil authority and supporter of Gov. Pico against Gen. Castro in the north. iv. 533, 536–7, 606, 652. In '46, besides being promoted to capt. of the Sta B. comp., getting a land grant, having a Cal. claim of $10,000, and continuing his services as prefect, v. 636–7, he took a prominent and honorable part in the troubles with Frémont. v. 4, 12, 17; quarrel with Cambuston. v. 34; efforts for defence against the settlers and the U. S. v. 41, 45, 56, 131, 134–5; sent south in July as comisionado to effect a reconciliation bet. the general and gov. v. 136, 143–4, 261; left in com. at Los Ang. on Gen. C.'s departure in Aug., but there is doubt whether he was one of the officers captured and paroled by Stockton's men. v. 266, 282, 361. On the outbreak of Flores' revolt in Oct. Castro was put in com. of the northern division and commanded in the Natividad campaign. v. 321, 361–72, 639; flight to Mex. with Flores '47. v. 407–9. In Mex. Don Manuel continued his military services for several years, and in '49 was put in com. of the frontier comp. of L. Cal., in place of Andrés Castillero, taking charge of the military colony of Santo Tomás till '52, when he had to yield to Castillo Negrete. See *Hist. North Mex. States*, ii. Since '52 Castro has resided for the most part in S.F. down to '85, never becoming a citizen of the U. S., often interested in Mex. colonization schemes, and ranking as colonel in the Mex. army—perhaps brevet general in the last years. He was never married. Don Manuel was an abler man than his cousin, the general, and his public record in Cal. down to '47 was in most respects an excellent one. True to his country's cause, with no sympathy for foreign filibusters, he exerted himself, for the most part in vain, to heal foolish dissensions between Calif. chiefs and direct their force against the invaders. Of his later record not so much can be said in praise. Various 'ways that are dark' are popularly attributed to him, and, while charges are doubtless exaggerated, it is possible that he has yielded somewhat to temptations offered by land litigation, politics, dislike of the Yankees, and chronic impecuniosity. But at least he has contributed grandly to the store of material for Cal. history. The *Castro, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, in 3 vols, is a most important collection of original papers presented by him in '75; and a few years later he contributed a still larger and richer col. of *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, with important L. Cal. material—somewhat unwillingly, it is true, some of my assistants having to adopt the policy of 'fighting the devil with fire;' and finally I obtained his *Relacion de Alta Cal.*, none the less valuable because after it had been written at my expense one of my wicked collaborators had to steal a copy for my use. C. (Manuel), brother of the preceding, b. in '24; nicknamed 'Chanate;' capturer of despatches in '46. v. 235; perhaps the same who married the widow of Wm R. Garner, and a tax-payer at Mont. '50. C. (Manuel R.), soldier of the Mont. comp. from '36, sergt from '38; alférez from '46. iii. 671; v. 41; went to Mex. with Gen. Castro, continued in mil. service, and in '51 was at Sto Tomás on the frontier. C. (Manuel), son of Juan José, at Brancif. '28; perhaps same as the preceding. C. (Manuel), son of José Ant. at S. Antonio rancho '36, age 8. C. (M.), sentenced to presidio '45. iv. 654. C. (María Encarnacion), wife of Surg. Dávila 1782. i. 468. C. (María de Los Angeles), wife of J. L. Majors; grantee of Refugio '39. iii. 678.

Castro (Mariano), apparently bro. of Cárlos and Francisco M., and perhaps cousin of Macario; came to Cal. before 1800, in 1801 went to Mex. and obtained a grant of La Brea, or Las Ánimas, rancho in Sta Clara Co., about which he had considerable trouble later, though the grant was conf. in '35. ii. 7, 153, 163, 171, 594, 603, 673, 676, 711; alcalde at S. José '27, '30. ii. 605-6. He died before '35. His wife was Josefa Romero, living at La Brea '36, age 55, with her sons Agustin b. '12 and Vicente '18. One of their daughters, Lugarda, married Thos Doak in '20. ii. 277. I think another daughter, María, was the wife of Cárlos Ant. Carrillo. There were 4 children in 1801. C. (Mariano), son of Macario; probably the same who in '41 lived at S. José, age 57, wife Trinidad Peralta, child. Mercedes b. '13, Angela '17, Ignacio '21, José Ant. '27, Josefa '28, Crisanto '30, Susana '32; grantee of S. Ramon '33, and Solis '35, and of land in Mont. dist. '39 (Rufina C. being cl. of 2 of these ranchos and prob. his daughter). iii. 679, 713; juez de policía '42, '44. iii. 512; iv. 685. Perhaps the same man was one of the three of that name who voted at S. José in '50, or the Mont. tax-payer of the same year, or the claimant for Refugio rancho in '52; or some of these items may apply to one of the following. C. (Mariano), soldier of S. F. comp. '19-22. C. (Mariano), son of Joaquin, at La Brea '36, age 15. C. (Mariano), son of José Ant., at S. Antonio rancho '36, age 18. C. (Mariano I.), soldier of S. F. comp. '19-22. C. (Martina), grantee of Shoquel '33, and Palo de Yesca '34, and claimant '52. C. (Matias), settler at the Colorado pueblos 1780-1. i. 359. C. (Miguel), soldier '30, ii. 660. C. (Miguel), alférez of aux. cavalry Mont. '45; Cal. claim $174 in '46. C. (Modesta), wife of Gen. C., grantee of Cañada de los Osos, '44. iv. 655. C. (Pedro), son of Simeon, at Mont. '36, age 8. C. (Primo), at Las Ánimas '36, age 60.

Castro (Rafael), son of Joaquin, juez de campo at Brancif. '32. iii. 696; grantee of Aptos '33. iii. 676; síndico '34. iii. 696; alcalde aux. and juez '36, '42-3. iii. 663, 697; in '45 officer of election. iv. 664, then living at Brancif., age 40, wife Soledad Cota, child, José María b. '23, Francisco '25, José Ant. '27, Vicente '35, María '31, María de los Angeles '33, Rafaela '35, Angustias

'44. He died at Aptos in '78. Newspaper notices of his death give his age as 78, state that he was formerly a soldier and capt. before '30—doubtless an error—and that he had 11 children, 8 of them living in '78. Don Rafael, like his brothers, was an industrious and prosperous ranchero of good repute, not meddling much in politics. C. (Ramon), son of Angel, age 20 in '36. C. (Rudesindo), son of José Ant., at S. Ant. rancho '36, age 16. C. (Salvador), son of José, at Las Ánimas '36, age 10; '46 memb. of S. José council. v. 664; claimant of S. Gregorio '52. C. (Ramon), at S. Bern. '46, age 24.

Castro (Simeon), full name José Simeon Juan Nepomuceno, son of Macario, b. in 1784 at Sta B.; soldier of the Mont. comp. 1809; grantee of Bolsa Nueva y Moro Cojo '25 and later. ii. 615, 664, 672, 677; regidor at Mont. '33–4, '37. iii. 673, 675; in '36 at Mont., age 52, wife María Antonio Pico, child. Juana b. '17, Manuel J. '22, Manuel '24, María Antonio '26, Pedro '28, José Ant. '30, Francisco '32, Leandro '34, Juan B. '35. In '38–9 alcalde at Mont. iii. 577, 675; in '41 juez de paz, and grantee of Tucho. ii. 616; iv. 653, 656; in '42 grantee of Año Nuevo. iv. 655. He died about '42. His widow was the claimant for Bolsa Nueva and Corral de Padilla in '52. iii. 677; continued to live at Mont.; and died in '84. C. (Vicente), son of Mariano, at Las Ánimas '36, age 18. C. (Victor), son of Francisco M., ment. '36 in connection with Ind. affairs. iv. 71; militiaman '37; grantee of Mare Isl. '40–1. iii. 712; iv. 672; in '41 living at S. Pablo, age 24, wife Luisa Martinez (daughter of Don Ignacio), child José; juez de campo '43. iv. 685; ment. '44, '46. iv. 473; v. 105; Cal. claim (v. 462) of $12,912. Still a resid. of Contra Costa Co. '85. In early troubles with the Ind. as well as in later contests with the squatters, Don Victor has repeatedly shown himself to be a brave and determined man. His second wife was Felicidad Carrillo, and the third an American. Caswell (J. F.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu.

Catalá (Magin), 1794, Span. friar, who had previously been chaplain at Nootka, and who served at Sta Clara for 36 years, till his death in 1830. Certain miraculous powers were popularly attributed to Fray Magin, and on the strength of these, I suppose, the preliminary steps for his beatification were taken by the church in '84. Biog. in ii. 600–1; ment. in i. 523, 556–7, 576, 587, 638, 719–20, 723; ii. 137, 159, 394, 577, 655; iii. 96, 351. Catalan (Benito), 1796, Span. friar who served at S. Antonio till his retirement in 1800 on account of insanity. i. 577, 689. Catharte, (?) 1823, mr of the *Massachusetts*. ii. 492. Catlin (Geo. W.), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Catts (Samuel A.), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); nat. of Md; resid. of Stockton '74–84; Caulfield, (David), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. C. (Patrick), 1847, ditto. Cavaller (José), 1771, Span. friar, founder of S. Luis Ob., where he served till his death in 1789. Biog. i. 469; ment. i. 173, 176, 188, 196, 299, 388. Cavell (J.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Cavenecia (José), 1814; master of the Lima ship *Tagle;* of the *S. Antonio* in '17. ii. 222, 271, 282–3, 271. Cayuelas, 1790–1820, several of the name prob., soldier, corp., settler at S.F. and S. José, and inválido at Mont., in trade and known as 'Tio.' Francisco C. was in '28 a Span. inválido, age 80. i. 478, 610, 690, 716; ii. 383, 420; iii. 51.

Ceballos (Ignacio), alcalde at S. José '32. Cebet (Pierre Jean), 1831, Frenchman who got a carta in Oct. prob. 'Chevrette,' q. v. Cecil (B.), 1847, advertises for a lost pocket-book bet. S.F. and S.J. C. (T. M.), 1846, carpenter of the *Savannah*, who built Fort Stockton at Mont.; prob. same as preceding. Célis (Eulogio), 1836, Span. supercargo in Virmond's employ, who was on the *Leonor* in '36, and perhaps on the *Catalina* earlier, as he certainly was in '41–2; often named in various records '36–42 and later. iii. 146, 381, 428–9; iv. 198, 237, 564. Célis made Los Ang. his home; was one of the grantees of the S. Fernando estate in '46; had a famous claim for cattle furnished to Frémont; and to '48 and later was a wealthy man of business well known in all parts of Cal. v. 365, 396, 435, 448, 561, 580, 627, 630. He went to Spain in '53 and died in '68. His wife was Josefa, daughter of Luis Ant. Argüello, who came back to Cal. after her husband's death. Three sons, the eldest Eulogio, still live at Los Ang., I think, in '85; two sons and two daughters remained in Spain. Cermeñon (Sebastian Rodriguez), 1595, Span.

voyager at Pt Reyes, who prob. gave the name S. Francisco—later transferred to another bay—to his anchorage. i. 89, 96–7. Cervantes (Andrés), Mex. artill. sergt at Mont. '29–36. iii. 69, 74, 671; age 48 in '36, wife Encarnacion Alcivar, of Tepic. C. (Cruz), Mex. majordomo at Tucho rancho '36, age 40, wife Filomena Arroyo, child. Ancleta b. '31, Celedonia '33, Teodosio '35; grantee of S. Joaquin or Rosa Morada '36, for which he was claimant in later years. iii. 678–9. C. (Pablo V.), soldier killed by Ind. on the Colorado 1781. i. 363. Cesena (Ramon S.), 1846, resid. of Sta Clara Co. '81; a Mexican.

Chabolla, juez of S. Juan B. '46. v. 359, 640. C. (Anastacio), soldier of S. F. comp. '23–31; nat. of Cal.; in '41 at S. José, age 31, wife Josefa Higuera, child. José Ant. b. '35, Fernando '37, José J. '39, Angel María '40; in '44 grantee of Sanjon de Moquelumnes. iv. 673; d. before '53. Maria C., prob. his daughter, was claimant for this land, and also his son Angel. C. (Antonio), grantee of Yerba Buena, Sta Clara Co. '33. iii. 713, 729–30; in '41 at S. José, age 37, wife Juliana Butron, child. Marta b. '31, Juan 36, Estefana '35, Antonia '38, Auisez (?) '39; juez de policía '43. iv. 685; claimant for Y. B. '53. C. (Gervasio), at S. José '41, age '37, wife Miguela Linares, child. Juan b. '33, Francisco '38, Marcos '39. C. (José de la Cruz), son of Marcos, b. 1796 at S.F.; at S. José '41, wife Máxima Vasquez, child. José de la Cruz b. '24, Tomasa '30, Soledad '35, Juana '37, Nemesio '41. C. (Luis), son of Marcos; síndico of S. José '31, '35, '43. iii. 729–30; iv. 685; in '41, age 48, wife Guadalupe Romero. C. (Marcos), Span. soldier, corp., and settler at S.F. before 1800; alcalde 1796–7. i. 716, 719; his wife was Teresa Bernal; child. in '93, Pedro, Salvador, and Luis. C. (Pedro Regalado), son of Marcos, b. S.F. 1789; soldier of S.F. comp. '19–22; in '30 síndico of S. José. ii. 606; in '34 alcalde. iii. 329–30; in trouble '37–8. iii. 525, 573; juez de campo. '41, '44. iv. 684–5; age 47 acc. to padron of '41, wife Gertrudis Ortega, child. José Miguel and Josefa b. '30, José de Jesus '35, Alejandro '36, Salvador '37, María '38, Teresa '39; alcalde in '46. v. 662. Still a resid. of S. José in '60.

Chace (Henry P.), 1843, nat. of R. I., at Mont. and Los Ang. '45–6, bound to Sonora; on Pion. Soc. roll as having arr. in Oct. '43. iv. 400. Chaden (Charles), 1845, Amer. at Brancif., age 36, wife Mary, also Amer., child. S. Dionisio b. '31, Matilde '34, Josefa '36, Tomás '38, María '40, Elisa '42. I don't think this was the man's real name, but cannot identify him. Chadwick (W.), 1822–5, mr of the *Plowboy*. ii. 479; iii. 148. Chaffield, 1848, mr of the *Sabine*. v. 580. Chaland (Fred.), 1847, lieut on the *Independence*.

Chamberlain (John), 1839, Irish blacksmith who came on the *California* from Acapulco, having deserted from a whaler on the Mex. coast. iv. 119; worked at his trade at Mont., was arrested in '40, and though not exiled was obliged to make shackles for the other prisoners. iv. 9, 17, 23, 28; on Larkin's books to '41; a little later went to the Sac.; naturalized in '44 and got a grant of Socayac. iv. 674; enlisted in Gantt's com. for Sutter's campaign of '45, but on account of illness did not go south. iv. 486; married in Jan. '46 to Nancy Hess—only one of some 19 similar contracts on his part as popular tradition has it—and soon went to Or. v. 526. But he returned after 18 or 20 years, and in '77 was working at his trade at Mont., where he dictated his *Memoirs* for my use, and where I think he still lives in '85. C. (John), 1846, Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons (v. 336). C. (Levi), 1840, on the *Don Quixote* at Mont. iv. 103. C. (Ventura), 1841, on the *Jóven Carolina*. Chamisso (Adelbert von), 1816, naturalist of Kotzebue's exped., and author of *Reise* and *Remarks* with inform. on Cal. ii. 279–81, 309–11, 372–3, 420. Champion, 1848, came on a vessel from Honolulu acc. to his later testimony. Champlain (Wm M.), 1844, from N. Y.; doubtful newspaper record.

Chana (Claude), 1846, French cooper, who came to N. Orleans in '39, to Mo. '41, and overland to Cal. in '46. He worked for Sutter; was one of the earliest gold-miners in '48; became owner of the Nemshas rancho on Bear River. iv. 672; long a resident of Wheatland, where he died in '82 at the age of 71. I suppose the original name was 'Chanon,' as indeed it is written in the *N. Helv. Diary*. Chance (Dr), 1846, overl. immig. who lived at Mont. and Stockton till '50 or later, then went to Texas, but returned, and was in southern Cal. '69; *S. F. Examiner*. Chancey (Alex.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artillery (v. 518). Chandler (David W.), 1841, overl. immig. of the Bartleson party. iv. 267, 270, 275, 279; interested at Benicia '47. v. 672; went to Honolulu, but came back in '48. I have no later record than his letter at S.F. Nov. '48, but he is said to have died in Cal. C. (John A.), 1847, Co. D, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Boston '82. C. (Ralph), 1847, mid. on the U.S. *Independence*. C. (Wm), 1848, lot-owner at S.F.

Chapel (Geo.), 1840, one of the exiles to San Blas who came back in '41 and settled in the Sta Cruz redwoods. iv. 18, 33, 37, 120; in '45 on the Brancif. padron as English, age 27, wife Josefa Soto, child. Manuel b. '40, José C. '44; at Mont. '47. Chapin (Geo.), 1847, of Morm. Bat. (v. 469); wounded by Ind.; perhaps same as following. C. (Samuel), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. C. (Sam. M.), 1847, blacksmith at Mont. '47–8. Chapman (Charles), 1847, worked for Leidesdorff; witness in the Limantour case '54, residing at S.F., age 30. C. (Geo. W.), 1847, lieut of the U.S. *Independence* and *Columbus*.

Chapman (Joseph), 1818, Amer. carpenter and blacksmith, one of Bouchard's insurgentes—impressed into that service at the Sandwich Isl., as he claimed—taken prisoner at Mont., and soon finding a home in the south. ii. 229, 248, 292, 393. Foster, *First American in Los Angeles*, tells a most interesting but inaccurate story of his capture at Sta B. by Lugo. In '20 Joseph was employed at Sta Inés, where in '21 he built a grist-mill, and obtained from Gov. Sola the king's amnesty to Anglo-Amer. prisoners. ii. 444; then he went to S. Gabriel to build another mill. ii. 568; and was baptized at S. Buen. in '22 as José Juan, being married the same year at Sta Inés to Guadalupe Ortega, by whom he had five children. ii. 479. In '24–6 he bought a house at Los Ang. and got a piece of land, where he planted a vineyard of 4,000 vines. ii. 526; but still continued to do odd jobs at the missions, being a jack-of-all-trades, who apparently could make or repair anything that was needed. He was a great favorite of the friars, especially P. Sanchez, who declared it a marvel that one so long in the darkness of baptist faith could give such example of true catholic piety to older christians. In '29, armed with certificates from leading men of all classes, and defying the world to find any fault with his record, he asked for naturalization, which he got in '31, having meanwhile built a schooner and served on occasion as surgeon. ii. 558; iii. 140, 209, 363, 382. His age in '29 is variously given as 33 to 48; he himself seems to say he was 33 or 34 in '22, but is now 48. He soon moved to Sta B., where in '36, age 52, he lived with wife and 5 children; in '38 grantee of S. Pedro rancho. iii. 656; is ment. in '45, and by Bryant in '47 as living near S. Buen.; but seems to have died in '48 or '49. *Huse* and *Foster*. His widow was claimant for the rancho '52; and I think some of his descendants still live, '85, in Ventura Co. Among all the earliest pioneers of Cal. there was no more attractive character, no more popular and useful man, than Joseph Chapman the Yankee. C. (Juan), at Los Ang. '45; perhaps a son of Joseph. C. (Manuel), 1844, one of Frémont's men. iv. 437. C. (Thos), 1833, mr of the *Charles Eyes*. iii. 381. Chaquette (Heman), 1847, Co. G, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). Charbonneau (Jean B.), 1847, guide to the Morm. Bat. v. 483; in '48 alcalde at S. Luis Rey. v. 621, 623.

Chard (Wm Geo.), 1832, New Yorker from N. Mex. with Alexander, Carpenter, etc. iii. 388, 408; at Los Ang., where he had a vineyard, till '36, appearing in several records and being one of the vigilantes (iii. 430); in '37 naturalized, being then at Sta B., protestant, age 27, a trader on the coast. The same year went north to the Sta Cruz region, apparently with Graham's comp., and his name often appears on Larkin's books from '37. In '40, living at Brancif., he was exiled to S. Blas, but returned in '41, and next to Graham was loudest in his demands for justice and damages, until the courts spoiled his little game by showing his Mex. citizenship. iv. 17–18, 24, 31, 33, 39–40, 116. In '43–5 C. had a store and sailor boarding-house at Mont. in partnership with Josiah Belden; in '44 he got a grant of Las Flores, Tehama Co., on which he put his cattle in '45. iv. 671; earlier in '45 he signed the call to foreigners at

S. José. iv. 599; in '45-7 he was employed by Andrés Castillero to work the New Almaden mine; but before the end of '47 he settled, apparently, on his Tehama rancho, where he still lived in '58, and where he died, I think, about '80. His wife was a Californian of the Robles family, who died in '72. The family seems to have resided at Sta Clara for some years after Chard went to Tehama. Stephen Chard, a son of Wm G. was still in '80 and later, a prosperous farmer of Tehama.

Charlefoux, 1837, Canadian from N. Mex. in com. of a party of 'Chaguanosos,' or Shawnees, who were trappers, soldiers, traders, or horse-thieves—whichever profession might be most profitable at the time—in '37-40. He aided Bandini and the sureños against Alvarado in '37. iii. 495, 518, 520; iv. 118. Charles, 1846, in Sutter's employ, and guard over the Sonoma prisoners '46-7. v. 125. Charley, 1845, Delaware Ind. of Frémont's party. '45-7. Charles (Michael), 1826, Irish blacksmith who landed sick from a whaler; at Mont. '40, age 57. iii. 176. Charles (Joseph), 1844, sailor on the *California*, witness at Mont. Charquin, rebel neoph. of S.F. 1793. i. 709.

Chase (Charles), 1846, on the 1st jury at Mont. v. 289. C. (C.), 1846, fleet surgeon on the *Savannah;* perhaps same as preceding. C. (Hiram), 1847, Co. J, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. before '82. C. (Hiram B.), 1847, Co. A, Morm Bat. (v. 469); in Utah '81. C. (Sam.), 1844, Engl. with a pass. for a year at Mont. C. (Sam.), 1847, at Sutter's July; at Mont. Dec.; in '48 in charge of Larkin's rancho on the Sac., but soon quit farming for the mines. C. (S. M.), 1846, doubtful record of a Bear Flag man, at Sonoma in '62. C. (S.U.), 1845, New Yorker of quaker parentage, who came west in '38, crossed the plains to Or. '43, and came to Cal. '45 in the McMahon-Clyman party. iv. 572, 577, 587. After visiting Sta Cruz and Mont. he ret. to the Sac., and went to Or. in '46; came back to the mines '48-9; later a farmer in Solano and Napa; about '66 settled in Yolo, where he still lived in Capay Val. '79. Never married. Portrait in *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 26. Chaseagre? (J.), 1833-5, mr of the *Mariquita*. iii. 383. Chatard (Fred.), 1847, lieut on the U.S. *Independence*. Chatfield, 1848, mr of the *Sabine*. Chatozo (Pedro), named by Lancey as builder of a mill at N. Almaden '24. Chaudière (H.), 1835, mr of the *Grange*. iii. 382. Chauncey (Alex.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518), acc. to Lancey, but not on the roll; at Livermore '48.

Chavarria (Nicolás), 1818, S. Amer. of Bouchard's insurgents, captured at Mont., and remained in Cal. ii. 227, 230-2, 241; soldier of S.F. comp. '28-31. Chavez (José Ant.), 1833, Mex. brought to Cal. by Gov. Figueroa, whose natural son he is supposed by many to have been; tax collector at Mont. '43. iv. 653; one of the prime movers in the movement against Micheltorena '44, also sec. of ayunt. iv. 588-9, 653; grantee of Ciénega del Gavilan '43, and Pleito '45. iv. 655; celador at Mont. '46. v. 570. He took part in various military operations of '46 as lieut, being sent by Castro to Frémont's camp at Gavilan. v. 11; and later the captor of Larkin and 2d in com. at Natividad, where he was wounded, escaping capture a few days later by being hidden in bed between two well-known ladies of Mont. v. 362, 364, 366-72. Leaving Cal. in '48, v. 585-6, he went to S. Blas, and was later prominent with Manuel Castro on the L. Cal. frontier. Chavez, 1818, painter at S. Juan B. ii. 386. C. (José), 1798, i. 606. C. (Julian), supl. alcalde Los Ang. '38. iii. 636; regidor '46-7, and grantee of Las Ánimas '46. v. 625-7. C. (Mariano), at Los Ang. '46. Chavira (José), 1798, i. 606. Chavira y Lerma (Josefa), wife of Pedro y Gil, 1781. i. 451. Chavon, 1847, mr of the *Adelaide*.

Check, 1816, on the *Lydia*, arrested at Sta B. ii. 275. Cheney (Zacheus), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Chever (Henry), 1846, nat. of Mass., who had lived long in Valparaiso and Manila; acc. to his brother's statement was mr of the *Hannah*. v. 578; but he seems to have come to S.F. from Honolulu on the *Elizabeth;* had a lot at S.F. '46; member of the firm J.B. McClurg & Co. at Los Ang., dissolved Feb. '48; also connected with Ward & Smith '47; and later with Hastings & Co. at Coloma. He was one of the founders of Yuba City; at S.F. '51-3 in poor health; died in Napa Val. '54, leaving no family. His brother Edward E. was in Cal. '49-54, and again '83-5. Chevrette (Pierre J.), 1832, signed roll of the comp. extranjera. iii. 221. Chichester (Chas), 1848, overl. immig. with Allsopp; went to the mines. C. (Henry T.), 1847, Co. E, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); deserter. Chico, Ind. chief killed 1781. i. 466.

Chico (Mariano), 1836, Mex. col and memb. of congress from Guanajuato, appointed gov. of Cal. Dec. '35, arriving in April '36 on the *Leonor*, and assuming his office May 2d. He encountered a bitter prejudice against Mex. rulers, and his position was made so uncomfortable by an unmanageable diputacion and other soi-disant opponents of centralism that he was virtually forced to depart in Aug., his rule ending July 31st. He was a man of fair abilities and good education; by no means the villain, fool, or madman that the Californians generally represent him; but he was fussy, conceited, and gifted with no tact for making friends or overcoming obstacles. He also scandalized Mont. society by bringing a mistress, Doña Cruz, whom he introduced as his niece. On his rule, see iii. 420–44, also ment. iii. 300, 399, 652–3, 670; iv. 44–7, 72, 82–3, 102, 104–5, 112. In '43–4 Don Mariano was gov. of Aguascalientes, where he is said to have written many verses, making himself somewhat popular socially, though less so than his wife, Doña Ignacia Alegre. *Gonzalez, Hist. Aguas.* 128–30. In '46 he was com. gen. of Guanajuato. Chienes (Alex.), 1842, mr of the *Primavera.* iv. 568. Childers (Morris R.), 1845, Amer. carpenter from Or. in the McMahon-Clyman party. iv. 572; prob. went back in '46. iv. 526; but visited S.F. in '47 on the *Henry* from Astoria. C. (Moses), 1843, said to have crossed the plains and to have been in Amador Co. '48. *Amador Co. Hist.*, 182; perhaps a vague ref. to the preceding. Childs (Mark D.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons; wounded at the Mesa Jan. '47. v. 395; name also given Mark A. Child.

Chiles (Joseph B.), 1841, Kentuckian b. 1810; in Mo. from '30; took part in the Florida war '38; and in '41 came overl. to Cal. with the Bartleson party. iv. 267, 270, 275, 279. After visiting Monterey, Sonoma, and other parts of the country, and obtaining from Vallejo the promise of a mill site, he returned east in '42 for the mill. iv. 276, 342. In '43 he came back with the party that bears his name, one portion of the party under Walker taking a southern route and being obliged to leave Chiles' mill on the way. iv. 392–5, 679. In '44 he was grantee of Catacula rancho in Napa Val. iv. 671; ment. also iv. 448, 453; in '45 signs bonds for some of the new immigrants. iv. 581. I do not find any definite record that he joined either the Bears or the Cal. Bat. in '46, though he may have done so, and certainly aided Frémont with supplies and information. v. 297–8. He went east in '47, prob. as guide and hunter in Stockton's party. v. 454; was at Washington to testify at the Frémont court-martial; and in '48 made his 3d overl. trip to Cal. at the head of a party, v. 557, which included his own family of a son and 3 daughters, his wife having died in '37. The son was, I suppose, the Kit Chiles named in *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 74, as having settled at Washington in '48; the daughters were Fanny wife of Jerome Davis, Elizabeth wife of Daniel Brown, and Mary, Mrs Tully. Colonel Joe Chiles, as he is familiarly known, married M. G. Garnett in '53; and has resided in Napa and Lake counties down to '85, I think, a famous hunter notwithstanding his years, and a good citizen (d. '85); narrative of his *Visit to Cal. in '41* was furnished by him in '78. Chinook (Wm), 1845, Ind. of Frémont's party, one of the Sta B. garrison. iv. 583. Chipman (Walter), 1847, sergt Co. A, N.Y. Vol., at Cedar Springs, Mich., '83. Chiron, 1837, in Petit-Thouar's exped., surveying S.F. Bay. iv. 149.

Choquet (Diego), 1776, mr of the *S. Antonio.* i. 287, 301. Choris (Louis), 1816, artist with Kotzebue; author of the *Voyage Pittorresque.* ii. 281, 372. Christian (Chas), 1847, perhaps of N. Y. Vol. (v. 499), under another name. C. (Chas W. H.), 1848, in charge of S.F. school Dec. *Californian.* C. (John), 1838, one of the exiles to S. Blas, not known to have returned. iv. 18. C. (Kail), 1840, mr of the *Catalina.* iv. 31. C. (W. A.), 1848, purser U.S.N., at S.F. on the *Lady Adams.* C. (Wm. H.), 1847, Co. K, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); brig.-gen. in war of '61–5; at Los Ang. '71; at Utica, N.Y., '74–82; perhaps the Chas and Chas W. H. ment. above. A man of the same name was at S.

José in '50. Christiancy (James), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232–47). Christie (H.), 1848, left Honolulu for S. F. C. (John G.), 1847, at S.F. on the *Currency Lass* from Hon.; at Mont. '48. Chulte, in Sutter's employ '47; perhaps an Ind. Chumazero (Ignacio), at Sta Cruz 1794. i. 496. Church (Haden W.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). C. (Wm S.), 1843, Amer. carpenter from Sandwich Isl., who died at the house of Temple at Los Ang. '43, his effects being sold Jan. '44. iv. 400. C. (Wm S.), 1841, mate of the *Maryland*, who took com. on the return from Mazatlan to Hon. '42. Capt. Peirce says he saw him at S.F. in '49; else he would appear same as preceding. Churchman (T.), 1848, worked for Sutter on his mill from May. Chute, 1847, convicted of manslaughter at S. José. v. 663.

Cibrian (Blas), soldier of S.F. comp. '27–33; his wife was Paula Mesa, living at Mont. '36, age 28, child. Francisco b. '23, María de la Cruz '27, José Prudencio '30, José Blas '32, Refugio '34, José Estanislao '36. C. (Cármen), wife of Cornelio Bernal, resid. at S.F. mission from '38 and earlier to '67 and later. C. (Eusebio), at S. José '41, age 41; at S.F. mission '46; witness in Santillan case. C. (Francisco), soldier of S.F. comp. '39–43. iv. 667; at S. José '50. C. (Gabriel), at S.F. '55, age 36. C. (Leocadio), soldier and settler of 1791–1800. i. 499, 416. C. (María Rosa Pacheco de), widow, at S. José '41, age '44, child. Isidro b. '22, Ignacio '24, Eusebia '27, Florencio '30, José Manuel '32, Cárlos '33, Encarnacion '40. C. (Pablo), settler at S. F. 1791–1800. i. 716. Ciel, 1838, doubtful name at Sta. B. Cimental, (Cris.), reg. at Mont. 1805. ii. 156. Cins, see ‘Zinns.’ Ciprés (Marcelino), 1795, Span. friar who served at S. Antonio and S. Luis Ob. till his death in 1810. Biog. ii. 148; ment. i. 576, 689; ii. 23, 28, 50, 147, 151–2, 159–60, 191. Cipriano, Ind. associate of Estanislao '29. iii. 110; perhaps the same who died in '78 in the region of N. Almaden at the age of 100 or more.

Clamp (Richard), 1847, Co. A, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Chinese Camp, Cal. '71–82. Clap (Curtis), 1840, mr. of the *Alciope;* sup. of the *California* '42–3; a Boston and Sandw. Isl. trader. iv. 100, 564. Clapin (Joseph), 1846, corp. Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Clapp (Chas D.), 1847, Co. D, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); died in Australia after '50. Clar (Juan), 1836, Span. of Minorca; translator and keeper of the archives, well known in S.F. '49–84; said to have visited Cal. as early as '36 as prof. of mathematics on a man-of-war, and again with Com. Jones in '42. He died at S.F. '84. Clare (Wm), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518); an Engl. who joined the comp. at Valparaiso; served as clerk in Col Mason's office, but like most of his comrades deserted for the mines in '48. Said to have inherited a fortune later and to have settled down at Liverpool.

Clark, 1836, mr of *Ionic.* iv. 104. C., 1845, in Sutter's army. iv. 486. C., 1847, mr of the *Vesper.* v. 580. C., 1847, ‘Father Clark,’ said to have celebrated his 49th birthday at S. Diego, in '72, 25 years and 6 mo. after his arrival. *S. D. World.* C., 1847, left Hon. for S.F. on the *Eveline.* C. (Albert), 1847; Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). C. (Daniel), 1848, Irish immig. to Or. of earlier years, who came to the Cal. mines '48–50, going back to Or., where he has been a well-known citizen. *Hist. Or.*, i. 468. C. (Daniel P.), 1847, Co. B, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); owner of S.F. lot. v. 680; at S. Diego from '71, where he died '79. C. (E. St Clair), 1847, sec. U. S. *Columbus.* C. (Francis), 1843, doubtful immig. of the Hastings party. iv. 390. C. (Francis C.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); shot on Merced Riv. '53.

Clark (Francis D.), 1847, Co. D, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); nat. of N. Y.; a miner in '48–9; in '49–55 trader, ferryman, and justice of the peace in S. Joaquin; N.Y. city trader '55–60; major and mil. sec. in the war of '61–5; and later a business man of N. Y. city. Clark has been sec. and one of the most active members of the N.Y. society of Cal. Pioneers; and has particularly interested himself in keeping awake memories of pioneer times by the publication of rolls of surviving comrades of '47 in '71 and '74; and finally by *The First Regiment of N. Y. Volunteers*, bringing the record down to '83. See v. 503, et seq. That work also contains the author's portrait. His *Pioneer of '47* is a somewhat minute narrative of his experience in '47–55. I have followed his record of the N. Y. Vol. with a few corrections and additions. C. (Geo.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). C. (Geo. S.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). C. (H.), 1847. sup. of the *Eveline.* C. (John), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); an Irishman, drowned at S.F. '54. C. (John Case), 1843, said to have visited the coast on a man-of-war. iv. 400; miner from '49; at Red Bluff a few years from '57; at S. Diego from '69 to his death in '73. C. (John N.), 1847, Co. I, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); bro. of Francis C.; miner and painter, at Stockton '71–4; died in Fresno Co. '79. C. (Joseph), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). C. (Lorenzo), 1847, lieut Co. A, Morm. Bat. v. 477; tanner in Utah '81. C. (M.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. C. (Nicholas), 1846, at Sutter's Fort; one of the 2d Donner relief. v. 540; portrait in *McGlashan*, 184; living in '79. C. (Obed), 1822–3, mr of the *Gideon.* ii. 474, 492. C. (Ransom), 1844, perhaps of Frémont's party. iv. 437; at S. José '50. C. (Riley P.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl. at Los Ang. C. (Smith Douglas), 1845, Engl. with a passp. for Sonora. C. (Sophia P.), 1846, one of the Mormon col. v. 576; prob. Mrs King at Ogden '84. C. (Terence), 1848? an early settler at Sonora. C. (Wm), 1823–6, mr of the *Thos Nowlan.* ii. 492, 519; iii. 149.

Clark (Wm Squire), 1846, nat. of Md, b. in 1807, grandson of Abraham C. signer of the declaration of independence; educated in Ohio; a business man in the south and west; and an overland immig. of '46 (v. 526). He came directly to S.F., and served apparently under Marston in the Sta Clara campaign. Obtaining a lot at what was named for him Clark's Point—which lot is still owned by him 40 years later—he built a warehouse and a wharf, driving the first piles in the bay. In '47–8 he was not only one of the most prominent business men in town, becoming the owner of dozens of city lots, but he was a member of the council, president of public meetings, and otherwise active in public affairs. v. 648, 650, 652–4, 656, 678, 680, 685. I know of no foundation for Gen. Sherman's statement that Clark was a Mormon. v. 547. In '48 he was a successful miner, but soon returned to S.F., where his land investments made him eventually a millionnaire. He married Alice A. Duncan in '68, and in '70 went to live at S. José, where he still is in '85, with a son, Wm S., Jr, and 4 daughters. He wrote his *Recollections* for my use in '85, and in an interview gave me many details of old San Francisco. C. (W.W.), 1847, mr of a whaler.

Classen (John C.), 1848, Pion. Soc. roll. Claudio, 1837, leader of hostile Ind. S. Diego. iii. 614. Clausen (Wm), 1847, musician Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Clavell, 1844, officer on H.B.M.S. *Modeste.* Clawson (John R.), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl. at Los. Ang. Claviter (Edward), 1848, passp. from Honolulu; resid. of Mt Eden, Alameda Co. '49–78; at Alameda from '78 to his death in '84.

Clayton (Charles), 1848, nat. of Engl., who came to the U.S. in '42 and crossed the plains to Or. in '47, coming to Cal. in April '48 on the *Henry.* After a year in the mines he opened a store at Sta Clara, where he also held local offices. From '53 he become a prominent commission merchant in S.F., filling also with credit the offices of supervisor, member of the legislature, surveyor of the port, and member of congress. He married Hannah Morgan in '54; and died at Oakland in '85 at the age of 60. Clements, 1845, at S. F., N. Helv., and again at S.F. with a family; seems to have gone east with Clyman in '46. iv. 526, 578. Name also written Clemence, Clement, and Clemons. Wm Clemons is named in one list as a member of the Stevens party of '44, and was perhaps the same, though he may have gone first to Or. Clements (Lambeth B.), 1847, of N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); comp. not known; lot at S.F. '47; at S.F. '54; at Soquel '74. Cleveland (Richard J.), 1803, owner and 1st officer of the *Lelia Byrd;* involved in smuggling exploits; author of a *Narrative.* ii. 10–14, 21, 102–3. Clifford (Cornelius), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. at S. Juan B. after 1850. C. (J.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. C. (O. G.), 1848, ditto. Clift (James), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469): reënl. at Los Ang. C. (Robert), 1847, lieut Co. C, Morm. Bat. v. 477; lieut of the reënl. comp. v. 495; alcalde of S. Diego '47–8. v. 491, 618–19. Clipper, doubtful name of a corporal killed at S. Pascual. Cloud (J. H.), 1847, major and paymaster U.S.A., who came with the Morm. Bat. v. 483, 440; killed at Sutter's Fort Aug. 3d by a fall from his horse. Clough (Wm), 1837, named in Larkin's accounts.

Clyman (James), 1845, Virginian who, after an adventurous career as surveyor and trapper in the great west, came overland to Or. in '44, and to Cal. the next year as a leader in the McMahon-Clyman party. v. 572–4, 587. He travelled over the country as far as Monterey; spent the winter hunting in the Napa and other valleys. v. 17; and in the spring of '46—after a union with Frémont's comp. had been declined. v. 23—returned to the states overland, meeting the Donner and other parties on the way. v. 526. He came back to Cal. in later years, and lived at Napa till his death in '81, at the age of 84. Colonel Clyman's *Note-book*, a MS. diary of his wanderings of '44–6, is one of the most complete and important records of its class in my library. *Clyman's Diary* is an abridgment of the same, with a few documentary additions. Clymer, 1842, with Com. Jones at Los Ang. iv. 321.

Coates (Geo.), 1846, served in the Cal. Bat. (v. 358), enlisting at S. Juan Oct.; prob. same as the following. C. (James), 1843, Amer. shoemaker, farmer, tanner, and overl. immig. from Or. in the Hastings party. iv. 390. Naturalized '44, then living at Mont.; in '45 a lieut in Sutter's force, at one time a prisoner. iv. 486, 500; in '46 perhaps in the Cal. Bat. as above; in '47 lot-owner at S.F., tanner at N. Helv., and finally moving to a house on Amer. River. I have no later record than March '48, when Coates was seriously injured by a fall from his horse, being also robbed of $300. Cobb, 1840, on the *Don Quixote* from Hon. iv. 103. C. (Chas), 1848, owner of S.F. lots; same name in S.F. directory of '52.

Cochran (Thos), 1845, nat. of N.C., who crossed the plains to Or. '43, and came to Cal. in the McMahon-Clyman party. iv. 572, 574, 587. Named at N. Helv. several times in '45–8; in '49 built a hotel, the 1st building at Cacheville; an eccentric man, who in '51 suddenly departed for Australia. Cocket (C.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Cocks (Henry), 1846, English marine on the U. S. *Dale*, who after his disch. in '48 lived at Mont. and married a daughter of Francisco García, moving in '53 to the S. Bernabé rancho, or Cock's station, of which he was the claimant. iv. 655, 679. In '66 he went with the telegraph exped. to Alaska and Siberia; had an appointment on the Tule River Ind. reservation; accomp. Wheeler's explor. exped. on the Colorado; and in '75 was living near his old place in Mont. Co., where he still is, I think, in '85. Coe (John J.), 1847, Co. F, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). Coeur (François), 1846, with Kearny's force. v. 337.

Coffelt (Geo.), 1846, teamster Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Coffemeyer (Edward), 1846, sailor at N. Helv. '47–8; member of 1st and 4th Donner relief. v. 538, 541. Coffin (Ephraim), 1841, of U.S. ex. exped.; died in Cal. iv. 279. C. (Henry), 1844, Amer. sailor of the *Monmouth*, aided by the consul. C. (Ivory), 1846, seaman or marine on the *Savannah;* wounded at the S. Gabriel Jan. 9, '47. v. 395. C. (James), 1835, mr of the *Peor es Nada*. C. (J. W.), 1847, on a whaler; came back in '50; of S. F. firm C. & Hendry; d. before '85, leaving a son and daughter. C. (L.), 1848, at S.F. on the *Lady Adams* from Callao. C. (Wm), 1826, mr of the *Franklin*. iii. 147. C. (Wm), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). C., 1847, mr of the *Charles Drew*. Coghlan (James), 1848, sailor on the *Elizabeth*. Cogswell, 1845, at N. Helv. Dec. Cohn (Moritz), 1847, musician N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). C. (Philip), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol.

Colbath (Lemuel), 1846, mate of the *Euphemia* '46–8; a New Englander. Colbert (John), 1834, Engl. shipwright, age 26; naturalized '39; still at S. F. '40. iii. 412. Cole (James B.), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat.; at Springville, Utah, '82. C. (John), 1826, sailor on the *Rover*. C. (Thomas), 1833, Engl. sailor whose name often appears in Larkin's accounts of '33–49. iii. 409. Acc. to John Price, in *S. Luis Ob. Co. Hist.*, 63, he deserted from the *Kent*, but I have no record of that vessel before '36. Cole was one of Graham's riflemen of '36–8. (iii. 457); arrested but not exiled '40. iv. 17; grantee of lands in Salinas Val. '42–4. iv. 656; in '44 flogged by the Calif. for revealing to Micheltorena the place where certain powder and lead had been buried, so says Swan; in '45–6 often employed to carry despatches, v. 29, 235, also signing the call to foreigners at S. José, iv. 599, and accomp. Lieut Revere on a hunting trip. Mentioned by Revere, Sherman, and Colton, the latter naming him as a man who stole a horse. His name appears on the assessment rolls of '50; and acc. to *Taylor's List*, he died at Mont. in '58. Coleman (Geo.), 1827, at Sta B. and S. Buen. '27–8. ii. 580; iii. 94, 176. C. (Michael), 1845, overl. immig. of Grigsby-Ide party; bonds given by Wm Benitz Nov. 21st; prob. went to Or. in '46. iv. 526, 578. C. (Thos), 1847, carpenter on the U. S. *Preble.* Colespedriguez (Bruno), 1829, mr of the *Rosalía.* iii. 148.

Colgan (James A.), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Colima (Tomás Sanchez), at Los Ang. '43; juez de campo '44. iv. 633; cl. for Sta Gertrudis '53. iv. 629, 635. Collie (Alex.), 1826–7, surg. of H.B.M.S. *Blossom;* made a trip from S.F. to Mont. and back by land. iii. 121. Colligan, 1847, attempts murder at Sta Cruz. *S. F. Star*, Nov. 20th; perhaps 'Callaghan.' C. (Wm), 1846, sailor of the navy; at Mont. in July; went south with the Cal. Bat.; in '75 and later a broker and politician of N.Y. City. Collins (John), 1847, boatswain of the *Cyane.* C. (Napoleon), 1847, lot-owner at S.F.; perhaps the C. who was wrecked in the bay and rescued by the *Tasso's* boat. *Alta*, Feb. 17, '67. C. (Peter), 1842, in the Sta Cruz redwoods. iv. 341; in '43 kept a bar at Mont.; killed at Pacheco Pass about '54. C. (Robert H.), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in '82 at Huntingdon, Utah. Colombet (Clement), 1844, Frenchman who kept a hotel at S. José '49. iv. 453; made a fortune in the mines, lost later and regained; married a daughter of Thos Kell; in '60 at Warm Springs, Alameda Co., age 43; died at S. José in '85. Colton (Chas E.), 1847, servant to an officer in Morm. Bat. (v. 469). C. (Patrick), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518). C. (Philander), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat.; a mason who made bricks and worked on 1st brick house at S. Diego.

Colton (Walter), 1846, chaplain U.S.N., who came on the *Congress*, and was alcalde at Mont. in '46–8; also judge of the admiralty; an earnest, kind-hearted, and sensible man, whose official and private record in Cal. was a most excellent one. In partnership with Robert Semple, he edited and published the *Californian*, the 1st Cal. newspaper, in '46–7, making a visit to the mines in the autumn of '48, and causing the erection of a school-house at Mont., named for him Colton Hall. His *Deck and Port*, and *Three Years in Cal.*, published in '50, are journals of his experience and observations, full of interest, and justly regarded as standard works on the annals of '46–8. He went east early in '49, but I have no record of his later career. v. 254, 288–93, 433, 608, 637–8, 658. Columbo (A.), 1847, Amer. farmer at S. Buen. Colwell (J.), 1845, doubtful name of an immig. iv. 578.

Combs (Abram), 1847, one of the Mormon col. with wife and 3 child. v. 546; in Utah '84, his wife being dead. Comelero (Pedro), 1836, Italian cook from Lima at Los Ang. Comfort (Geo. F.), 1838, mr of the *Ayacucho.* iv. 101. Comstock (Cortey), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Conanse (José), 1791–1800, visiting friar at S. Diego. i. 655. Concha (Juan), 1791, lieut in Malaspina's exped. i. 490. Conde (Pedro), 1818, lieut, com. of one of Bouchard's vessels. ii. 226–7. Condels, 1845, doubtful name of an Amer. at Brancif., age 24. Condit (Jeptha), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl. at Los Ang. Conduian (Alex.), 1845, doubtful name of a Frenchman at Brancif., age 25. Conejo (Casimiro), 1798, i. 606. Conley (James H.), 1847, carpenter on the *Dale.* Conley (Marston F.), 1847, perhaps of N.Y.Vol. under another name. Conn (John), 1843, doubtful member of the Chiles-Walker party. iv. 393; in '52 claimant of a Napa Co. rancho. Connell (John), 1847, Co. I, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); died at sea bet. Or. and Cal. '82. Connell (John), 1847, sergt Co. G, N.Y.Vol. v. 504; lot-owner S. F. v. 685. Connelly (Michael), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); resid. of Stockton from '49 to his death in '57. C. (Wm), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. Conners (John), 1844, said to have arrived in Sta Clara Co. iv. 453; called Conness by Hall. Conner (W.E.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Connolly (James H.), 1846, carpenter on the U.S. *Dale.* Connor (James), 1845, Delaware Ind. of

Frémont's comp. '45-7; wounded in the service. iv. 583. Conover (Francis S.), 1847, mid. on the U.S. *Independence*. Conrad (Henry), 1847, Co. C, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at N. Helv.; later mayor (?) at Sonoma. *Clark*. C. (Edward), 1844, on the roll of the Pion. Soc.; at Riverside '81. C. (John P.) 1847, Co. C, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at S.F. '74; d. before '82. C. (Wm), 1848, keeper of the Colonnade House S.F. v. 683.

Coock (John), 1847, Co. F, 3d artill. (v. 518). Cook (Chas), 1845, N. Yorker who died suddenly at Mont. iv. 587. C. (Geo.), 1844, Amer. naturalized this year. iv. 453; ment. by Bryant as owner of a rancho at S. José, '46. C. (Goodwin), 1848, in Sutter's employ. C. (Grove C.), 1841, Kentuckian hunter, and overl. immig. in Bartleson party. iv. 270, 275, 279; wandering about for a few years; often named in Larkin's accounts from '43; naturalized in '44; at Sutter's fort '45 working on a distillery. His shooting of a Walla Walla chief in July caused much excitement. iv. 544-5; v. 300-1; and in Dec. he was married by Sutter to Rebecca Kelsey, who presently had some reason to regret it. In '46 Cook went to Yerba Buena, and settled more or less at S. José, where he took some slight part in the mil. campaign, was member of the council and junta, v. 664, and in '49 was a man of wealth, subsequently lost. He died at Sta Cruz in '52. He is described as a man whose wit and generosity went far to counterbalance some less desirable qualities. C. (Jackson), 1847, at N. Helv.; apparently Grove Cook, q.v. C. (James), 1830, at work on Cooper's rancho. iii. 180; joined the comp. extranjera at Mont. '32. iii. 221. C. (Jonas), 1846, doubtful name of the Mormon col. v. 547. C. (Manuel), 1830, Amer. who got a carta in Oct. C. (Sam.), 1830, mr of the *Danube*. iii. 146. C. (Wm), 1843, disabled seaman of the *John Jay;* aided by consul, and worked on ranchos, but shipped late in '44.

Cooke (Henry D.), 1847, sup. and part owner of the *Lambayacana* from Valparaiso; also of the *Com. Shubrick;* lot-owner at S.F.; of firm Ruckle & Co.; a prominent business man of S.F. '49-54; figuring later at Washington in the crédit mobilier and other financial operations; a relation of Jay Cooke. C. (Philip St George), 1847, capt 1st U.S. dragoons, who came to Cal. as lieut-col, commanding the Mormon Bat. v. 428, 477, 483-6. He was for a time commandant of the southern district, taking some part in the quarrel with Frémont. v. 437, 440, 445-6; resigned his com. and went east with Gen. Kearny, being a witness at the Frémont court-martial. v. 450, 452, 456, 489. His *Journal* of the march of the Bat. was published by the govt. v. 483; and was republished with additions by the author—then brevet major-general U. S.A.—in '78 as the *Conquest of Cal. and N. Mex.*, a good narrative of Cooke's experiences and those of his men, but of no value whatever in its assumed character as a complete record of the conquest. He also wrote *Scenes and Adventures in the Army*. It is noticeable that a part of his journal was lost in Cal., and in Jan. '48 was purchased by Sutter from an Ind. *N. Helv. Diary*, MS., 164. Coombs (Chas), 1824, cook on the *Rover*. C. (Catherine), 1847, married at S.F. to C.P.A.Briggs. *Star*.

Coombs (Nathan), 1843, native of Mass. who came to Or. overland in '42, and to Cal. in the Hastings' party at the age of about 18. v. 390, 400. After working a while for Stephen Smith, iv. 396, he went to Gordon's place on Cache Creek, where he won the heart of Uncle Billy's daughter Isabel, and was nearly killed by a grizzly bear, also asking for naturalization in '44. In '45 he seems to have served in Sutter's force. iv. 486, 501; then married and settled on a Napa Valley rancho purchased of Salv. Vallejo; took no active part in the troubles of '46; and in '48 laid out the town of Napa on his rancho. v. 670. He became wealthy, was active in local politics, served in the legislature of '55, was capt. of militia '63, but was best known as a patron of the turf and the owner of blood-stock. Portrait in *Napa Co. Hist.*, 42. He died at his Napa home in '77, leaving a widow, 4 sons—Wm, Nathan, Frank, and Levi—and a daughter, Eva, wife of John M. Coghlan. Coon (Wm), 1846, member of the 1st Donner relief. v. 539. C. (Wm), 1847, sergt Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469).

Cooper, 1831, said to have come from N. Mex. in the Wolfskill party, and to have died at Sta B. iii. 387, 405. C. (Charles H.), 1840, Amer. exile to S. Blas, who returned before '42 to urge his claim for damages. iv. 18, 33, 120. C. (Daniel, or David), 1834, Amer. sailor with but one arm, possibly a relation of Capt. J.B.R.Cooper. I have the original Boston passport to Daniel and the Hawaiian passp. to Dav. of '34. He came on the *Ayacucho*. iv. 412; his name appears often in corresp.; mate of the *California* in '40; died at S. F. May '41 of apoplexy—which a large quantity of aguardiente had not cured. C. (Fernando M.), 1835, named in Larkin's accounts '36–8. iv. 118; in '38 at Los Ang. signs a certif. as a physician. Prob. the same who in '35 embalmed the body of Gov. Figueroa. iii. 296. C. (Henry), 1836, named in Larkin's accounts '36–43. iv. 118; arrested in '40. iv. 17; called by Morris an Ind. at Sta Cruz; apparently in Sutter's employ '47. C. (J.W.), 1846, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); enlisting at S. Juan in Nov.; perhaps same as following. C. (James), 1846, kept a hotel at Sonoma '48; ment. by Hittell as a rich man near Benicia in '60. C. (James F.), 1847, Co. F, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). C. (John Burwood), 1830, known as 'sailor Jack,' said by some authorities to have come to S.F. as early as '24–5, or by others on a whaler in '33, or in '36. iii. 409; iv. 118. Juan Coopet, prob. the same, was an artilleryman at S.F. in '30–1; named as English at Mont. in '34; a N. York sailor and calker, age 43, at Mont. in '36 in the artill. barracks; built houses at S.F. '40, '44. v. 683–4; Engl. retired artill., age 56, in S.F. padron of '44; at S.F. also '45–6, receiving some votes for collector. v. 295. Thus there may have been two John Coopers at least. John B. settled on a S. Mateo rancho, married a native, and died in '62, leaving a family. His monument at the S.F. mission cemetery is inscribed John Baptist Burwood Cooper, nat. of Engl., age 68; his wife was María Cecilia ——, d, '53, age 27; children María Jesus b. '41, Agapito, Juan B. Aniceto, Narciso Nieves, María Julia Dolores, and Juan Lorenzo d. '61, age 10.

Cooper (John Bautista Roger), 1823, nat. of the Alderney Isl., who came to Mass. as a boy with his mother, who by a 2d marriage became the mother of Thos O. Larkin. I have his 'protection paper' of 1816, certifying his U. S. citizenship, and describing him as 24 years old, 5 ft 5 in. in height, with light complex., sandy hair, and blue eyes, with a scar on the left arm and nerves of the left hand contracted. From this deformity he was known in Cal. as Don Juan el Manco. He came as master of the *Rover* from Boston, selling the vessel to Gov. Argüello, and continuing to command her on voyages to China till '26. ii. 492–3, 495, 519–20, 614; iii. 24, 119, 148. From '26 he became a resident of Mont., and there is not a year from '26 to '48 in which his name does not occur in many original records. In '27 he was baptized, his original name of John Roger being transformed into Juan Bautista Roger, married Encarnacion Vallejo, became a rival of Hartnell & Co. in trade, and signed bonds for Jed. Smith. ii. 616; iii. 128, 158–60. In '28 began his legal quarrels with Luis Argüello. ii. 583; iii. 12; in '29 he bought for $2,000 from Joaq. de la Torre the rancho of Bolsa del Potrero y Moro Cojo, or Sagrada Familia. ii. 615; and in '30 was naturalized, being ment. besides in connection with the Solis revolt and the Fitch romance, as well as in commercial records. ii. 609; iii. 71, 83, 142, 145. His business corresp. shows not only that he was always complaining of some injustice, but that he often gave cause of complaint to those who traded with him. In '32 on the roll of the comp. extranjera. iii. 221; in '33 licensed to hunt otter, and granted the Molino rancho, Sonoma. iii. 394, 712; regidor at Mont. '34–5. iii. 673; in '36 living with wife, 2 children, mother-in-law, and her 3 daughters at Mont., having also cattle and a mill on the Sonoma rancho confirmed to him this year. iii. 429; iv. 116; his mill visited by Edwards '37. iv. 86. In '39 Capt. C. resumed his seafaring life as master of the govt schooner *California*, making many trips in the next 5 years to the Mex. coast and to the islands, of which I have his original *Log of the California*. iv. 102, 282, 289, 346, 361, 563–4; in '40 obtained land at S.F. and the Punta de Quintin rancho, iii. 706, 712, v. 683, but was in trouble about $5,250 which the govt had owed him since '26; perhaps the Juan Cooper to whom the Nicasio rancho was granted '44. iv. 672; sick at Acapulco at end of '44; but was back again in '45, only to depart for Peru, where, in '46, he was matriculated as 2d piloto. He visited Cal. in '47, and in '48 seems to have been in com. of the *Elizabeth*, wrecked at Sta B. In '49 he commanded the *Eveline* on a voy. to China; but soon quit the sea; was harbor-master at Mont. in '51; and was claimant for the Bolsas, Molino, and El Sur ranchos. iii. 679. He continued to live at Mont., much of the time on his rancho, till after 1860; and died at S.F. in '72, in his 80th year. There were few of the old Cal. pioneers more widely known or better liked than Capt. Cooper, though as a trader he had some peculiarities that, in the earlier years particularly, kept him in hot water with other traders much of the time. Besides hundreds of his letters scattered in dif. archives, his family papers fill several volumes of the *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, which should properly bear his name. In addition to his *Log* of '39-44, I have also a book of *Accounts* of '27. His widow still lives, '85, in S.F. His children were Ana María Guadalupe b. '29 wife of Herman Wohler, Juan Baut. Guillermo b. '31, Henry B., Francisco G., Amelia (Mrs Molera), George Howard, and Wm Roger who died in '73.

Cooper (J. M.), 1846, gunner on the U.S. *Savannah.* C. (Luther), 1834, named often in Larkin's accounts '34-7. iii. 412. C. (Martin), 1835, Amer. at S. Luis Ob.; also on Larkin's books '35-7. iii. 413. C. (Samuel E.), 1846, teamster of Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons (v. 336). C. (Sarchel), 1846, son of Stephen, miner at Park's Bar '48; d. at Colusa '74. C. (Sidney), 1831, doubtful record of a trapper of Young's party. iii. 388.

Cooper (Stephen), 1846, Kentuckian b. 1797, moved to Mo. 1817, guide and scout in the Sta Fé trade and various Ind. wars, Ind. agent and member of the legislature, who came overl. to Cal. as capt. of a small party, v. 528, with his wife Melinda and 6 children. From Yount's, in Napa Val., he went to S.F., where in Feb. '47 he presided over a public meeting of citizens dissatisfied with the composition of the proposed governor's council. *Star;* v. 433; in the autumn settled at Benicia. v. 672-3; alcalde in '48. v. 673; judge of 1st instance of the Sonoma district from Aug. '49, having also mined at Park's Bar for a short time. In '54 went to Colusa, where he was justice of the peace for 12 years, and where he still lived in '80; went later to Modoc Co., and in '85 lives at Winters, Yolo Co. Portrait in *Yolo Co. Hist.*, 26; biog. sketch from Cooper's own statement by 'F. S.' in *Colusa Sun* June 17, '71. Mrs. C. died in '72 at the age of 71. Of the two sons, Sarchel died about '74, and Thos B. lives in Modoc Co. '85; the daughters were Francis wife of Robert Semple and later of I. N. Van Winkle, living in Oakland '85, Susan wife of John Wolfskill, Elizabeth wife of Waller Calmes, and Martha wife of Amos Roberts. In '71 Maj. Cooper had 6 children and 16 grandchildren living. C. (Wm C.), 1845, overl. immig. of the Grigsby-Ide party; prob. went to Or. in '46. iv. 526, 578.

Cope (Wm), 1846, seaman of the *Savannah*, wounded at the S. Gabriel, Jan. '47. v. 395; perhaps 'Coxe.' Copeland (Alex.), 1843, Amer. immig. from Or. in the Hastings party; got a carta in Nov., calling himself a clerk, and was employed by Stephen Smith at Bodega. iv. 390, 396; early in '46 at Sutter's Fort; prob. identical with the following. C. (Andrew), 1846, lieut Co. B, Cal. Bat. v. 361; Cal. claim of $82 (v. 462); A. M. Copeland voted at S. José '50. Copenger (Chas), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Copey (John), 1832, doubtful ment. at S.F.

Coppinger (John), 1835, prob. deserter from a British vessel at S.F. iii. 413; said to have been a lieut in the British army or navy; generally called Engl., but Amer. acc. to his naturalization papers, while Quigley makes him a nat. of Cork and near relative of a Bishop Coppinger, and in a S.F. padron he appears as a Dublin sawyer. On Larkin's books from '36; in '36-8 lieut of Graham's foreign comp. in Alvarado's service. iii. 458-9, 491; naturalized '39 and juez at Corte Madera. iii. 705; arrested but not exiled in '40, being also the grantee of Cañada de Raimundo in S. Mateo. iii. 711; iv. 17. From '41 he seems to have lived on the rancho, being included in S.F. padrones, one of the defensores of the patria, 30 years old in '42 and 35 in '44; aided Micheltorena in '45. iv. 487; seems to have taken no part in the troubles of '46 except that Weber accused him of giving inform. that led to his, W.'s, arrest. I find no record of him later except an unintelligible one in *S. Mateo Co. Hist.*, 4, that during the war he was carried as a prisoner to Mex. where he died. His widow was María Luisa Soto, who before '52 married a man named Greer, and was a claimant of the rancho, living at Mayfield in late years.

Coray (Wm), 1847, sergt Co. B, Morm. Bat. v. 477, 496. Corcoran, or Corgan (Geo. A.), Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Chicago '82. C. (Martin), 1844, nat. of Nova Scotia, who came from Honolulu as seaman on the U.S. *Levant*. iv. 453. In '46 he came back, on the *Savannah* probably, and was one of Bartlett's party captured by Sanchez (v. 379), prob. the only survivor of that party; disch. from the navy in N.Y.; ret. to Cal. '49 and went to the mines. From '51 he was engaged in many kinds of business, chiefly that of hotel-keeper, at S. F., Alviso, S. José, and Sta Clara, being R.R. agent, tax collector, and county treasurer. In '85, at the age of 61, wharfinger at S.F.

Cordero, killed at S. Buen. '38. iii. 554. C., a leader in disturbance at Los Ang. '45. iv. 523. C. (Ambrosio), soldier of S.F. comp. at Sonoma '41-2. C. (Clemente), Sta B. soldier before '37. C. (Fermin), settler at Brancif. 1797; regidor 1802. i. 569, 639; ii. 156. C. (Francisco), at Sta B. '37, wife Petra Pico, 1 child. C. (José), soldier of S.F. comp. '34-42. C. (Juan), at Sta B. '37, wife Antonia Valenzuela and 7 child. C. (Mariano), 1st marriage S.F., to Juana Pinto 1776. i. 296. C. (Miguel), at Sta B. before '37, wife Antonia Jimeno and 5 children; maj. at Sta Inés '40-3. iii. 646-8, 663-4; at Sta B. '50. C. (Pedro), at Sta B. '37, wife Dolores Quijada and 4 child.; juez de paz '39-40. iii. 654-5; grantee of Cañada de Salsipuedes '44. iv. 642.

Córdoba (Alberto de), 1796, Span. lieut of engineers sent to Cal. to inspect coast defences, and superintend the founding of Branciforte, 1796-8; author of an *Informe*. i. 497, 541-2, 545, 565-70, 652, 682, 700, 719. I have other engineering reports by him before his visit to Cal.

Cordua (Theodore), 1842, German trader and farmer from Honolulu on the *California*, after corresp. with Sutter, whom he had known before. iv. 229, 341. In '43 settled on Feather River near the site of the later Marysville, where Dr Sandels found him a fat, jolly, whist-loving man, popular with everybody. He had a straw hut at first, soon replaced by an adobe structure, the place being named New Mecklenburg, but better known as Cordua's rancho. In '44 he was naturalized and got the Honcut rancho. iv. 671; had a lighter, the *Yuba*, running on the river, often visiting the settlements, and his name often appeared in various commercial and other records of the time. Larkin described him in '45 as a man of 52 years, with property, respectability, and local influence; enlisted in Sutter's force, but wisely left it on the march south; often named in the *N. Helv. Diary* '45-8; took no part in the conflict of '46-7. In '48-9 sold his land and cattle for $30,000 and opened a store in the mines, where he is said to have lost his wealth; still in the Sac. Val. '54; but broken in health as well as property, he is said by Gilbert to have returned to the Sand. Isl., where he died.

Corey, 1846, mr of the *Isaac Howland*. v. 578. C. (P.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Corne (L. P.), 1840, sailor on the *California*. Cornelio (D.), 1828, mr of the *Minerva*. iii. 148. Corning (Otto), 1847, Co. G, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). Cornwall (Pierre B.), 1848, nat. of N.Y. who came overland and made a large fortune in trade at Sacramento '48-9 as member of the firm Priest, Lee, & Co.; from '59 a resident and prominent business man of S.F., being at one time president of the Soc. of Cal. Pioneers. Still living in S.F., I think, in '85. Cornwell (Geo. N.), Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); nat. of N.Y., who on his discharge, after a brief experience in the mines, settled at Napa, where as trader, farmer, owner in quicksilver mines, postmaster, member of the legislature, supervisor, deputy sheriff, and politician, he has always been a prominent man. He married Anna J. West of N.H. in '54, and in '72, when he furnished me a MS. *Sketch of My Life*, they had 3 children, Fannie L., Clara, and Norris, 3 having died. Claimant of rancho. iv. 674. Still living at Napa in '82, and I think in '85. Corona (José), com. de policía S. Diego '36 iii. 616. C. (José M.), at Los Ang. '46. C (Juan B.), com. policía (?) at S. Diego '36. iii. 613.

Coronel (Antonio Francisco), 1834, son of Ignacio, with whom he came to Cal. at the age of 17. His 1st public service seems to have been as sergt of artill. in support of Cárlos Carrillo in '38; in '41 applicant for a lot at S. Juan Cap. iv. 626; in '43 juez de paz at Los Ang., and interventor at the transfer of S. Fernando. iv. 633, 639; in '45 comisionado of the junta to treat with Micheltorena, and elector of Los Ang., declining the sub-prefecture. iv. 497, 540, 633; grantee of Sierra de los Verdugos '46. v. 628; also taking part as capt. in all the southern military operations against the U.S. in '46-7, starting at one time for Mex. with a flag taken from Mervine at S. Pedro, and narrowly escaping capture by Kearny's men on the way. v. 331-2. In '48 he was a successful miner; and in later years held many local positions, though giving chief attention to his vineyard and to agricultural interests; county assessor '50 et seq.; mayor in '53; member of the council '54-67; state treasurer '67-71. A man of wealth and influence, still residing at his Los Ang. vineyard and orange orchard in '85. In '77 he dictated for my use his *Cosas de California*, or recollections of early events, a MS. of 265 pp., and one of the best narratives of its class in my collection. He also gave me a valuable col. of *Doc. Hist. Cal.* from his family archives. C. (Guillermo), 1842-5, sub-lieut in the batallon fijo. iv. 289. C. (Ignacio), 1834, Mex. teacher who with his family came in the H. & P. colony. iii. 263. In Mex. Don Ignacio had been a soldier from 1810 in the Span. army, being made corporal of cavalry in '14, a sergt of the Cholula *realistas urbanas* in '18, and prob. in '22 was retired with the rank of alférez; at least, he got all the necessary certificates, including one that he had served the cause of independence and had ceded all his back pay to the national treasury. *Coronel. Doc.*, MS. The failure of the colony was a bitter disappointment, as his appointment of teacher at Solano at $1,000 per year brought in no funds, and he was even ordered to be sent to Mex. for complicity in the supposed revolt of '35, but did not go. iii. 287, 291. In '36 he was living at Corralitos rancho, Mont. dist., age 41, wife Francisca Romero, child. Josefa b. '16, Antonio '18, Micaela '21, Soledad '26, and Manuel '32. iii. 677. The same year he was named as comisionado to secularize S. Miguel. iii. 685; iv. 46; and in '37 he went to Los Ang., taking com. at S. Gabriel, and aiding Carrillo in the campaign of Las Flores. iii. 520, 522, 558. In '38-9 he taught a school at Los Ang., having also a little store, and serving as sec. of the ayunt. iii. 631, 635-6; also sec. in '44-7. iv. 633-4; v. 625-6; grantee of La Cañada '43 and of Cajon de los Negros '46. iv. 635; v. 627, ministro suplente of the tribunal sup. '45. iv. 532; receptor at S. Pedro '46. v. 264, 625. He died at Los Ang. in '62. C. (Juan Ant.), 1769, arriero in the 1st exped. i. 135.

Correa (José M.), 1842, sub-lieut of the batallon fijo '42-5. iv. 289, 407. Cortés (Anastasio), com. de policía at S. José; killed by José J. Castro '39; but named as sub-lieut of artill. at Mont. '45. iv. 731, 652. C. (Felipe), inválido at Sta B. '32, wife María de Jesus Lara. C. (Fernando), Mex. convict of '25. iii. 16. C. (Juan Lope), 1796, Span. friar who served at S. Gabriel and Sta B., retiring in 1805. Biog. ii. 120-1; ment. i. 577, 588-90, 594, 664, 672; ii. 159-60. Cortis (Henry), 1848, passp. from Honolulu.

Corville, 1847, at Sutter's Fort and New Mecklenburg. Corvan (Toribio Gomez de), 1602, com. of one of Vizcaino's vessels. i. 98, 102. Corwin (Mrs Fanny M.), 1846, of the Mormon colony. v. 546; remained in Cal.; prob. at S.F. '85. Cory (Benj.), 1847, nat of Ohio, b. in '22, a physician who went to Or. '47 and came to Cal. on the *Henry* in Nov.; settled at S. José, but went to the mines in '48. A rumor that he had found new placers on the Moquelumne induced 500 men to quit the old diggings and follow his trail, so wrote Schallenberger in Aug. Member of 1st legislature '49-50; memb. of S. José council '50-4; married Sarah Ann Braly '53; trustee of normal school from '72; county physician '81. Still living at S. José in '82 with 8 children.

Cosío (Blas), 1820, mr of the *S. F. de Paula.* ii. 293. C. (José María), sec. of the gov. '34; ayud. de plaza at Mont. and fiscal '36. iii. 672, 687. Costa (Bernabal), 1836, Ital. sailor at Los Ang. from Lima, age 36. Costan, 1774, surg. on the *Santiago*. i. 228. Costansó (Miguel), 1769, Span. alférez and engineer who accomp. the 1st exped. to Cal. as cosmographer, and whose *Diario Histórico* was pub. in Mex. 1776. He was later very prominent in his profession, and I have some of his original reports relating to proposed defences in Cal. 1794–5, as well as to the fortifications of V. Cruz and drainage of Mex.; still living in 1811, being then a mariscal de campo. i. 128, 131, 136, 140–1, 147–51, 154–5, 168, 171–2, 534–5, 602, 615, 624, and list of auth.; *Hist. Mex.* iv. 134. Coster (Antonio), at Sonoma '44, age 16.

Cot (Antonio José), 1820, Span. trader from Lima, partner of Juan Ign. Mancisidor, visiting the coast apparently in '20; in '22 brought his family from Lima; named in various commercial records from '23. ii. 493. In '28 he was required to quit Cal. as a Span. supposed to be unfriendly to Mex., and after some delays to arrange his business affairs—perhaps departing and returning meanwhile—he sailed with wife and 3 child. in '30. iii. 51, 99. He came back, however, in '35–6; is ment. in mission accounts of '40. iii. 620, 657; and became a permanent resident at Los Ang., prominent in commercial affairs in '46–7, being the purchaser of S. Luis Rey, and having a claim for supplies furnished the U.S. v. 435, 464, 467, 561, 620–1. He died at Sta B. about '60. His wife was Mariana Estevanez of Lima. C. (Daniel), at Sta B. before '37, wife Bruna García, 2 child.

Cota, see list, in vol. i. p. 735, of those of this name before 1800; information about this family is very fragmentary. C., corporal at Sta Inés '24. ii. 528. C. (Antonia María), cl. of Tepusquet, widow of Tomás Olivera. iii. 656. C. (Benito), at Los Ang. '46. C. (Francisco), soldier at Sta B. before '37; com. and admin. at Sta Inés '37–41. iii. 663–4; grantee of Sta Rosa rancho '39. iii. 656; juez at Sta Inés '41, '48. iv. 646–8; v. 635; still at Sta B. '50. His widow and cl. for the rancho '52 was María Jesus Olivera. C. (Francisco Atanasio), elector at Sta B. '28. ii. 572; iii. 44. C. (Guillermo), corp. of the escolta at S. Fern. 1806–10. ii. 92, 115, 192; comisionado of Los Ang. '10–17. ii. 110, 208, 349–50; sergt of Sta B. comp. from '11. ii. 361, 572; at S. Fern. '32. ii. 570; comis. at Los Ang. '23–5. ii. 559–61; alcalde '27–9. ii. 560–1; age 70 in '39, still at Los Ang. C. (Joaquin), engaged in revolt at Sta B. '29. iii. 78; wife Ventura Ortega. C. (José Manuel), settler at Los Ang. '15; regidor '32. ii. 349, 635; iii. 638; at La Ballona '39, age 37. C. (José María), at Sta B. '32, wife Antonia Dominguez, 2 child. C. (Josefa), widow of A. M. Nieto, grantee of Sta Gertrudis rancho '34; at Los Ang. '48. C. (Juan), at Los Ang. '46. C. (Leonardo), alférez of defensores '45. iv. 539; regidor of Los Ang. '45–6. iv. 633; v. 625; grantee of Rio de las Ánimas '46. v. 627; and operating against the U. S. in S. Diego region as capt. v. 325, 342, 351–2. C. (Manuel), soldier of Sta B. comp. before 1800, and corp. of the Sta Inés escolta '28. ii. 459, 582; in '32 at Sta B., wife María Ant. Valenzuela, 4 child.; admin. Sta B. mission '38–9. iii. 656–8. In '39 a lieut. iii. 583; ment. in '47. v. 617; father and son of the same name; see also José Manuel. C. (Marcos), at Los Ang. '46. C. (María Isabel), wife of Dolores Pico; d. '69. C. (Mariano), soldier of Sta B. comp. before 1790; inval. 1819, when he was killed by Ind. at S. Buen. ii. 333. C. (Martin), named in '36. iii. 491. C. (Miguel), at Sta B. before '37, wife Manuela Ortega, 2 children; arrested in '41. iv. 642. C. (Pablo Antonio), soldier of 1769–74; corp. at S. Antonio '78–9; sergt in com. at S. Buen. '82–7; alférez from '88; died at Sta B. 1800, age 56. Biog. i. 665; ment. i. 425, 463, 466, 477, 553, 639, list auth.; ii. 28. His wife was Rosa María Lugo; a son Manuel Ant. was b. 1779; a daughter María de los Angeles was the wife of Joaq. de la Torre. C. (Pacífico), son of Valentin, at Sta B. '48 in con. with the 'cañon perdido.' v. 588. C. (Raimundo and Ramon), at Los Ang. '46. C. (Roque), soldier before 1780; settler at Los Ang. 1790. i. 347, 461. C. (Simon), sec. of alcalde at Soledad '26. ii. 623. C. (Valentin), son of Manuel, juez aux. Sta B. '33. iii. 654; capt. of militia and later of Sta B. comp. '36–9, supporting Alvarado. iii. 474, 553, 583, 651; grantee of Rio Sta Clara rancho '37. iii. 655; in charge of Sta Inés '42. iv. 646; in '46 resigns mil. rank; sub-prefect of Sta B. iv. 538; v. 35, 49. His wife was Luz Gonzalez.

Coulter (John), 1834, visitor, perhaps; at any rate, author of a trashy book of *Adventures* describing a visit. iii. 411. C. (Thomas), 1831, Engl. visitor and scientist, who joined the comp. extranjera in '32, and published valuable *Notes on Upper Cal.* I have his letter of '33 from Guanajuato; also a note due him sent for collection in '38. iii. 221, 406-8. Coupe (Geo.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Courteau (Philibert), 1844, perhaps with Frémont in 1st and 2d exped. '44, '45-7; at N. Helv. '48. iv. 437, 583. Named as 'Philibert' in Cal. Bat. '46-7. (v. 358). Coustner (And. J.), 1846, Co. C, 1st dragoons (v. 336). Coutan (Gustavus J.), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Coutts (Cave Johnson), 1848, nat. of Tenn. and graduate of West Point in '43. After serving in the Mex. war he came to Cal. from Coahuila with Graham's battalion as lieut of the 1st U.S. dragoons. v. 522. He subsequently went with his comp. to the frontier on boundary-survey service; but in '51 resigned his commission, married Isidora Bandini, and settled at S. Diego, where he served as county judge. In '54 he moved to the Guajome rancho, a wedding gift of Abel Stearns to Doña Isidora; and there he spent the rest of his life, becoming rich in lands and live-stock, always popular and respected, though as bitter in his enmities as warm in his friendships, making Guajome a centre of the famed hospitality of southern Cal. Claimant also for Soledad rancho. iii. 612. He gave me in '74 a copy of his *Diary* of the overland march and early experience in Cal., besides rendering other valuable aid. Col Coutts died in '74 or '75, when he was 54 years of age. His widow still lived on the rancho in '82, having 8 surviving children. Perhaps the name should be written 'Couts.' A good biog. sketch in *S. Bern. Co. Hist.*, 196-7. Couzens (John H.), 1847, had a lot and slaughter-house at S.F.; kept sheep on Yerba Buena Isl.; owned a lot at Benicia. v. 672, 685; he went to Honolulu and returned in '48.

Covarrubias (José María), 1834, nat. of France, naturalized citizen of Mex., who came in the H. & P. col., intending to be a teacher. iii. 263, 412. In '36-7 com. for secularization of Sta Inés. iii. 663-4; sec. of the dip. '37 and in '39; a partizan of Carrillo in the contest of '38. iii. 549, 556, 569, 580; in '39 partido elector at Sta B., and sec. of the prefecture at Mont. iii. 590, 675; took part in arrest of foreigners '40, and accomp. the exiles to S. Blas, going to Mex., where he rec'd a cross of honor for services in that city during the disturbances of July; returned in '40. iv. 11, 13, 15, 23, 30, 102. He was grantee of Castac rancho in '43. iv. 634; in '44 sec. of the assembly and alcalde of Sta B. iv. 410, 642; in '45 succeeded Bandini as sec. of Gov. Pico, and was lessee of Sta Inés. iv. 490, 519, 523, 531, 553, 558, 647; sent as comisionado to Mex. in '46, also grantee of Sta Inés. v. 32, 210, 561, 632; at Sta Inés '48. v. 589, 635; being a justice of the sup. court. In '49 he was a member of the constit. convention, and of the 1st legislature, being 4 times reëlected, and county judge of Sta B. in '61. Covarrubias died in '70 at the age of 69, leaving a family. His wife was María, daughter of Domingo Carrillo; his eldest son, Nicolás, was for a long time sheriff of Sta B. County.

Covell (Hiram), 1834, mr of the *By Chance*. iii. 381. Covil (John Q. A.), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl. at Los Ang. Covillaud (Charles), 1846, nat. of France, who had lived in La and Mo. for some years; overl. immig. to Cal. (v. 526). He is named in the *N. Helv. Diary*, '47-8, being an overseer at Cordua's rancho, and later prospector on the Yuba; had a trading-post at Cordua's '48-9 in partnership with his brothers-in-law, and in '49-57 the post was at Sacramento. Meanwhile, in '48, C., with others, had bought Cordua's rancho at New Mecklenburg, and here in '50 they laid out a new town, named Marysville in honor of C.'s wife, Mary Murphy, a survivor of the Donner party. Judge Stephen J. Field, the 1st alcalde of Marysville, gives an interesting account of the founding. *Remin.*, 20 et seq. Here C. spent the rest of his life, gaining an enviable reputation for his open-handed liberality, and filling some local offices. He died in '67 at the age of 51; his widow died later in the same year.

Cowie (Thomas), 1843, Amer. immig. of the Chiles-Walker party. From Feb. '44, when Walker applied for a pass in his behalf, nothing appears about him till June '46, when he joined the Bears and was killed by the Californians near Sta Rosa. iv. 392–3; v. 110, 148, 160–4. C. (R.), 1837, came from Honolulu. iv. 104. Cox (Alex. J.), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); a newspaper man, founder of the Sonoma *Bulletin* and Napa *Reporter;* at Napa '71–80; in Mendocino Co. '82. C. (Amos), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in Iowa '82. C. (Henderson), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat.; at N. Helv. '47–8 in Sutter's employ; killed by Ind. on the return to Salt Lake '48. v. 496; prob. the man called Henry W. by Bigler. C. (Henry), 1846, mariner on the U.S. *Dale;* one of Marston's men (v. 379); disch. in Cal.; at Colton, S. Bern. Co., '85. C. (John), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in Sutter's employ '47–8. C. (John), 1846, sergt Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons; killed at S. Pascual. v. 346. C. (Patrick), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Coxe (Wm), 1847, wounded at the S. Gabriel. v. 395; perhaps 'Cope.' Coyan (Fred.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518); a laborer at Mont. '48. C. (Fred.), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Vallejo '41–4; prob. some error.

Crabb (H. G. and H. N.), 1848, at Honolulu from Mont. Crabb (Jeremiah), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Crafts (Albert B.), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. S.F. '49. Crafton (T.), 1845, boy in the Grigsby-Ide immig. party. iv. 578–9, 587. Craig (James), 1832, said by Dye to have crossed the mts with him and to be in S.F. '69; doubtful. iii. 388, 408. C. (John), 1846, leader of an immig. party, who in Apr.–May '47 was at N. Helv. preparing to return east with a party. v. 528. *Star.* C. (Otto), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. v. 518. Crain (Walter C.), 1846, mid. on the U. S. *Warren.* Crane, or Ne-ta-me-commin, 1845, Del. Ind. in Frémont's party; killed on the Or. frontier '46. iv. 583; v. 25. C., 1847, had a restaurant at Mont. C. (Geo. W.), 1846, Virginian said to have arr. in May; served in the Cal. Bat. (v. 358); miner in '48; became a lawyer; memb. of legisl. from Yolo '50. and from Mont. '57; d. at S. Juan B. '68, age 41, leaving a widow and several children. All this comes from his obituary as memb. of Soc. Cal. Pion. C. (J. C.), 1848, on the *Charles* at Honolulu from Mont.; in Cal. '55. C. (W. O.), 1846, mid. on the U.S. *Warren.* Craven (James A. M.), 1846, lieut on the U.S. *Dale;* nat. of N. H., and brother of Rear-adm. C.; killed at Mobile '64 in com. of the monitor *Tecumseh. Lancey.* Crawford (Geo.), 1846, boatswain's mate on the U.S. *Cyane;* wounded at the Mesa Jan. '47. v. 395. Crawley (Philip), 1843, worked for Steph. Smith at Bodega acc. to the county histories. iv. 396.

Crebbe, 1847, doubtful name, in Sutter's employ '47–8. Creen (Hugh W.), 1847, purser on the U.S. *Independence.* Creighton (James), 1848, at Benicia, prospective partner of Pfister; vice-pres. of S.F. guards '48–9; elected to legisl. from S. F. '49. C. (Johnston Blakely), 1846, passed mid. on the *Dale* and *Lexington* '47; in '77–8 com. of Norfolk navy-yard. Crélis (Michel), 1844, perhaps one of Frémont's men. iv. 437.

Crespí (Juan), 1769, Span. friar who came with the 1st exped. by land to Cal. after 17 years of missionary service in New Spain; wrote a diary of the 1st *Viaje* by land from S. Diego to Mont., and several other important diaries of early years. i. list of auth., also i. 141, 151, 224, 284, 386; and served 13 years in Cal., chiefly at S. Cárlos, till his death in 1782. Biog. i. 386; ment. i. 121–2, 132–6, 140–4, 148–52, 158, 165, 167–9, 171, 175–6, 183–9, 196, 227, 231, 284–5, 351, 388. 410, 473–6; ii. 44. Crespo (Manuel), Mex. phlebotomist and teacher at Mont. from '29 or earlier. ii. 613; comisionado of S. Cárlos '31. iii. 307, 679; vocal of the dip. '33. iii. 246; in '35 comisionado to secularize S. Antonio. iii. 354, 687–8. In '36 C. was living at Mont., age 28, wife Nicolasa Velarde, child. Tomasa A. b. '19 at Tepic, Adelaida '32, Manuel '33, Carolina '36; also vocal of the dip., taking part in a small way in the stirring political events. iii. 426, 454–5, 460, 463, 469. I have no record of him after his arrest in '37 for plotting against Alvarado. iii. 525. Cretaine (Julio), 1846, at Los Ang.; had a claim for supplies of stationery and clothing (v. 462). Creutzfeldt (F.), 1845, probably one of Frémont's men '45–7, as he was in '48. iv. 583; v. 453. Cristan (Joseph), 1840, permitted to settle at S. Juan Cap. iv. 626. Cristen (C.), 1830, mr of the *Catalina;* doubtful. iii. 146. Cristóbal, neoph. grantee of Ulistac '45. C. (Juan), or 'Bob,' 1816, negro settler. ii. 393.

Crocker (David), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Crockett, 1848, at S.F. from Hon. on the *Sagadahoc*. Cromwell, 1848(?), Winters & C., hotel at Coloma. Cronstead (Philip), 1845, deserter from the *Hopewell* at S. Diego; prob. 'Crossthwaite,' q.v. Crooks (Stephen), 1847, apparently an overl. immig.; in Sutter's employ '48. Crosby, 1847, mr of the *Toulon*. v. 580. C. (A. H.), 1845, Amer. carpenter and overl. immig. of the Hastings-Semple party; employed by Sutter; prob. went back in '46. iv. 586; v. 526. C. (Edmund P.), 1847, sergt Co. C, N.Y.Vol. v. 504. C. (Thos), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Cross (Alex.), 1848, S.F. merchant, of C., Hobson, & Co. v. 681. C. (Geo.), 1846, overl. immig. who served in the Cal. Bat. (v. 358), enlisting at S. Juan in Oct.; in Sta Clara Co. '76. C. (John), 1846, prob. a brother of Geo.; in Cal. Bat.; on 1st jury at S. José '48. C. (John), 1838, named in Larkin's accounts. Crossman (Gideon), 1847, Amer. at N. Helv. Crossthwaite (Philip), 1845, landed from a vessel at S. Diego. iv. 587; ment. in '46. v. 352; 2d juez at S. D. '47. v. 618; married Josefa Lopez '48, also lessee of S. Diego mission. v. 620; went to the mines; memb. of ayunt. '49–50; county clerk '52; later deputy sheriff; still at S. D. '72.

Crouch (Henry), 1847, builder of a house at Benicia. v. 672; a Baltimore carpenter who went to the mines in '48. W. A. Crouch is also named as having settled at Benicia '47, perhaps another man. C. (Henry J.), 1841, mr of the *Rosalind* '41–2. iv. 196, 568. Crowell (Joseph), 1836, Engl. sailor from a whaler at Sta B. C. (Wm H.), 1835(?), nat. of Conn., somewhat prominent from '49 as trader and local official in Sac., S.F., Sonoma, and Mendocino; said as a ship's boy to have touched at S.F. and other points as early as '35; died at Ukiah '69. *Mendoc. Dem.*, Aug. 6, '69; iii. 413. Crowley, 1846, overl. immig. with Boggs. v. 528. C. (Michael), 1847, Co. K, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). C. (Philip), 1846, Cal. claim $50. (v. 462); perhaps 'Crawley,' q.v. Crowninshields (Jacob), 1848, lot-owner at S.F. Cruceno (Antonio), at Sta B. '32, wife Teresa Verdugo, 5 child. Cruell (Robert), 1846, doubtful name in Sta B. region. v. 330. Cruz (Faustino José), settler at Los Ang. 1790. i. 461. C. (José), killed by Ind. at Pauma '46. v. 617. C. (José M.), grantee of Cañada de Pinacates in '35. iii. 633. C. (Santiago), at Los Ang. '46. C. (Tomás), sirv. at S.F. 1777. i. 297. C. (Trinidad), convict from Mex. '29–33. Cruzado (Antonio), 1771, Span. friar who served at S. Gabriel for 33 years and died in 1804. Biog. ii. 113; ment. i. 173, 176, 181, 196, 223, 299, 388, 459, 575, 664; ii. 159–60.

Cuani (Keaniu), 1847, lot-owner at S. F. v. 679. Cucar (Thos), 1819, Engl. ii. 293. Cuculla (Fran.), Dom. friar of L. Cal., at S. Gabriel '31–2. iii. 311, 641. Cue (James), 1828, Engl. sailor, age 26, at Mont. '28–9. Cuesta, additional mention omitted by error on p. 704 for 'Arroyo de la Cuesta,' q.v. ii. 166, 386, 398, 496, 623; iii. 92, 96, 664, 681, 683, 691. Cueva (Pedro), 1804, Span. friar who served at S. José mission two years, being wounded by the Ind. in 1805, and retiring 1806. Biog. ii 137–8; ment. ii. 34, 107, 109–10, 159–60. Cuevas, 1834, mate of the *Natalia*. iii. 268. Culebras (Miguel), 1828, Span. trader, who had been a lieut in the war of Indep., apparently not allowed to remain after '30. iii. 51–2. Cullingham (James), 1847, locksmith at Mont.; name variously written. Culverwell (Stephen S.), 1842, boy on the *United States* in Jones' fleet at the taking of Mont.; living in S.F. '85. iv. 304, 341.

Cummings (James), 1847, Co. G, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). C. (Joseph W.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. v. 518. Cummins (Thos), 1842, Amer. trader who came from Hon. on the *Fama* for his health, age 38. iv. 141, 341; again at S. F. '48. Cumuchi, chief of horse-thieves shot at Sonoma. iv. 73. Cunningham (Alex. S.), Co. B, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); in Fresno Co. '82. C. (Stephen), 1847, perhaps of N. Y. Vol. under another name. C. (Wm H.), 1826, Mass. man, mr of the *Courier* '26–8, spending much of his time on shore, befriending Jed. Smith and Pattie, taking an active part in trade at all the ports, and vainly attempting to establish himself on Sta Catalina Isl. iii. 128, 146, 154, 165, 176. In '31 at Boston, but thinking of another trip to Cal.; said by Peirce to have been still living in Mass. after '80. Cupper (Geo.), 1847, at Hon. from Mont. on the *Xylon*.

Curiel (Bernardo), Mex. soldier at Mont. '36, age 32, single. C. (Fernando), arrested '29. iii. 69. Curier (Anastase), 1830, French trapper of Young's party. iii. 174. Curl (James D.), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); lot at S.F. '47; at S. José '50, as was Robert C. Curman (Lewis), 1847, sergt Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. v. 519. Curphey, 1847, mr of the *Maria Helena.* v. 579. Curran (Edward), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). C. (Michael), 1846, ditto. Curren (Edward), 1847, Co. A, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); died in Cal. '60.

Curtis (Dabney), 1846, asst draughtsman with Kearny. *Lancey.* C. (Dorr P.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). C. (Foster), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. C. (Josiah), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. C. (Jotham), 1846, overl. immig. with his wife; connected with the 1st Donner relief, and roundly abused—with how much of reason I know not—by McCutchen and Thornton; owner of a lot at S.F. '47. v. 538-9, 678. C. (Wm), 1846, Kentuckian in Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Curus, 1847, mr of the *Europa.* v. 578.

Cushing, 1843, sup. of the *Admittance*, who had much trouble with the capt. and consignee, and was sent home. *Thomes.* Cushing (Bela), 1847, Co. C, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); a printer of Boston; d. Sonoma '48. Cushman (Benj.), 1845, mr of the *Morea.* iv. 567. C. (James and Stephen), 1837, named in Larkin's accounts. Custer (John), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232); Co. G, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); settled near Napa '48. Custot (Octave), 1837, Frenchman who signed a contract to take charge of Rafael Gomez' rancho in May. iv. 118; at S. Pablo '38 trying to make beet sugar; later induced Vallejo to employ him to superintend this industry at Petaluma on a larger scale, but failed to produce any sugar except some cakes of an imported article remelted to keep the general in good courage. In '39 he joined Sutter, and for several years was a kind of superintendent at N. Helv. iv. 219. He seems to have disappeared before '45, as his name does not occur in the *N. Helv. Diary.*

Cutler (John), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Cutrell (Wm E.), 1847, lieut Co. E, N.Y.Vol. v. 504; went to Sandw. Isl., where he married and had several children; returned to S. F., where he died '68. Cutting, 1848, doubtful record of a man who came overl. to Or. from Ind. in '47, and ret. from Cal. in '48 with large quantities of gold-dust. *Solano Co. Hist.*, 380. Cuvellier (Emil), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Cyrus (Enoch), 1846, overl. immig. with wife and 3 sons, who settled in Napa Valley. v. 529. C. and two of the sons died of small-pox in '53, and the widow, Rebecca Cook, died in '73, age 77, at the farm near Calistoga, where the family had lived since '50. C. (John), 1846, son of Enoch, b. in Ill. '31; married Lovina Graves of the Donner party in '50; still living with 5 children near Calistoga in '81.

Daggett (Ed), 1832, mr of the *Balance.* iii. 381, D. (Timothy), 1822-3, mr of the *Almira.* ii. 474, 492. Dailey (Peter), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Daily, 1833, possibly in Walker's comp. iii. 391. Dailey and Daily, see 'Daly.' Dake (Morris B.), 1842, asst surg. on the *United States.* Daleman (John), 1846, marine on the *Dale;* in Phil. '84. Dall (John), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. *Lancey.* Dally, 1846, mr of the *Golden Gate.*

Dally (Henry J.), 1843, nat. of N.Y., who after an adventurous career as sailor in many parts of the world landed at Mont. from the whaler *Chas W. Morgan.* iv. 400. He worked at Mont. for Kinlock, Larkin, and others; made an otter-hunting trip in '45; soon went to S. Luis Ob., where he married a Rodriguez and lived—but for a brief tour in the mines '48—till '52, serving as sheriff in '49-51; then settled at Sta B., where he still lived in '78, age 63. His MS. *Narrative*, besides an account of his early wanderings, contains testimony on early affairs at S. Luis, especially in '46, v. 375, and on the acts of outlaws in the south after '49.

Dalton (Henry), 1843, Engl. trader from Lima; sup. of the *Soledad.* iv. 400, 568. In his *Notes* of '45 Larkin describes D. as 40 years old, a man of property, intelligence, and local influence; and from that time his name often appears in commercial records, his home being at Los Ang. In '45 he served against Micheltorena, bought land at S. Gabriel, was sup. of the *Star of the West*, and grantee of S. Francisquito. iv. 495, 548, 568, 635; in '46 encargado at S. Gabriel, affording important financial aid to his brother-in-law Gen. Flores. v. 332, 628; in '47 purchaser of Sta Anita, for which and for Azuza, his permanent home, he was claimant in '52. v. 628, 633, 635. Still living in '80. His wife was the daughter of A. V. Zamorano. iii. 561; and his son, Henry, Jr, was probably born before the end of '48. D. (John), 1844, mr of the *Julian*. D. (Wm), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336); killed at S. Pascual. v. 346.

Daly, 1842, doubtful record at Mont.; perhaps Nathan. D. (Henry), 1844, mentioned at Mont. D. (J. and S.), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); prob. one man. D. (Nathan), 1834, Amer. named in Larkin's books '34–40. iii. 412; exiled in '40 and not known to have returned. iv. 18, 24. D. (Wm), 1834 (?), said to have arrived in Sta Clara Co.; arrested '43, as appears from a letter of Forbes inquiring about him as a British subject; at Sutter's Fort with his wife '47; in the mines '48; had a rancho on the Cosumnes '49. Perhaps more than one man of the name. iii. 412. Dana (James D.), 1841, mineralogist of U.S. ex. exped. iv. 241–3. D. (Richard H., Jr), 1835, Boston sailor on the *Pilgrim;* author of the famous *Two Years Before the Mast;* later an eminent lawyer and writer. iii. 367, 412–13, 613, 652; iv. 140, 142.

Dana (Wm Goodwin), 1826, nat. of Boston, and mr of the *Waverly* '26–8. iii. 118, 149, 154, 176. Among his first acts was falling in love with Josefa Carrillo, daughter of Don Cárlos, and he was greatly troubled at having to wait for baptism and naturalization before getting married. I have his original letter to Capt. Cooper in '27–8 on this subject, with a quaint intermixture of business affairs. He had no objection to changing his religion and country, but damned the institutions that forced him to lose time. However, he was baptized in '27, got provisional papers in '28, was married to Doña Josefa, age 16, the same year, and in July '30 in a business letter announced the birth and death of his 2d child, cheerfully adding, 'We will soon have enough'—as they did, 21 in all. Meanwhile he had engaged in trade, agriculture, stock-raising, and soap-making, besides building the schr *Sta Bárbara* and buying the wreck and cargo of the *Danube*. ii. 573; iii. 140, 146. Every branch of his business was always on the point of going to the dogs, if we credit the letters of this inveterate grumbler. One source of revenue was the letting-out for a percentage of results of his otter license to foreigners, who could get no such paper. Final naturalization in '35; appraiser at Purísima. iii. 665; capt. of the port. iii. 654; in '36 alcalde of Sta B. iii. 483, 654; iv. 117. In '37 he was grantee of the Nipomo rancho, S. Luis Ob., iii. 655, on which he lived from about '39, having in '38 rendered some aid to his father-in-law in his political troubles. iii. 569. Sometimes named as a physician and architect. In '45 Larkin gave him an excellent character as a man of greater influence than any other foreigner of Sta B. region. Ment. '46, having also a Cal. claim. v. 321, 639. Prefect in '49; county treasurer in '51. Of his children 8 died in infancy, one, Mrs. Pollard, in '78, and in '83 the survivors were Chas C. at S. Luis, Wm C. at Los Berros, and on the home farm, John F., Henry C., Frank, Edward G., Fred. A., Adelina E., David A., Eliseo C., and Samuel A.

Daniel, 1824, Amer., surname not given, said to have been killed by Ind. at Sta B. ii. 527, 534. Daniels, 1836, Boston cook, age 26, with Angel Ramírez at Mont. iv. 118; arrested in '40. Daniels, 1816, mr of the *Colonel*. ii. 278, 382. D. (John), 1839, Scotch in El Dorado Co.; doubtful date. iv. 119. D. (Wm), 1846, nat. of Engl.; overl. immig. with family; settled at S. José; known as judge; died '73, age 71. Dantí (Antonio), 1790, Span. friar who served at S.F., retiring in 1796. Biog. i. 712–13; ment. i. 388, 474, 492, 510, 551–2, 552, 575–6, 679, 709, list auth. Dare (Robert H.), 1838, mr of the *Fearnaught* and of the *Ayucucho* '39–40. iv. 101, 103. Darley (Henry L.), 1846, at Mont. Darlington (B. S. B.), 1841, lieut on the U. S. *St Louis*. Darrah (Decatur), 1847, Co. D, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). Darren (Henry E.), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol.; drowned in the Sac. Riv. '49.

Daubenbiss (John), 1843, nat. of Bavaria, who came to Amer. '35 at the age of 19, and found his way westward by short stages for 7 years, coming overland to Or. in '42 and to Cal. next year in the Hastings party. iv. 390, 400. After working on mills for Smith at Bodega, iv. 396, and Vallejo at Mission S. José, he served Sutter in the Micheltorena campaign, was naturalized and got a grant of Coluses rancho in '44. iv. 671; in '45 signed the S. José call to foreigners. iv. 599; and in '46 carried despatches between Sloat and Frémont, v. 16, 245, 247, then going south with the Cal. Bat. to S. Diego and Los Ang., but returning with Maddox. Later he reënlisted in Co. F of the Bat. to take part in the final campaign. Returning to S. José early in '47, he married Sarah C. Lard and moved to his rancho at Soquel, where he built a flour-mill. In partnership with John Haines '48, also going to the mines; elected to constit. convention '49, though not serving. In '79 he had 8 children; prob. still living in '85. His *Biog. Sketch* contains many interesting adventures; portrait in *Sta Cruz Co. Hist.*, 26.

Dávalos (Miguel), 1780-2, chaplain of the *Santiago* and *Princesa.* i. 329, 378. D. (Teresa), wife of Rivera y Moncada. i. 364. Davenport (Alfred), 1846, Co. A, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). Daveson (Peter), 1841 (?), nat. of the Ionic Isl., who came in '41-3, acc. to dif. authorities. iv. 279; signed the S. José call to foreigners '45. iv. 599; ment. in '45-7 in employ of Weber and Southward; also kept an inn, and went to the mines in '48; still living in '84 at S. José. His wife was a granddaughter of Luis Peralta. David (Alex.), 1845, in Cal. iv. 587; perhaps Davis. David (Edward), 1827, mr of the *Isabella* or *Sarah and Elizabeth.* iii. 147. Davidof, 1806, lieut with Rezánof at S.F. ii. 68, 70. Davidson, 1843, mate of the *Admittance*, nat. of N.H.; killed at S.F. '44 by falling from the ship's foretopsail yard. *Thomes.* D. (Hunter), 1845, mid. on the *Portsmouth.* D. (John W.), 1846, lieut 1st U.S. dragoons, who came with Kearny and fought at S. Pascual and the later conflicts of '46-7. v. 336-7, 340, 343-7, 385-6, 446; later col of 2d cavalry and brevet brig.-gen., serving on the Pac. coast to '59, and dying in Minn. '81. Dávila (Agustin), sec. to juez at Brancif. '41-2. iv. 663; grantee of Corral de Cuati '45. iv. 642; killed by Foxen near Sta Inés '48. v. 611, 631. D. (Jose), 1771, surg. of the Cal. forces at Mont. '71-83. Biog. i. 668; ment. i. 224, 228, 385.

Davis, 1811-12, mr of the *Isabella.* ii. 93, 267, 269, 282; possibly Wm H., Sr. D., 1845, doubtful memb. of Grigsby-Ide party. iv. 579. D., 1846, said to have been mr of a coaster; later a highwayman known as Red Davis, hanged at Stockton about '52. D., 1847, memb. of Sonoma council. D., 1848, two of the name on the *Sagadahoc* from Honolulu. D., 1848, miner at Thompson's Flat.

Davis (Benj. B.), 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); miner in Mariposa; vol. in war of '61-5; died at Merced Aug. '78. D. (Daniel C.), 1847, capt. Co. E, Morm. Bat., and of the reënl. comp.; in com. at S. Diego. v. 477, 490, 495, 617; accomp. by his wife and son, Dan. C., Jr, the latter being wounded in a fight with wild cattle on the march to Cal. D. (David A.), 1846, at S. José in April; perhaps an immig. of '45; one of Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232); lieut of Co. G, Cal. Bat. v. 361; in '47-8 had a store and ferry at Benicia. v. 673. D. (David A.), 1847, Co. H, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); a deserter who was hanged at S. José for robbery and attempted murder in Dec. '48. v. 663-4. D. (Eleazer), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469).

Davis (Geo.), 1843, Irish immig. from Or. in the Hastings party. iv. 390-2, 400. Married by Sutter to Lizzie Sumner, whose parents came in the same party; naturalized in '44; often named in the *N. Helv. Diary* '45-6; later engaged in tanning and raising stock in the Sta Cruz region; in '60 settled in S. Luis Ob. Co., where he still lived in '83. D. (Isaac), 1848, sentenced for larceny at S. F. *Californian.* D. (Jerome C.), 1845, apparently one of Frémont's men, iv. 583, 587, who served in the Cal. Bat. '46-7. v. 358. It was for him, I think, that the town of Davisville was named; still living at Sac. in '78. D. (John), 1828, Norwegian carpenter, age 23, who came from the Sandw. Isl. and in '30-6 was a resid. of Los Ang. ii. 558; iii. 178. D. (John), 1848, passp. from Honolulu; letters at S.F.

Davis (John Calvert), 1839, Engl. ship-carpenter and blacksmith, who had been a sailor, and for 5 years on Mex. vessels, probably touching in Cal. ports some years earlier; naturalized, got a lot, and built a house and shop at S.F. '39. iii. 705; iv. 119; v. 682-3. In Nov. '41 he had built, in Napa Creek, a schr called the *Susana*, for which he asked permission to use the Mex. flag, and in her made a trip to Mazatlan and back in '42-3. In records of the time he is often mentioned as a Yerba Buena blacksmith, and was 32 years old in '42; formed a partnership with Rose and Reynolds, and the firm built houses as well as boats, including a mill for Salv. Vallejo in Napa Val.; corporal of S.F. defensores '44, when he got new naturalization papers, having lost the original on his trip down the coast. He married a daughter of Geo. Yount, prob. in '44, since in April he writes to Larkin for gold earrings and material for a lady's dress—all to be kept a profound secret, though L. may guess the object. The same year he built the *Londresa;* often named in records of '44-7, being a witness at the Rae inquest in '45, iv. 593, and town treasurer in '46. v. 648. I find no later record than Nov. '47, and he is said to have died in '48, committing suicide, according to Sutter. His widow married Eugene Sullivan. He left a son—John D., living at Napa '85—and 2 daughters. D. (Joseph), 1845. Amer. sailor and immig. from Or. in the McMahon-Clyman party. iv. 572, 587. Lived for a time at Gordon's; served '46-7 in Co. B, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); claimant for supplies to Frémont. (v. 462); called also M. J. Davis. D. (J. H.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu.

Davis (Pedro), 1843-5, Ital. resid. of Mont. iv. 400. D. (Peter), 1848 (?), nat. of Mass., long a resid. of Loreto, perhaps came to Cal. before end of '48; Capt. D. died at Mont. '53. D. (Peter J.), 1848, nat. of N.C., overl. immig. with family; miner on Feather River '48-50; later farmer in S. Joaquin; d. in Humboldt '73. His 1st wife, Phœbe Hunter, died in '49; in '73 there were 3 surviving children. D. (Robert G.), 1839, clerk on the *Monsoon*. iv. 105, 279; nat. of Honolulu, bro. of Wm H., educated in Boston. He came back on the *Julia Ann* with goods, which were sold at S.F. '41-2. iv. 566; later in trade at Honolulu, being also Peruvian consul and a judge; died about '72. D. (Robert P.), 1848, nat. of Mo., overl. immig., miner and resid. of Coloma till his death by a fall from his wagon in '57. D. (Samuel H.), 1843, Amer. immig. from Or. in the Hastings party. iv. 390; prob. returned to Or. in '43-4. D. (Sterling), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). D. (Thos), 1846, one of Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232); Co. G, Cal. Bat., enlisting at S. José Nov. (v. 358); perhaps the 'Uncle Tommy' Davis who died at Sta Cruz '83. A lumberman of same name ment. at S. Buen. '47. D. (W.), 1825, mr of the *María Ester*. iii. 147.

Davis (Wm Heath), 1816 (?), Boston ship-master who, according to the statement of his son, was owner and mr of the *Eagle* from Boston to the Sandw. Isl. about '14, for some years in the China trade, and visited Cal. accomp. by his wife, still on the *Eagle*, about '16, making other trips to the N. W. coast and perhaps to Cal. I have no record of any such vessel on the coast, and there is probably some error in the dates; indeed, it is not unlikely that this was Capt. Davis of the *Isabella*, 1811-13, whose presence on the coast is ment. in ii. 93, 267, 269, 282. He was related to Gen. Heath, of revolutionary fame; and was for years U.S. commercial agent at Honolulu. His wife was a daughter of Oliver Holmes, another Mass. ship-master who lived long at the Sandwich Isl., being at one time gov. of Oahu under Kamehameha 1st. Another daughter of Holmes was the wife of Nathan Spear. Capt. D. died at Honolulu in '23, leaving two sons, Robert G. and Wm H., both named in this register. D. (Wm Heath, Jr), 1831, son of the preceding, b. at Honolulu in '22, came to Cal. as a boy on the *Louisa*. iii. 383, 405; again on the *Volunteer* in '33; and a 3d time on the *Don Quixote* in '38, iv. 103, having meanwhile attended school and worked as clerk for a Boston firm at Honolulu. From '38 D. was clerk and manager for his uncle, Nathan Spear, at S. F., much of his time being spent in trading trips around the bay. iv. 82, 116, 245, 250-1; in '39 he commanded the 'fleet' that took John A. Sutter and his company up the Sac. Riv. to N. Helv. iv. 130-1; in '40 was arrested as a matter of form, but not sent farther than the mission, though the troubles of this year prob. prevented the granting of his petition for naturalization. iv. 10, 17. In '42 he left Spear's service, and made a trip to Hon. as sup. of the *Don Quixote*, Capt. Paty, returning in '43, and in '43-5 acted as agent at S.F. for the firm of Paty, McKinley, & Co. iv. 314, 565; v. 679; in '45 at Los Ang. during the Micheltorena campaign, though not a combatant, bought a lot at S.F., and went to Honolulu on the *Don Quixote*. iv. 505, 512; v. 679. He now formed a partnership with Hiram Grimes, buying the *Euphemia* with a cargo of merchandise, and returning on her to Cal. in '46, from which date he was a prominent merchant under his own name at S.F., owning several lots and buildings, but spending much of his time on the vessel, which visited the islands and all the ports. v. 240, 578, 653, 681, 683. He took but slight part in political affairs, though acting as inspector of elections, as school trustee, and in '49 as member of the town council. v. 295, 646, 651-2, 656-7; Cal. claim of $3,000 in '46-7 (v. 462); in Nov. '47 married María de Jesus, daughter of Joaquin Estudillo. iv. 305; v. 686; in '48 of the firm Davis & Carter; in '49 memb. of the S.F. guard, and vice-president of mass-meeting. His name was given to Davis street, S.F. All the records of early times point to Davis as an honest, genial, industrious, and successful merchant, who laid well the foundations of a handsome fortune, which, however, in one way or another, slipped from his grasp in the later years. In '85, as for a long time preceding, he resides at Oakland with his family. In various private archives of my collection I have many of his original business letters, in personal interviews much useful information has been obtained from him, and he has besides dictated for my use over 300 pages of his *Glimpses of the Past*, which contains not only his own experiences, but hundreds of interesting items respecting early men and times, especially on commercial methods, and social manners and customs of native and foreign pioneers. His memory is excellent, and has been refreshed by frequent reference to his original correspondence. The value of his historical testimony is somewhat impaired by a tendency to eulogize everybody, or to suppress in the narrative such happenings as might call for unfriendly comment. If he ever had enemies, there is no indication of the fact in his statements or in any other records that I have seen. Let us hope that all the early Californians were as good as he paints them. David (John W.), 1845, one of the *Warren's* men, lost in S.F. bay '46. iv. 587; v. 384.

Dawson, 1846, from Honolulu on the *Euphemia*. D. (J.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. D. (Fleurnaye), 1843, Amer immig. of the Walker-Chiles party, who applied for a passport in '44. iv. 392-3. D. (James), 1824(?), Irish sailor on the *Rover* in '26, who possibly came on the same vessel in '23, and who, in Dec. '41, at Sonoma, asking for naturalization, claimed a residence of 17 years. I have his autograph on a contract to employ John Fuller in '39. He married María Antonia Cáceres in '40, and settled on the Estero Americano rancho near Bodega. Quarrelling with his partner about the title, Dawson sawed their house in two parts and moved his half to the Pogolomi rancho, for a grant of which he applied, but died in Oct. '43, and the rancho was granted in '44 to his widow, who was married to Fred. Blume in '49. Though D. is said on good authority to have died in '43, I find records in the archives which seem to show that he was alive in July '44. iv. 448; *Vallejo Doc.*, xii. 55. D. (James), 1841, immig. of the Bartleson party. iv. 270; also known as V. W. 'Cheyenne,' John, and 'Long Jim' Dawson; said to have been drowned in the Columbia River. D. (Nicholas), 1841, prob. a bro. of James, also in Bartleson party. iv. 270, 275, 279. Known also as 'Bear,' 'Berry,' and 'Birny' Dawson; kept a store at Sta Cruz in '43, but closed it and went away; said to have left Cal. and died.

Day (Abraham), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). D. (Benj.), 1831-2, perhaps of Young's trappers from N. Mex. iii. 388, 408; Amer. hatter at Mont. '34-6. D. (Edward), 1847, perhaps of N. Y. Vol. (v. 499) under another name. D. (Francis), 1840, naturalized citizen at Brancif.; licensed to hunt otter '43; ment. in '46. iv. 120; v. 23. D. (John S.), 1847, lieut Co. H, N.Y. Vol. v. 504; died at Chicago '51. D. (Manuel), 1838, named in Larkin's books. D. (Wm), 1832, Kentuckian hatter at Mont. '34; very likely one of Young's trappers, and perhaps same as Benjamin. iii. 388, 408. In '35, keeping a liquor-shop at Los Ang., he stabbed Abel Stearns in a quarrel and was kept in prison a year. iii. 631; acc. to the *County Hist.* died in Sonora, having settled at Los Ang. in '31.

Daylor (Wm), 1835 (?), Engl. sailor said to have left his vessel this year, to have entered Sutter's service in '40-1, and to have settled on the Cosumnes with Sheldon, his brother-in-law, about '44. iii. 413; iv. 138. Yates met him in '42-3 and speaks in high praise of his character. From '45 he is often named in the *N. Helv. Diary*, having fights with Hess and Kampt in '46; Cal. claim of $50 in '46-7 (v. 462); Gen. Kearny camped on his rancho '47. v. 452; mining with Weber '48; Ind. killed on his rancho '49. *Placer Times.* He died of cholera in '50. His widow—originally Sarah Rhoads married in '47—was married in '51 to Wm R. Grimshaw, whose *Narrative*, MS., is the best authority on Daylor's life. Days (Wolberton), 1841, New Yorker who lived long in Brazil, hospital steward on U. S. ex. exped., who came back to Cal. in '49, settling at Grass Val. iv. 279; *Nevada Co. Hist.* Dayton (W.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. D. (Wm J.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënlisted; also called Willard Y.

Deal (John), 1844, Amer. sailor of the *Benj. Morgan*, landed sick, aided by the consul at Mont. '44-5. Dean (Geo. C.), 1847, Co. F, 3d artill. (v. 518); at Mont. to '49. D. (Geo. C.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at Visalia '74-82, *Clark;* prob. some confusion bet. him and the preceding. D. (Gilbert E.), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol.; at Fort Lee, N.J., '74-82. D. (James), 1837, at Mont. Deas (James), 1847, Co. E, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Deck (Augustus), 1846, owner of S.F. lot. v. 685. Decker (Zachariah B.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); at Sutter's Fort '48; in Utah '81.

Dedmond (Joel P.), 1838 (?), Amer. carpenter who in '44, returning apparently from Honolulu on the *Fama*, claimed a residence of 6 years, obtaining naturalization, a lot at S.F., and the S. Juan rancho in the Sac. Val. iv. 119, 669, 673, 683. He prob. served Micheltorena under Sutter; appears in the *N. Helv. Diary* '45-7; but seems to have made a trip to Honolulu in '46. In '47 he sold out his land to Sutter and was employed at S.F. by Larkin as surveyor. Defleet (Wm H.), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. Deford (Isaac), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Deitch (Lewis), 1847, ditto. Dekin (Anthony), 1847, owner of S.F. lot. Deland (Francis), 1844, Canad. immig. of the Stevens party. iv. 445; perhaps went to Or., as nothing more is known of him, unless it was 'Delone,' q.v. Delaney (Rich. E.), 1847, Co. F, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. S.F. '76. Delehaye (Chas), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol.

Deleissèques (Olivier), 1838, Frenchman in Mont. district, chiefly at S. Juan B., '38-47; possibly as early as '36. iii. 469; iv. 119; síndico at Mont. '45. iv. 653; purchaser of S. Juan B. orchard '46. v. 561, 637, 640-1. He had a family, but I know nothing of them or him after '47. His name is variously written, Mofras calling him Leyssegues, which is perhaps the correct form. He may have come in the colony of '34. Delenau (Philibert), 1846, doubtful name of the Cal. Bat. Delfin, neoph. at S. Juan Cap. iii. 626. Delgadillo (Ignacio), 1829-33, Mex. convict. Delgado (Cristina), grantee of Rincon de Salinas rancho '33. D. (Gerónimo), 1791, piloto in Malaspina's exped. i. 490. D. (Ignacio), 1819, Mex. alférez of the Mazatlan comp. at Sta B.; prob. died or left Cal. soon after '27. His wife is said to have been very skilful in fine needle-work, making artificial flowers, etc., and to have taught her art to several Cal. girls; perhaps she was the Cristina named above. ii. 254, 361, 573, 675. Delick (John), 1847, Co. D, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Delone (Francis), 1846, at N. Helv. '46-8, being under arrest in June '46; also called Delong; prob. same as 'Deland' of '44, q.v. Delong (Wm F.), 1846, master U.S.N. in Marston's force against Sanchez. v. 380.

Demarante (Manuel), 1836, Portuguese skipper of S. F. mission launch, also farmer and sawyer who, in '41, asking for naturalization, claimed a resid. of 4½ years in Cal. iv. 118. Demard, 1848, doubtful mention of a Mormon preacher at S. F. Demedrion (Juan B.), 1834, Greek fisherman at Mont.

'34–7; two Italians, Luis and Matias, with him. Demetrius, 1839, mr of the *Baikal.* iv. 101.

Den (Nicholas Augustus), 1836, Irish physician who came on the *Kent*, landing in Dec. at Sta B., where he became a permanent settler, often named in records of later years. iv. 117–18. In '39 not permitted to build on his lot; in '40 applied for naturalization, which was prob. obtained in '41; soon married a daughter of Daniel Hill. In '42 collector at Sta B., and grantee of Dos Pueblos rancho. iv. 642; in '43 grantee of S. Antonio rancho. iv. 635; in '45 alcalde of Sta B., and with his father-in-law lessee of the mission. iv. 426, 542, 553, 642, 644; v. 558; in '46 grantee of S. Marcos, Cal. claim of about $2,000. v. 632–3, 365 (462). Dr Den is said to have been of good family, and became in Cal. a most popular stock-raiser of considerable wealth and excellent reputation. He died at Sta B. in '62 at the age of 50; his children were Catherine wife of John Bell, Mary wife of Thos More, d. '78, Susan, Emmanuel, Nicholas, Wm, Alfred, Alphonso, and Augustus. Portrait in *Sta B. Co. Hist.*, 46. D. (Richard Somerset), 1843, Irish physician, bro. of Nicholas A., who settled at Los Ang. iv. 400; ment. at Los Ang. '46. v. 314; purchaser of Sta B. mission estate. v. 561, 632–3; Cal. claim of $1,020 (v. 462); ment. in '47. v. 365; cl. for S. Antonio rancho. iv. 635. Living at Los Ang. '80. Deng (Fred.), 1848, left Gen. Lane's party and settled at Yreka.

Denike (Geo.), 1846, baker and saloon-keeper at S. F. '46–8. v. 646, 684; perhaps correctly written 'Denecke.' Deniston (Garrett V.), 1847, mid. on the U.S. *Independence.* Denkers (Chas W.), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); died at Sac. '71 ('81 ?). Dennett (Daniel Q.), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Dennis (Jemmy), 1831, doubtful men. of an Irishman at Reed's rancho, Marin Co. Dennison (Nathaniel), 1846, on the *Lydia* at Sta B. ii. 275.

Denniston (James G.), 1847, sergt Co. B, N.Y.Vol. v. 504; nat. of N. J.; twice a member of the legisl. from S. Mateo; died at S.F. '69, leaving a widow and 3 children. Denny, 1845, Ind. of Frémont's party. iv. 583, 587; perhaps killed on the Or. frontier '46. Dent (Lewis), 1847, nat. of Mo., lawyer at Mont.; of firm D. & Martin; in '49 member of the constit. convention, and from '49 judge of the superior and circuit court; later a lawyer and politician in Miss., Mo., and Washington; a brother-in-law of Gen. Grant. Died in '74 at the age of 51. Denton, 1831–2, one of Young's trappers, said to have remained some years in Cal. iii. 388, 408. Denton (David), 1846, doubtful name at Los Ang. D. (John), 1846, one of the Donner party from Ill., who died in the mts. v. 530, 534. Deny (Wm), 1828, mr of the *Verale.* iii. 149. Depeaux (Louis), 1847, resid. at Sta Cruz '47–65 acc. to his testimony in '65. Depen (Joseph H.), 1848, visited S.F. on the *Julian* from Honolulu.

Deppe (Ferdinand), 1832, German supercargo of Virmond's vessels, often in Cal. '32–6; perhaps from '29–30. iii. 350, 408, 105, 142. Said to have made a drawing of S. Gabriel in '35. iii. 644. Also a naturalist devoting his spare time to the collection of birds, plants, and shells. Sailed with his specimens on the *Rasselas* '36; and acc. to Vischer subsequently devoted himself to horticulture in the royal gardens at Pottsdam. David Spence is said to have received a letter from Deppe at Berlin in '73. Derby (J.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Derosier (Baptiste), 1844, one of Frémont's party, who wandered from camp in Cal. and was not heard of again. iv. 437, 439.

Desforges (Auguste), 1834, Frenchman who came with the H. & P. col. from Mex. (iii. 249), though in '40, being then a bachelor, age 28, in the Mont. district, he claimed a resid. of 8 years. Janssens, *Vida*, 32 et seq., his companion in the trip from S. Diego to Sonoma, has much to say of him. In '36 he worked on the Palo Colorado rancho; named in Larkin's accounts '34–43; in '49 aux. alcalde of S. José. Despau, 1837, one of the party from Or. for cattle. iv. 85. Desprairies, 1846, mr of the *Valiant.* v. 580. Deston (Geo.), 1843, mr of the *North America.* iv. 567. Devoll (Philip H.), 1830 (?), said to have been on the coast on a whaler as early as '30; resid. of Stockton and Sta Cruz from '68. iii. 180.

Dewell (Benj.), 1845, nat. of Ohio, overl. immig. from Ind. in Grigsby-Ide party. iv. 579, 587. Spending the winter in Napa Val., he joined the

Bears in '46. v. 79, 110, 148; remained in the Sonoma garrison after the U.S. occupation, but in Oct. enlisted in the Cal. Bat. (v. 358), Co. E, and served in the southern campaign. Returning, he lived '47–54 in the Guilicos valley of Sonoma Co., and then moved to a farm near Upper Lake, where he still lived in '81 at the age of 58. His wife was Celia H. Elliott, married in '50, and in '81 they had 8 surviving children. *Lake Co. Hist.*, 230. De Witt (Alfred), 1848, of S.F. firm of De Witt & Harrison. v. 685; remained at S.F. till '54. Dexter, 1848, from Honolulu, according to his later testimony. Dey (Nathan B.), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499).

Diaz, 1824, soldier at Sta B. ii. 532. D. (Benito), Mex. receptor of customs at Sta B. '35–7. iii. 377, 491, 654; iv. 98; celador at Mont. '42–3. iv. 339, 377; receptor at S.F. '44–5, being also agente de policía, owner of lots, builder of the custom-house, and locally prominent in other ways. iv. 423, 430–1, 463, 557, 654, 666, 669, 684; again ment. as in charge of the revenues in '46, S.F. delegate to the consejo gen., and grantee, as was claimed, of Pt Lobos and the Sta Clara orchard. v. 36, 45, 561, 570, 644, 660, 665–6, 681; had a Cal. claim of $1,500 (v. 462). Witness in the Santillan and N. Almaden cases '55, '57, age 43, still living in '68. D. (Francisco), juez de paz at S. Juan B. '43–5. iv. 661–2; at S. José '50. D. (Gabriel), soldier killed at the Colorado pueblos 1781. i. 359–62. D., chaplain of the S. Cárlos, at Serra's funeral. i. 411. D. (Juan M.), 1774, Span. friar who came to Cal. with Anza, and was missionary on the Colorado, where he was killed by Ind. in 1781. i. 221, 223, 259, 362. D. (Manuel), Mex. trader, mr of the *Trinidad* '43; perhaps had visited Cal. before. iv. 569. In '46 alcalde of Mont., grantee of Sacramento rancho, on the 1st jury, and memb. of the council after U. S. occupation. v. 15, 234, 289, 636–8, 675. He is said to have bought the schr *Sta Cruz*, and in her to have removed his family and effects to L. Cal. about '48; but there was a Manuel D. at Mont. in '51. In '45 Larkin described him as aged 35, a quiet man, of some influence and property, well disposed to the U.S. D. (Melchor), 1540, one of Coronado's officers, who crossed the Colorado, and perhaps looked upon Cal. territory. i. 68. D. (Nicolás), Los Ang. hatter '39–46. Dibble (Jonas), 1847, advertises sale of the schr *William* in *Mont. Californian;* he was carpenter on the *Columbus.* 'Dick,' 1846, Cal. Bat. v. 358. Dickens (Wm), 1836, doubtful name in a Los Ang. list; perhaps 'Dickey,' q.v.

Dickenson (Gallant Duncan), 1846, nat. of Penn., reared in Va, who came overland from Mo. with his wife—Isabella McCrary, married '28—4 sons, and 2 daughters. v. 528–9. He spent the winter at Sta Clara, being a member of Aram's garrison, going thence to Sta Cruz and Mont., where in '47 he made bricks and built the 1st brick house in Cal. v. 636. Going to the mines in '48, he gave his name to Dickenson Gulch, Tuolumne Co.; in '49 settled at Stockton as a hotel-keeper, being also alcalde and memb. of the constit. convention. His daughters are said to have been the 1st Amer. women married at Stockton, Margaret to A. G. Lawrey, and the other to N. B. Stoneroad. In '52 D. moved to the Tuolumne River, where he kept a ferry and hotel, and from '67 lived in Merced Co., dying in '70. As a methodist he took an active part in church affairs. His widow died at S. José in '77. D. (Geo. W.), 1846, son of G. D., b. in Mo.; settled in Merced Co. '58; in '81 had a farm and hotel at Chester, or Dickenson's Ferry. His wife was Mary Ann Brooks, and they had 5 children. D. (W. L.), 1846, bro. of Geo. W., representing Merced and Stanislaus in the legisl. of '63; resid. Horr's rancho, nat. of Tenn., age 32. Dickey (D.), 1848, memb. of 1st Mont. jury; perhaps David who was at S. José in '50. D. (H. W.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu.

Dickey (Wm), 1832, Irishman who got a pass in July, iii. 408, though there may possibly be an error in the year. From '38 his name appears in Larkin's accts and other records; arrested in '40, but not exiled. iii. 408; iv. 17; in '42 obtained a renewal of his pass, claiming about 7 years' residence; and about the same time he moved from the Sta Cruz region to N. Helvetia. In '43 he accomp. Dr Sandels in his travels through the Sac. Val., where he had already selected a rancho, the Arroyo Chico adjoining Keyser's, for which he petitioned the same year. In '44 he was naturalized and got his rancho, iv. 670, being recom. by Sutter, under whom he prob. served in the Micheltorena campaign. iv. 486; signed the order for Weber's arrest. iv. 483; appears in the list of Cal. claimants (v. 462); and is named in the *N. Helv. Diary* '46–8. He may have been the 'Dick' of the Cal. Bat. as above. In '48 he was a partner of Bidwell in the Feather River mines; went east in '49, living at Liberty, Penn., and dying before '66. Dickinson (F.), 1848, of U.S.N., at S.F. on the *Lady Adams.* D. (M.), 1848, alcalde in Calaveras Co. acc. to a newspaper mention. Dickson, 1847, S. F. merchant of firm D. & Hay, of the Beehive store; owner of town-lots '47–8. v. 644–5, 684; the firm still in business in '50. I suppose this may have been John Dickson, who came from Honolulu on the *Providence;* name often written 'Dixon.'

Diddleson (Augustus), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Diel (J.F.), 1846, Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358). D. (Valentine), 1846, ditto; lot at S.F. '48. The name was perhaps 'Diehl,' who, acc. to Ballhaus, was an overl. immig. with Hoppe and Harlan; still at S.F., a grocer, '52–4; later a farmer near Mayfield, where he died about '82. Dierkin (A.), 1848, corporal of S. F. guards. Digg (Henry), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons. v. 232. Dillaway (John), 1813, pilot of the *Mercury.* ii. 268. Dillon (James, 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). D. (Joseph), 1824, Amer. quarryman at Mont. '29, age 28, 5 years in Cal. ii. 526.

Dimmick (Kimball H.), 1847, nat. of Conn., N.Y. lawyer and militia officer, who came as capt. of Co. K, N.Y.Vol. v. 504; election inspector at S.F. '48. v. 652; alcalde of S. José '49. v. 662; also judge of the sup. tribunal and memb. of the constit. convention; a Sac. printer '50; went east '51, but returned to Los Ang., where he was district attorney, justice of the peace, and county judge. He died in '61 at the age of 50. Dimond (J.), 1847, at S. F. from Or. on the *Henry.* Dittmann (Carl), 1844, German sailor, known in Cal. as Charley Brown, who came on the *Euphemia*, engaging in otter-hunting with Nidever and others, an occupation interrupted by mining in '48–50. Sta B. was his home down to '78, when he dictated for me his *Narrative of a Sea-faring Life*, an interesting record of many adventures. iv. 453; v. 317. Dix (J.), 1848, on the *Julian* from Honolulu. Dixon (James), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232). D. (J.), 1847, at Honolulu from Cal.; perhaps 'Dickson' of D. & Hay, q.v. D. (James F.), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); drowned in Gold Lake '80. D. (Joseph), 1832, Amer. who joined the comp. extranjera at Mont. iii. 221, 408; on Larkin's books and other records '34–48; got a pass '44; in Sutter's employ '45–6; sometimes called an Englishman, and there may have been two of the name.

Doak (Thomas W.), 1816, the 1st Amer. settler in Cal., nat. of Boston, who came on the *Albatross*, name often written Duke and Doc. ii. 275, 277, 393. He was baptized at S. Cárlos in '16 as Felipe Santiago; in '18 employed to paint the mission church of S. Juan B., where he was married in '20, by viceregal permission of '19, to María Lugarda, daughter of Mariano Castro. ii. 248, 272, 386; in '29 his age is given as 42, and from this time his name appears in various records as a carpenter of good habits. He lived for some years at Sta Cruz, or at least two of his children were born there; in '32 joined the comp. extranjera at Mont. iii. 221; said to have been at S. José in '33; on Larkin's books from '33; in '34 had 6 children acc. to the padron; in '36 living in the Mont. dist., at or near Las Ánimas, age 50, wife Lugarda Castro age 36, child. Juan B. b. '21, Valeriano '23, Ana María '29, and Cecilio '33. I have his autograph of '27 and '47, but no later record of him or his family. Taylor says he died before '48. D. (John), 1847, overl. immig., who went 1st to Sta Cruz and then to the mines in '48, presently establishing a ferry on the S. Joaquin, and becoming one of the earliest business men of Stockton. I believe that he, or one of his sons, was somewhat prominent in S. Joaq. politics in later years. Doatey, 1847, at N. Helv.

Dobson, 1846, doubtful name in a Los Ang. list. D. (Joseph), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Docente (Chas), 1847, owner of S. F. lot. v. 676. Dockrill (Joseph, or James), 1847, printer from Canada, whose real name is said to have been Joseph Armstrong; foreman and perhaps part owner of the *Californian* '47–8. v. 658; worked in newspaper offices S.F. till '52, becoming dissipated and losing his property; then went to the mines; died at Dry Creek '56. Dodd (Matthew), 1847, carpenter on the U.S. *Cyane*. D. (Solomon), 1848, name in list of letters; at S. José '50. Dodero (Nicolás), 1827, Italian sailor who left the *María Ester* at S. F., was sent to Mont., and in '29 was living at S. José, age 25. iii. 176; married an Higuera; in '40 a naturalized citizen at Branciforte; in '44 grantee of Tres Ojos de Agua, Sta Cruz Co. iv. 656; in '46 had a son in the Mont. school. Dodge (Augustus), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); Utah farmer '82. Dodge (Chas F. and Theophilus), 1848 (?), early settlers of Sonora. D. (Edwin T.), 1847 (?), policeman and sheriff of Yuba Co., who in '58 went to B. Col., and later to Wash. Ter.; said to have been a sergt in N.Y.Vol., but there is no such name on the roll.

Dodson (Eli), 1847, Co. A, Morm Bat. (v. 469). D. (Jacob), 1844, servant of Frémont in 1st and 2d exped.; F.'s companion in the famous ride of '47. iv. 437; v. 443. D. (Wm), 1845, overl. immig. from Ill. iv. 578; who went to Or. with Bristow in '46. v. 526. Doekin (Anthony), 1847, owner of S. F. lot. Dofar, or Dojan (Matthew), 1847, named as one of the 2d Donner relief. v. 540. Dofit (Joseph), 1831, named as one of Young's trappers. iii. 388. Doge (J. F.), 1847, doubtful name at Mont. Doggte (Tim.), 1823, mr of the *Balance;* perhaps Daggett. ii. 492. Dohling (Geo.), 1846, at S.F. and N. Helv.; owner of lots. v. 684; Cal. claim, apparently for service in Cal. Bat. (v. 358); owner of land at S. José '48. Doiron (A.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Doke (James), 1841, from N. Mex. in the Workman-Rowland party. iv. 278; a nat. of Tenn.; started to return to Sta Fé with Rowland in '43, and was drowned in Green River. *Given.* Dolan (Patrick), 1846, Irishman of the Donner party, from Keokuk, Iowa; died in an attempt to obtain relief for the rest. v. 530, 534, 537. Doliver, 1816, carpenter of the *Lydia.* ii. 275. Dolman (John), 1846, seaman in the navy; later Phil. lawyer. *S.J. Pioneer.* Doll (John), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518). Dollman (Fred.), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Dolton (Henry S.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); at Cacheville, Utah, '81.

Dom (Antonio), weaver instructor 1792–5. i. 615. Domer (Peter), 1847, Co. I, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); d. S. Diego '48. Domingo, neophyte leader in the fight at S. Buen. 1795. i. 675. D. (Juan), 1830, Dutch ship-carpenter on the *Danube* from Lima, age about 28. iii. 180; settled at Los Ang., where he was living in '36; married a Félix before '40; became a man of some wealth; had a Cal. claim in '46 (v. 462), 627; died in '58.

Dominguez, known as Dominguito, killed at Pauma '46. v. 617. D. (Antonio), soldier of Sta B. comp. before '37. D. (Cárlos), at Los Ang. '39, age 29. D. (Cármen), juez de campo at Sta B. '35. iii. 654; wife Isabel Romero, 6 children. D. (Cristóbal), soldier of S. Diego comp. before 1800; sergt 1817–25; grantee of S. Pedro rancho '22; nephew of Juan José; died '25. i. 662; ii. 341, 424, 543, 565. His wife was María de los Reyes Ibañes; child. María Victoria wife of José Ant. Estudillo, Luis Gonzaga, Manuel, María Fran. Marcelina wife of Wm A. Gale, María Elena Ramona, José Nasario, and Pedro Juan Agapito. D. (Demesio), mentioned '31–47. iii. 196; v. 400; at Los Ang. '39, age 48, on the Vírgenes rancho. D. (Domingo), soldier of Sta B. comp. '32; another at S. Bern. '46, age 24. D. (Francisco), son of José Ant., cl. of S. Emigdio rancho. iv. 635. D. (Jesus), 1846, at Los Ang. D. (José), comisionado at S. José 1785, when he died. i. 478. D. (José Ant.), grantee of S. Emigdio '42. iv. 635. D. (José Dolores), soldier of S. D. at S. Juan Cap. 1776. i. 303; corporal of the S. Antonio escolta 1780; prob. the José who died in '85 as above. D. (José María), soldier at Sta B. 1800. i. 639; invál. at Sta B. '32, wife Marcelina Félix, 4 children; grantee of Las Vírgenes '37. iii. 634; died in '45 at age of about 100, his widow died '65 at age of 105, leaving over 100 descendants through 7 sons and 7 daughters. One son was José; 2 daughters were Luisa and María. D. (José María), at Los Ang. '39, age 39; also '43. iv. 642. D. (José María), at Brancif. '45, age 25, wife Concepcion Galatan, child. Manuel and Guadalupe. D. (Juan José), settler of Los Ang. 1785–90, soldier in earlier years. i. 346, 461; grantee of S. Pedro rancho 1800–22. i. 662; ii. 111, 350, 353, 634, 663.

Dominguez (Manuel), son of Cristóbal, who from about '25 lived on the S. Pedro rancho. In '27–8, of terna for contador, suplente of the dip., and elector for Los Ang. ii. 560; iii. 42, 44, 63; in '29 regidor. ii. 561; in '32 alcalde of Los Ang. iii. 216, 635; in '33–6 aux. alcalde at S. Pedro. iii. 635–6; opposition to Gov. Alvarado '36–7. iii. 491, 496; in '39 2d alcalde Los Ang. iii. 636; '42–3 juez de paz. iv. 632–3; in '43 prefect of 2d district. iv. 632–3; in '44 capt. of defensores. iv. 407. In '46 his rancho was occupied by the Amer. in Oct. v. 319; in '49 he was a member of the constit. convention; in '52 county supervisor, cl. for the S. Pedro rancho. iii. 634. Don Manuel was always a man of influence and of excellent repute. Still living on his home rancho in '80 at the age of 77, entirely blind for some years; died, I think, a few years later. His wife was María Alta Gracia Cota, and they had 10 children, of whom 6 daughters survived in '80. D. (Mariano), Los Ang. trader, age 50, in '39. D. (Nasario), bro. of Manuel, a wild fellow, but a successful ranchero. He sold his share of the rancho to his brother. D. (Nemesio), soldier at Sonoma '41. D. (Pedro), at Los Ang. '38; juez de campo at S. Pedro '40. iii. 564–5, 637; age 29 in '39. D. (Serapio), Mex. soldier of the piquete de Hidalgo at Mont. '36, age 23. D. (Vicente), at Los Ang. '46. D. (Vicente Sotelo de), at Los Ang. '38. iii. 566.

Dominis (John), 1835, mr of the *Bolivar.* iii. 381; mr of the *Joseph Peabody* '39–42. iv. 104, 566; native of Trieste, who was lost on the *Noble* about '45. His widow lived at Honolulu '84, and his son John O. was brother-in-law of the king. *Peirce.* Donald (M.), 1848, miner said to have been drowned in the Yuba. D. (Neal), 1847, Co. C, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl.; died at S. Diego Nov. Donaldson (A. C.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). Donegan (John), 1847, Co. C, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). Donnelly, 1848, kept a gambling and grog shop at Sta B., ordered to be broken up by govt. D. (John), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518).

Donner (Geo.), 1846, nat. of N. C., who came from Springfield, Ill., in the famous immig. party that bears his name. For a full account of this terrible journey, see v. 530–44. He was accompanied by his wife—Tamsen, widow Dozier, maiden name Eustis, a woman of culture and education, formerly a teacher. v. 530, 541, 544; two daughters by a former wife, Elitha C., v. 534, and Leanna C., v. 534; and three daughters by Tamsen, Frances E., Georgia A., and Eliza P. v. 535. The father and mother both perished, the latter deliberately sacrificing her own life in order to cheer the dying hours of her husband; but the children were all rescued. Elitha married Perry McCoon in '47, and after his death Benj. W. Wilder; and in '80 lived at Elk Grove, Sac. Co., with 6 children. Leanna married John App in '52, and in '80 lived at Jamestown, Tuol. Co., with 3 children. Frances married Wm R. Wilder, and in '80 lived in Contra Costa Co. with 5 children. Georgia married W. A. Babcock in '63, and in '80 lived at Mountain View, Sta Clara Co., with 3 children. Eliza, the youngest, a small child in '46, married S. O. Houghton in '61, and in '80 was living at S. José with 6 children. McGlashan gives many details about the members of this family, with a portrait of Georgia.

Donner (Jacob), 1846, brother of Geo., and member of the same party, with his wife Elizabeth, 4 sons, and a daughter. v. 530–44. The father, mother, and 3 sons—Isaac, Lewis, and Samuel—perished in the mountains; but one son and the daughter survived. Geo. D., Jr, married Margaret J. Watson in '62, and died at Sebastopol, Sonoma Co., in '74, leaving a widow and 6 children living in '80. A S.F. lot was granted him in '47. His sister, Mary M. Donner, was married in '59 to S. O. Houghton, and died in '60, leaving a daughter, still living in '80. Mrs Elizabeth D. also had two sons by a former marriage, named 'Hook,' q.v. Donnavan (B.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Doody (Patrick), 1847, Co. I, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Coloma '49 with his wife. Doolan (John), 1847, Co. D, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). Dooley (Thomas), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336). D. (Thos), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. *Clark;* prob. an error. Door (James), 1840, arrested foreigner, doubtful. iv. 14.

Döpken (Jacob), 1845, at S. F. '45–6; Johana D., apparently his wife; at N. Helv. '47; lot at S.F. iv. 587; v. 678. Doran (John), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518). Dorman (Henry), 1846, overl. immig. with Ballhaus (v. 526); vineyardist in Sac. Val.; d. about '54. D. (John), 1834, Engl. tailor at Mont. Dornin (Thomas), 1842, com. of the U. S. *Dale*. iv. 314, 565. Dörnte (C.), 1845, at N. Helv. with a family. iv. 578; possibly went to Or. v. 526; but was probably the D. who settled at S. F. in '46, and was murdered by Beverley in Nov. '47. v. 646, 684. Dorr (Ebenezer), 1796, mr of the *Otter*, the 1st Amer. vessel in a Cal. port. i. 539–40, 618, 644, 685. Dorset, 1847, on the *Currency Lass* from Honolulu. Dorty (Wm), 1841, employed on Leese's launch. Dotson, 1846, doubtful name at Chino rancho. v. 314. Dotter (Wm C.), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); lot at S. F., where he still lived '71–82; ex-member of the legislature.

Doucett (Louis), 1847, lot-owner at S.F. Dougherty, 1846, at S.F. with family; prob. 'Dörnte,' q. v. D. (James), 1847, Co. C, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). D. (John), 1847, Irish, at N. Helv. D. (Joseph), 1832, one of Young's trappers who perhaps remained in Cal. iii. 388. Douglas, 1845, Engl. pass to Sonora. D. (David), 1830, Scotch botanist on the *Dryad* from the Columbia Riv.; joined the comp. extranjera at Mont. '32; touched again at S. F. '33; died at the Sandw. Isl. '34. iii. 221, 382, 403–5, 699. D. (David F.), 1848, nat. of Tenn. who came as wagoner from Mex. with Graham's dragoons (v. 522); memb. of 1st legisl. '49–50; U.S. marshal; sec. of state '55–7; from '57 on a farm in S. Joaq. to his death in '72, age 51. D. (Sir James), 1841, agent of the H.B.Co., who came on the *Columbia*. iv. 80, 194, 209–17, 564, 619, 650, 665. See also *Hist. Brit. Col.*, this series. My collection contains his *Private Papers* and *Journal*, including the *Voyage to Cal.* He died at Victoria in '77. D. (James), 1847, Co. D, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); later in Sutter's employ. D. (John), 1823, sailor on the *Rover*. D. (Thos), 1847, teacher and graduate of Yale, who came from Honolulu on the *Francesca* with letters from Judd to Larkin, and in '48 took charge of the S. F. public school. v. 656–7. D. (Thos A.), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336).

Dove (James G.), 1833, Engl. sailor from the whaler *Kitty* at Mont. iii. 409; named in a Los Ang. list of '36 as a single London carpenter, age 22, from Peru; a trapper for some years; in '40 exiled to S. Blas, but came back with a pass and claim for damages. iv. 18, 33, 37. He is named in a S. Gabriel list of '44; but I find no trace of him in '46–7; in the mines '48–52, and later at Stockton, Fresno, and Tuolumne, where he lived in '71. Dow (Joseph G.), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); memb. of legisl. '62; in Sonoma Co. '71–9; in Mendocino '82. Dowd (Michael), 1841, mr of the *Corsair*. iv. 564. Dowling (Geo.), 1847, owner of S.F. lots; prob. same as 'Dohling,' q.v. D. (John), 1848, in the mines with Brooks; wounded by Ind. D. (Thos H.), 1848, Irish overl. immig.; claimant for Yerba Buena Isl.; left Cal. '67; died at Wash. '72, age 62. Downes (John), 1846, passed mid. on the U. S. *Dale;* acting mr of the *Portsmouth* '47. Downey (Chas H.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). D. (Joseph), 1846, doubtful name at S. F. v. 649. Downing (Helms), 1845, overl. immig. in the Hastings party. iv. 586–7; at N. Helv. '46; served in the Cal. Bat. (v. 358); prob. went east soon after '47. Doyle (James), 1836, employee of Leese at S.F., who on being dismissed engaged in stealing horses in the interior, for which he was arrested and brought to Sonoma for trial. iii. 722; iv. 113, 118. It may have been the same or another James D. who appears as a laborer on Larkin's books from '44 and got land at S.F. and Mont. in '46–7.

Drabe (David R.), 1845, mr of the *Martha*. iv. 567. Drake (Andrew J.), 1847, lieut on the U. S. *Columbus*. D. (Francis), 1579, Engl. navigator on the coast of Cal.; full account of his visit in i. 81–94. Drayton (Joseph), 1841, artist in U.S. ex. exped. iv. 241. D. (Percival), 1847, lieut on the U. S. *Columbus*. Drear, see 'Dryer.' Drennan (James), 1847, Co. B, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); d. Tuolumne '71. Dresher (Jacob), 1846, Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons (v. 336). Dreyer (Henry), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518). Drieher (Jacob), 1847, Co. E, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499). Dring (David), 1847, mr of the *Janet.* v. 578; a business man of S.F. '48–9 and later. Driscoll, 1848, at S.F. from Tahiti. Druce (Lozuel), 1841, carpenter from the *Alert* at S. Pedro; ordered to reëmbark, Stearns being fined for keeping D. at his house; written also 'Dince' and 'Dance.' Drummond (John W. H.), 1847, had a lot and house at Benicia. v. 672. Dryer (John), 1847, Co. B, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at Sta Cruz '71–82. Died in '85.

Duarte (Alberto), soldier in S.F. militia comp. '37. D. (Andrés), grantee of Azuza '41, and of a S. Gabriel lot '46. v. 628, 634; his name is still retained by a settlement in this region. D. (Angel, Felipe, Francisco, José, Julio, Manuel, Martin, Nasario, Rafael, Ramon, Vicente), living in the Los Ang. region '46. D. (Antonio Ign.), soldier at Sta B. '32, wife Eulalia Higuera. D. (Cayetano), settler at Los Ang. '13. ii. 350. D. (José), ranchero and militiaman in S.F. dist '35–7; at S. José '41, age 33, wife María Soto, child Antonio. D. (José), shot for murder at Los Ang. '41. iv. 630. D. (Juan José), settler at Los Ang. '14. ii. 350. D. (Juan José), soldier at Sta B. '32, wife María Serrano. D. (Juan María), soldier at Sta B. before '37. D. (Leandro), settler at Los Ang. ii. 350. D. (Manuel), soldier at the Colorado pueblos, killed by Ind. 1781. i. 359, 362. D. (Manuel), síndico at S. José '27. ii. 605; aux. alcalde at Sta Gertrudis '37. iii. 636. D. (Mariano), soldier of S.F. comp. '19; alcalde of S. José '31, in controversy with Gov. Victoria. iii. 194–5, 669, 729; in '41 at S. José, age 68, nat. of Cal., wife Teodora Peralta, child. Albino b. '21, Loreto '27, Luisa '32; in '45 a school-master on trial for grave crimes. iv. 686.

Dubosc (Pierre), 1840, Frenchman killed by an Ind. at McIntosh's rancho. Mofras blamed the authorities for neglect to arrest the murderer. iv. 120, 252. Duchène, 1845, perhaps with Frémont. iv. 583. Duckworth (Walter), 1829 (?), Engl. sailor who in '32 joined the comp. extranjera at Mont. iii. 179–80, 221, 408; often named in records of '32–43; in '36 at Mont., age 32, wife Antonia Armenta, child. Guillermo b. '30, Santiago '32, María Adelaida '35. The age of his son is the only evidence I have that he came before '32. In '41 he accompanied Douglas on a trip from Mont. to S.F.; prob. died soon after '43. He was often called Santiago, and was juez del monte at Mont. '35. iii. 674. The son Santiago had a Cal. claim of $3,950 in '46–7 (v. 462). Ducoigne (Eugène), 1846, Cal. Bat., artill. Co. B (v. 358), enlisting at S.F. Oct.; Cal. claim for services, $161. Dueñas, 1842, perhaps an alférez of the batallon fijo, said to have remained in Cal. '45. iv. 513.

Dufrá (Jacques), 1840, arrested at Los Ang. iv. 14; prob. the name was 'Dufras.' Duhaut-Cilly (Auguste), 1827–8, mr of the French trader *Héros*, and author of the *Voyage autour du Monde*, containing much valuable matter about Cal. iii. 94–5, 128–31, 133, 147; also ment. of his work and local descriptions. ii. 548, 550–1, 563–4, 574–5, 579, 589–90, 595, 598, 603, 610–11, 614, 616, 626, 631, 650. Duby (John), 1848, came from Sandw. Isl. *Hist. Or.*, ii. 334. Duisenberg (Edward), 1848, German business man of S.F. '80, who may have arrived from Valparaiso before the end of '48. *Contemp. Biog.* i. 416. Duketel (Sidney), 1845, perhaps one of Frémont's men, as he was in '48–9. v. 453, 583. Dulanto (Andrés), 1804, Span. friar who served at S. Juan B., and died in 1808. ii. 154, 159–60. Dulany, 1842, lieut U.S.N. with Com. Jones. iv. 308. Dumetz (Francisco), 1771, Span. friar who served as missionary for 40 years, chiefly at S. Buen., S. Fern., and S. Gabriel, where he died in 1811. Biog. ii. 355; ment. i. 173, 175–6, 178–9, 187–9, 196, 237, 246, 255, 276, 282, 351, 388, 405, 466, 562, 575, 578, 674; ii. 113–15, 159, 394.

Duncan, 1815, on the *Columbia*, not permitted to remain in Cal. ii. 273. D., 1845, immig. from Or. in the McMahon-Clyman party, prob. went back in '46. iv. 572, 526. D. (Alex.), 1843, mr of the *Vancouver*. iv. 569; perhaps of the *Columbia* '47. v. 577. D. (James M.), 1846, passed mid. on the *Congress;* acting capt. of Co. F, Stockton's Bat. '46–7, and in Gillespie's party meeting Kearny. v. 340, 385. D. (Robert), 1846, Scotchman from New Zealand with his wife and 4 children; lived at S.F., where he owned a lot in '47; in the mines '48–9; settled in Sta Clara Co., where he died '57. Portrait in *Hesperian* Nov. '59. D. (Thomas), 1839, Scotch mr of the *Juan José* '39–

44; naturalized in '44; at Mont. '45. iv. 104, 119, 566. D. (Thos). 1846 (?), Kentuckian; at Sac. '48–9; at Emigrant Gap, Nev. '82. *Reno Gazette.* Duncomb (C.), 1848, nat. of Conn.; doctor and farmer; in legisl. '63 from Sac., age 70. D. (John), 1846, owner of S.F. lot. v. 684. Dundas, 1844, officer on the *Modeste.* Dunderfeldt (John), 1816, sailor on the *Lydia* at Sta B. ii. 275. Dunham (Albert), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); died at S. Diego '47. Dunitch (Ernest F.), 1847, musician of N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); near Placerville '83. Dunlap (John), 1846, Co. C, 1st U. S. dragoons (v. 336). D. (John G.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518). Dunleavy (James G. T.), 1846, overl. immig. and methodist preacher, who was a lot-owner at S. F., and was prominent in town affairs of '47, being municipal clerk and taking part in public meetings. v. 528–9, 645, 648–9, 653; in '47–8 preacher and acting alcalde at Sta Cruz. v. 641–2; also preached at the gold-mines '48. I find no later record of him. His 3d initial is often printed S. or W., but I have his autograph. Dunlevy (James), 1847, Co. F, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499).

Dunn (Alex.), 1836, Amer. hatter from N. Mex. at Los Ang., age 29. D. (Alex.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill.; in the mines from '48; in Mariposa '51–2; from '56 at Stockton, where he was drowned in '77. D. (E. H.), 1846, 1st officer of the *Fama*, in trouble with the capt. D. (Ed. T.), 1847, purser of the U.S. *Columbus.* D. (James H.), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232). D. (Patrick H.), 1846, nat. of Me, who landed from a whaler and went to Sonoma Co.; also accredited to N.Y. Vol.; a printer; said to have frozen his feet in one of the Donner relief parties. In southern Cal. he belonged to a gang of desperadoes, being twice tried for murder. Went to Ariz. in '57; edited a paper; served in the legisl., and as county judge; and died near Tucson in '71, or, as some say, in '66. See John 'Dunne.' D. (Thos), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); at Goose Creek, Id., '81. Dunne (John), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); a printer from Me, who lived 3 years at Sonoma; badly wounded in a fight with desperadoes at Sta B. about '53; drowned in Kern Riv. '55. Evidently there is much confusion between this man and Pat. H. 'Dunn,' q.v. D. (Wm Burden), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336); nat. of Ireland and resid. of Los Ang. '76. I have his MS. *Notes on S. Pascual.* Dunklemugger (John), 1846, doubtful name in '71. *Alta.* Dupas (J.), 1845, in Sutter's employ '45–8. iv. 587; often named in the *N. Helv. Diary;* also written 'Dupeé,' and 'Dupeis,' 'Dupont,' and 'Dupos'; perhaps the man called 'Dofar,' q.v. Dupont (Samuel F.), 1846, com. of the U. S. *Congress,* transferred to the *Cyane.* v. 251, 253, 267, 284, 577; nat. of N. J.; rear-admiral in the war of '61–5; d. in '65.

Duran (Narciso), 1806, Span. friar, who served 40 years as missionary in Cal., chiefly at S. José and Sta B.; one of the most prominent and influential of the Franciscans, especially in the later years; president and prefect; died at Sta B. in '46, the last survivor but two of the Fernandinos in Cal. Biog. v. 633–4; ment. ii. 136, 138, 159–60, 163, 218, 329–30, 335, 375, 387, 394, 493, 500, 502, 504, 518, 599–600, 644, 655, 657; iii. 18–20, 74–5, 87, 89, 96, 114, 156, 198–9, 250, 257–8, 308–10, 316, 318, 320, 328–36, 338, 346–7, 423, 434–6, 492, 510, 530, 550, 566, 577, 582, 595, 611, 652–3, 656, 733–4; iv. 45–8, 57, 60, 63–4, 159, 253, 331, 371–2, 423, 546–51, 553, 565, 643. Durand (St Vrain), 1845, Canadian sawyer from Or. in the McMahon-Clyman party. iv. 572, 587. He went south with Frémont in '46, and was one of Talbot's men at Sta B. v. 316; later served in Co. A, Cal. Bat. (v. 358), enlisting at Mont. in Sept. Durbin (Daniel), 1844, possibly of the Stevens' immig. party (iv. 445), but prob. went to Or. D. (M. L.), 1848, nat. of Cal., farmer in Solano Co. '78; prob. son of the following. D. (W. Perry), 1846, nat. of Mo., prob. overl. immig.; farmer in Solano Co. '51–78. Durick (Patrick), 1842, Irish carpenter from Honolulu on the *Fama,* age 31; still at Mont. '46. Durivage, 1848 (?), editorial writer on the *Alta* and other papers from '49; left N. Orleans for Cal. via Chihuahua in '48 and possibly arrived at the end of the year. Durkue (Anthony), 1847, Co. K, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Dustin (C. H.), 1848, nat. of Vt; in Sta Clara '53–76.

Dutcher (Thomas P.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënlisted. Dutra de Vargas (Manuel), 1841, Portug. trader, age 19, who came from S. Amer. on the *Jóven Carolina*, and was naturalized in '42, having a Mex. wife. He kept a saloon at Mont. in '43, and was prob. the 'Dutre' named by Colton in '47. iv. 279. Dutton (C.), 1846, at Sutter's Fort in Feb.

Dutton (David Dewey), 1840, nat. of Mass. who crossed the plains to Or. in '39, and in '40 was a passenger on the *Lausanne*, touching at Bodega and going to Honolulu. iv. 104, 117, 120-1. In '43 he came back from S. Amer. with Stephen Smith. iv. 396; worked a while at Bodega; went to N. Helv., being employed as cook by Sutter, and settled on Butte Cr., being naturalized in '44. iv. 229, 396. v. 102. Soon after '48 he moved to Solano Co., where he still lived at Vacaville after '80. His wife was Martha J. Pearson, married in '56; and they had 7 children in '79. Portrait in *Solano Co. Hist.*, 80. Dutton (Daniel), 1847, owner of lot at S.F. Duval, 1843, mr of the *Fanny*. iv. 565; mr of the *Parachute* and *Covington* '46-7, perhaps the same man. v. 577, 579. D. (J., or Marius), 1846, asst surg. on the *Portsmouth;* visited N. Helv.; in Marston's exped. Jan. '47. v. 102, 380. Duvall (Robert C.), 1846. mid. on the U.S. *Savannah;* acting lieut in Stockton's Bat. '46-7. v. 386. Duvanchelle (E.), 1848, passp. from Honolulu. Dwyer (Wm), 1846 (?), Irish cabin-boy on a trader; came back after '48; famous as a saloon-keeper and bruiser; killed in S.F. '73. Dye (Hazard), 1847, Co. K, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499).

Dye (Job Francis), 1832, Kentuckian trapper from N. Mex. in Young's party. iii. 388, 408. For a year or more Dye engaged in otter-hunting on the coast, iii. 394, and late in '33 took charge of Capt. Cooper's live-stock at the Rancho del Sur; from this date his name appears on Larkin's books; and he still made occasional otter-hunting trips. In '35 he established a distillery at Sayante near Sta Cruz, at first with Tomlinson, later with Majors, whom he bought out in '40, having applied for naturalization in '39. Met by Edwards '37. iv. 86; arrested but not exiled in '40, being accused by Morris of taking part against the foreigners. iv. 9, 17, 22. He had a store and mill as well as distillery at Sta Cruz; but claims, rather unintelligibly, that his business was ruined by Castro and other Mex. officials, and he was forced to start anew in a small way as trader at Mont. In '44 he got a grant of the Rio de Berrendos rancho, Tehama Co. iv. 672; and in '45 put stock on the place, *N. Helv. Diary*, though still residing at Mont. In '46 he was regidor, served as guide for Fauntleroy's dragoons, and was employed to carry despatches from Sloat at Mont. to S.F. v. 238, 636. In '47 he advertised his house for sale, but continued his business in partnership with Packard, and perhaps built an adobe house on his Antelope Cr. property. In '48 he made a successful tour in the mines, and in company with Larkin chartered the *Mary*, on which he brought a cargo of goods from Mazatlan, bringing a drove of mules from Sonora by land the next year; in '50 a trader at Sacramento, and later engaged in stock-raising on his Tehama rancho. In '77 he lived on his farm near Corralitos, Sta Cruz, and gave me his *Recollections of Cal.* in MS., substantially the same narrative being that printed in the Sta Cruz *Sentinel* of '69. Here he died in '83 at the age of 78, leaving 4 grown children, James and Newton Dye of Sta Cruz Co., Mrs J. S. Butler of Oakland, and Mrs C. M. Hays of Silver City, Id. *S. J. Pioneer.* Dyer (W.H.), 1847, nat. of Mass.; in Alameda Co. '56-78. *Alam. Co. Hist. Atlas.* Dyes (W. W.), 1841, taxidermist in U. S. ex. exped. iv. 241. Dyke (Simon), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in Arizona '82. Dykes (Geo. P.), 1847, lieut Co. D, Morm. Bat., and adj. of the battalion; his actions severely criticised by the Mormons. v. 477, 480, 482-3.

Eagar (John), 1846, nat. of N.Y., one of the Mormon colony, with his mother Mrs Lucy E., brother, and two sisters. v. 546. He was Brannan's clerk, also printer, and for a time associate editor of the *Star*, being owner of lots at S.F. in '47. v. 658, 682. I have his original application to Larkin for a clerkship, dated Feb. 21, '47. His mother had been excommunicated from the church on the voy., and wished to remove her children from Mormon influences. Lieut W. A. Bartlett, at her request, wrote a very flattering recommendation for John, adding his opinion that E.'s absence would 'kill this lying Mormon paper and its editor at once!' The plan was not successful, or at least John did not apostatize, but went to Utah, where he died. I have a brief narrative by him of the voyage of the colony. Mrs E. kept a little store at S.F. in '46, also obtaining a lot; but she went to Mont. with her daughters in '47, where one of them taught a school. v. 636. Mary Eagar married Milton Little in '48, and as a widow is perhaps still living at Mont. in '85. The other daughter, Arabella, married a man named Knapp, and was at S.F. about '81. E. (Thomas), 1846, bro. of John, also on the *Brooklyn*, age 18; owner of a S. F. lot '47; clerk at Mont. and Los Ang. '47-8; in the mines '48; at S.F. '49-54. From '54 he was in the lumber business at East Oakland, where in '54 he married Angelina A. Tupper, and where he lived with his family in '78; a member of the legisl. '59, '60, '65; living in Nevada '85; portrait in *Halley's Cent. Year-Book*, 544. Eagle (F.), 1840, doubtful name in Farnham's list of arrested foreigners. iv. 17. E. (Robert Nelson), 1842, trader, age 22, who came from Hon. on the *California* for his health. Eames, see 'Ames.'

Earl (Jacob), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl. E. (James C.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. E. (Jesse), 1847, musician Co. E, Morm. Bat. E. (Justice C.), 1847, Co. E, Morm. Bat. Earle (Peter), 1847, Co. E, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); later an actor and cultivator of hops; d. at Sac. '71. Earley (James), 1847, owner of lots at S.F.; perhaps with Kearny in '46. v. 337, 683.

Eastham, 1848, mr of the *Luia Perry*. Eastin (James W.), 1847, Kentuckian overl. immig. with wife; at Sonoma '47-8, also at Mormon Isl. and S.F., where twins were born '48, one of them, a son, still living in '83; at Sta Clara from '50, and still living in '83, when his wife died. Eastland (Addison G.), 1847, Co. F, 3d U.S. artill. (v. 518). Eastman (Isaac E.), 1848, miner near Volcano. *Amador Co. Hist.* E. (Marcus N.), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Eaton, 1847, at Hon. from S. F. on the *Georgiana*. E. (Geo.), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). E. (Henry), 1839, sailor on the *Monsoon*, who went up the Sac. with Sutter; remained on the coast till '41; at S.F. '73. His *Pioneer of '38* is a letter of '73 to Benj. Hayes narrating the visit. iv. 119. E. (Thos), 1836, doubtful name of an Amer., age 60, in a Los Ang. list.

Ebbetts (John, Jr), 1830, Amer. sup. of the *Volunteer* '30-1. iii. 180, 384; on the coast again in '32-4 on the *Henriqueta;* and again in '34-5, being mentioned in mission accts in '39-40. iiii. 623. Peirce says that he died in N.Y. soon after '42, and his father—prob. Thos J. of '36, iv. 141—at Honolulu in '41. I have many of E.'s business letters; and some of them, besides dry details of hides, tallow, and goods, reveal in sentimental phrases the writer's attachment to a well-known señorita of Mont., who, greatly to the sorrow of John, Jr, preferred another Americano. Eberhardt, see 'Everhart.' Echeandía (José María), 1825, Mex. lieut-col of engineers, who was gov. and com. gen. of Cal. from Nov. '25 to end of Jan. '31, and again—if there was any such official—from Dec. '31 to Jan. '33, though Pio Pico is generally and inaccurately named as gov. He left Cal. in May '33, was still living in Mex. '56, but seems to have died before '71 See biog. with references. iii. 243-5; mention i. 364; ii. 543-54, 560, 572, 574, 587, 592, 607, 614, 648-52, 664, 674, 680; on appointment, arrival, and acts in '25. iii. 8-30; '26-30, rule, politics, etc. iii. 31-55; acts on finance, Solis revolt, 56-86; mission and Ind. affairs, 87-115; maritime and commercial affairs, Fitch romance, 116-46; policy with foreigners, Smith and Pattie, 150-80; acts of '31. iii. 181-7, 195, 201-4, 206, 209, 212, 301-6; acts of '32. iii. 217-39, 314-15; acts of '33. iii. 238-9, 326, 335, 613. It was Echeandía's fortune to rule Cal. at a time when secularization of the missions was first seriously agitated, and he has been a shining mark for severe criticism, and even abuse, from partisans of the friars, for the most part undeserved. His views were sound and his intentions good, but he lacked firmness and energy, and made some mistakes. His character is fully discussed elsewhere. Echevarría (Nicolás), at La Brea, Mont. district, '36, age 45, wife María del Pilar Larios, child. Juliana b. '23, María '30, Juan. '32, Antonio '35. Echeverría (Agustin), 1782, com. of the *Favorita*. i. 378. Ecker (John), 1847, musician N.Y. Vol. (v. 499).

Eddy (Wm H.), 1846, one of the Donner party from Belleville, Ill. His wife Eleanor, son James P., and daughter Mary all perished in the Sierra, but the father survived, being one of the most active in saving other members of the party. v. 531, 234, 540–4. Eddy married Mrs F. Alfred at Gilroy in '48, and Miss A. M. Pardoe in '56, dying at Petaluma in '59. A son James, with family, and daughter Eleanor (Mrs S.B. Anderson), lived at S. José '80; and a son Alonzo was a physician in Colorado. Eddy, 1844, mr of the *Jane.* iv. 566. Edelin (James), 1847, capt. of marines on the *Independence.* Edgington (Wm), 1846, overl. immig., who served in Co. F, Cal. Bat. (v. 358); lived from '48 near Napa, where he died in '84, leaving a widow, 9 children, and a fortune. Edmonds (Nathan), 1834, Amer. in a Mont list. Edmonson (Alfred), 1847, Co. G, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); lot in S.F. '47; of E. & Anderson, butchers and market-men '48. v. 682. E, 1847, Co. H, N.Y.Vol.; at S.F. '82; perhaps same as preceding.

Edwards, 1847, mr of the *Euphrates.* v. 578. E, 1847, mr of the *Pacific.* v. 579. E. (David), 1826, mr of the *Paragon.* iii. 148. E. (John), 1846, negro imprisoned at Mont. for robbery; shot in attempting to escape. E. (John S.), 1847, Co. D, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); drowned in S. Joaq. Riv. '54. E. (Philip L.), 1837, nat. of Ky, who came overl. to Or. in '34, and in '37 visited Cal. to purchase cattle for the Willamette Valley. iii. 358, 699; iv. 85–7, 117–18. He went east the same year, studied law, married Mary Allen in '40, and practised his profession at Richmond, being a memb. of the Va legislature, and taking an active part in politics; came again to Cal. in '50 and lived at Sac. till his death in '69; prominent as a lawyer and orator. memb. of legisl., and candidate for congress; a man of exceptional ability and attainments. His MS. *Diary of a Visit to Cal. in 1837* is an interesting narrative of personal observations, presented by his daughter.

Egbert (Robert C.), 1847, Co. A, Morm. Bat. (v. 469). Egger (John W.), 1847, tried for murder of Ind. in the Sac. Val., but apparently acquitted. v. 569, 610. Eggleston (Geo.), 1848, had a market at S. F. v. 683. E. (J. W.), 1847, had a lot at Benicia. v. 672; very likely the same as Geo. Eguren (Francisco), 1842, Mex. lieut of the batallon fijo '42–5, who was still in Cal. '46. iv. 289; v. 41, 49. Ehlers (August), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); at Los Ang. '74–82. Ehrenberg (Herman), 1847, German engineer and explorer, who after many adventures as revolutionist in Texas crossed the plains to Or. in '44, and came to Cal. by sea, visiting also the Sandw. Isl. and Mex. coast in '47. In the mines '48–9; discoverer of the mouth of the Klamath and Gold Bluff '50, publishing a map of that region; and in '54 a filibuster in Sonora. He became a pioneer of Ariz., where a town bears his name; and was murdered by an Ind. at Dos Palmas in '66. Eixarch (Tomás), 1775, Franciscan with Anza; remained on the Colorado while A. came to Cal. i. 258, 273, 354.

Elb (Fred.), 1847, Co. C, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499); German aged about 45, who died in '48 on the *Carolina* bet. S. F. and Sac. Elbourne (John), 1846, mr of a whaler. Eld, 1841, mid. in U. S. ex. exped. iv. 245. E. (Henry N.), 1848, owner of lots at S. F. Elder (Turner), 1846, prob. overl. immig. with wife and 3 children, who built a cabin on Dry Creek, S. Joaq. Co.; moved in '47 to the Moquelumne; later at Daylor's rancho and in the mines; went to Mo. '49, and was still there in '79. His wife was a daughter of Thos Rhoads; twin children were born in '47, John living in Fresno Co. '79, Nancy (Mrs Reese) in Mo. *S. Joaq. Co. Hist.*, 19. Eldred (Nathaniel B.), 1848, came from Honolulu to S. F.; went to the Sandw. Isl. '50–1; wandered over Ariz., Utah, and Or.; near Stockton '66, and perhaps died in '69. Eldridge (Geo.), 1848, on the first jury at S. José.

Elijah, 1833, Ind. cook from Conn. on the *Helvetius;* went to Japan with Capt. Cooper in '42. *Chas Brown.* Elijah, 1845, Walla Walla Ind. shot by Grove Cook at N. Helv. v. 300–1. Eliot de Castro (John), 1814, sup. of the *Ilmen,* arrested in '15, left Cal. with Kotzebue in '16. ii. 210, 274, 279, 307–11, 373, 384. Elisa (Francisco), 1790–2, Span. com. of the *Concepcion* and *Activa* in Cal. and at Nootka. i. 493, 506, 517; see also *Hist. N. W. Coast,* index. and list of auth. Elizalde (Joaquin), at Los Ang. '46. E. (José), his doggerel of '38. iii. 577. E. (Juan), ment. in '29. iii. 68–9; soldier at

Sonoma '41. E. (Mariano), attacked by the Bears '46. v. 162. E. (Nicolás), at Los Ang. '39. E. (Vicente), at Los Ang. '46.

Ellick (John), 1845, German shoemaker from Or. in McMahon-Clyman party. iv. 572, 587. In '46, applying for naturalization, he claimed 3 years' residence, and may, therefore, have visited Cal. before going to Or. He settled at S. F., where he got a lot and kept a bakery with Denike, also a grogshop. v. 684-5. Still at S. F. '48-9; name written Alleck, Allig, Ellig, and Ilig, the last being perhaps the correct form. Elliott (Albion R.), 1845, Co. E, Cal. Bat. (v. 358), enlisting at Sonoma; prob. a son of W. B. E. (Ems), 1845, a son of Wm B; said to have been one of a party that discov. the Geysers. E. (J. L.), 1841, chaplain of U. S. ex. exped., detached at S. F. E. (Milton), 1846, one of the Donner party from Ill.; perished. v. 530, 534. The Milton Elliott of Or. named by McBride in *Tullidge's Mag.*, July '84, is not the Donner-party man, as he writes me from Astoria in '85. E. (Thos), 1847, Co. F, 3d U. S. artill. (v. 518); later in the mines.

Elliott (Wm B.), 1845, nat. of N.C., overl. immig. of the Grigsby-Ide party from Mo. with wife—Elizabeth Patton, married in '21—and 7 children. v. 579, 587; summoned before Castro as a repres. of the immig. iv. 606. He became a famous hunter, and on one of his early exped. is credited with having discovered the Geysers. He built a cabin on Mark West Cr., worked for Smith at Bodega, but left his family in Napa Val. He joined the Bears in '46, and Mrs E. is said to have furnished cloth and needles for the famous flag. v. 110, 148. One or more of his sons went south with the Cal. Bat. (v. 358). The old hunter raised grain and cattle in Napa and Sonoma; kept a hotel in '49; and in '54 moved to a farm in Lake Co., near Upper Lake, where he died in '76 at the age of 78. One of his daughters married Benj. Dewell, another pionéer.

Ellis (Alfred J.), 1847, nat. of N.Y., who came from Honolulu with wife and 3 children on the *Francisca;* owner of a lot and keeper of a boarding-house at S.F. from '47. v. 684; made a trip to Hon. and back with his son in '48 on the *Euphemia;* member of S.F. guard '48-9, and of city council '49; member of the constit. convention '49. Still at S.F. in '54 and later. E. (Robert), 1826, sailor on the *Rover.* E. (Thos W.), 1847, Co. D, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). Ellison (Pleasant), 1836, named in Larkin's books. Ellsworth, 1845, from Hon. on the *Fama.* Elmer (Elijah), 1847, sergt Co. C, Morm. Bat. v. 477; a carpenter at Mont. '48; d. in Utah '80. Elson (Thos), 1826-7, mr of the *Blossom.* iii. 121.

Elwell (Robert J.), 1827, nat. of Mass. who went to Honolulu in '23, and came to Cal. '27 as mr of the *Tamaahmaah,* and of the *Washington* in '28. ii. 573; iii. 149, 176-7. Often said to have come in '25 or earlier, and this may be so, though in a padron of '36 he is said to have come 9 years before. He settled at Sta B., was naturalized '28, and in '29 married Vicenta Sanchez, being engaged in trade. iv. 117. Many of his commercial letters for the following years are extant. In '36, age 39, with 4 children; in '42 got a grant of land at S.F. iv. 673; in '45 grantee of Sacramento Isl.; died at Sta B. '53. He is remembered by Davis and others as a comical genius, and his wife as a handsome woman.

Embly (James), 1846, doubtful member of the Mormon col. v. 547. Emerson (John Calvin), 1847, Co. I, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Bath, N.Y., '82. E. (Wm), 1832, one of Young's trappers, still at Los Ang. '34. iii. 388. Emery (John), 1847, a resid. of S. F. from '52. Emmett, 1837, mr of the *Toward Castle.* iv. 106. Emmons (Geo. F.), 1841, lieut U.S.N., of U. S. ex. exped. iv. 232, 241-5, 278; visited Cal. again in '48 on the *Ohio,* being owner of S.F. lots; later rear-admiral; died in N. J. '84 at age of 72. Emory (Oliver C.), 1846, came as wagon-master (with Kearny?); kept a livery-stable at Stockton and a ferry on the Stanislaus; in '50 county judge of S. Joaq.; later a farmer.

Emory (Wm H.), 1846, lieut of topographical engineers U.S.A., who came with Kearny from N.Mex. and took part in the fight at S. Pascual. v. 336-7, 343-7, 350. Having acted as adj.-gen. of Stockton's force in the campaign of '46-7, and planned the fortifications of Los Ang., he was sent east with despatches, and testified at the Frémont court-martial. v. 385, 398-9, 420, 428,

456. His *Notes of a Mil. Reconnoissance* pub. by govt in '48 is a valuable record of the march across the continent and the final campaign of the war. He ret. to Cal. in '49, and was prominent in the surveys of the Mex. boundary commission. In the war of 1861–5 he rose to the rank of maj.-general.

Engelberg (Emil August), 1847, Co. F, N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); at S. F. '82. English, 1845, doubtful name of an overl. immig.; prob. went to Or. iv. 578. E. (Earl), 1847, mid. on the U. S. *Independence*. E. (John), 1832, ment. in '32; perhaps 'English John.' Ennis (John), 1847, Co. A, N.Y.Vol. (v. 499). Ennughty (Thos), 1846, Fauntleroy's dragoons (v. 232). Enright (James), 1846, nat. of Ireland, who settled in Sta Clara Co. with his wife; prob. overl. immig.; lots at S.F. '47; still living in Sta Clara '81, cl. for a rancho. iv. 673. Enriquez (Antonio), weaver and soldier before 1800. i. 558, 676, 684. Ensign (Elias), 1846, of the Morm. col. who died at sea, as did his daughter Eliza. The widow, Jerusha, and a son arrived at S. F. v. 546. Ensloe (Hiram), 1848, had a store at Mormon Diggings. *Brooks*. Entinin (Francis), 1845, doubtful name of an Amer. in a Brancif. padron, age 29.

Erequette, 1837, doubtful name of one of Young's men driving cattle to Or. iv. 85. Erickson (L.), 1848, at Hon. from S.F. on the *Julian*. Ermatinger (Francis), 1831, in com. of the H.B. Co.'s trappers in Cal. '41–4. iv. 218, 220, 279. Ernest (Valentine), 1846, Co. C, 1st U.S. dragoons (v. 336).

Escalante (Gregorio), 1833, nat. of Manila, who deserted from the *Helvetius*. Lived at S.F. '40–4, owning a lot, being síndico in '42, and 40 years old in '44. iv. 655, 665, 684. Acc. to Chas Brown he married, raised a family, made and lost a fortune, and in '78 was in the poor-house at Mayfield. Escamilla (Blas A.), grantee of S. Vicente '46. v. 641. E. (Joaquin de los Santos), lieut of aux. cavalry at Mont. '44. iv. 652; elector '45. iv. 540, 651; 2d alcalde '45–6. iv. 653; v. 134, 636. E. (Serapio), soldier of S.F. comp. '22–3; concerned in revolt of '28, and sent to Mex. '30. ii. 615; iii. 85. E. (Tomás), Mex. convict 1797. i. 606. Escherick (Carl), 1847, musician N. Y. Vol. (v. 499); died in southern Cal. '74.

Escobar (Agustin), juez de campo at Mont. '46. v. 637; in '77 at Mont. gave me his recollections of the *Campaña de '46*. E. (Marcelino), Mex., who in '24 made a trip to China on the *Rover*. ii. 520; síndico at Mont. '30. ii. 612; alcalde '33, '36–7; iii. 673–5; in '36 at Mont., age 39, wife Tomasa García, child. Agustin b. '17, Juan '22, Josefa '23, José María '26, Nicolás Antonio '27, Jacoba '29, Amparo '31, Refugio '32, Fernanda '34; in '39 grantee of S. José y Sur Chiquito, and juez int. at S. Cárlos. iii. 678, 680; in '44 regidor, in '45 alcalde. iv. 653–6. Escudé (Jaime), 1812, Span. friar of S. Fern. college, b. at Gandesa, Cataluña, 1779; took the habit 1799; left Cádiz 1810; left Mex. for Cal. 1811. He served as missionary at Sta Cruz '12–18, and at S. Luis Rey '18–22, after which I have no record of him, and suppose him to have retired. He was reported by his superiors as a zealous worker of excellent character. *Autob. Autog. de los Padres*, MS.; *Arch. Sta B.*, iii. 124; see mention in ii. 246, 346, 387, 394, 452–3, 553, 655.

Esparza (Lorenzo), carpenter at S. D. 1779; wife María Dávila d. '81; pension granted in '95. i. 636. Espeleta, 1825, sup. of the *Merope*. iii. 148. Espí (José de la Cruz), 1792, Span. friar who served for short terms at several northern missions, retiring in 1800. Biog. i. 712; ment. i. 498, 500, 576–7, 617, 689. Espindola (Ramon), Span. artilleryman, age 60, with wife and 3 child. named in list sent to Mex. '28.

Espinosa, soldier killed by Ind. 1790. i. 465. E., mr of the *Magallanes*. i. 544. E., punished in 1821. ii. 660. E., corporal at Sta B. '24. ii. 531. E., soldier wounded by Ind. '29. iii. 113. E., guard of courier '34. iii. 271. E. (Antonio), soldier killed on the Colorado 1781. i. 363. E. (Ascension), at Sta B. '32, wife Nicolasa Pico, 6 children. E. (Cárlos), grantee of Poza de los Ositos '39. iii. 678; ment. in '46. v. 363; in Mont. Co. '50. E. (Cayetano), soldier at Soledad 1791–1800. i. 499. E. (Clemente), soldier at Mont. '36, age 20; an alférez '38–9. iii. 566, 583; at Sta Rita, near S. José, in '77 he gave me some brief *Apuntes*. E. (Estévan), ment. in the revolt of '29. iii. 69; grantee of rancho '40. iii. 679; in '36 at Salinas rancho, age 25, wife Antonia Amézquita, child Antonio b. '32. E. (Feliciano), juez de campo at Mont. '36. iii. 675. E. (Gabriel), ment. in '22. ii. 614; in revolt of '29. iii. 68-9; in trouble '31. iii. 673; grantee of Salinas in '36. iii. 678. In '36 he lived at Salinas, age 38, wife Mauricia Tapia, child. José María b. '19, Estefana '22, Antonio '25, Marcelino '29, Juana '28, Francisca '30, Bárbara '31, Juan '35. E. (Gabriel), grantee of Pilarcitos '35. iii. 678; in '36 at the rancho, age 46, wife Guadalupe Boronda, child. Gabriel b. '22, Ignacia '25, Pedro '26, María '27, Francisco '30, Juan M. '33, Guillermo '35. E. (Gregoria), wife of Sergt Verdugo before 1800. i. 663. E. (Joaquin), soldier killed on the Colorado 1781. i. 303. E. (Hipólito), at Los Ang. '46, age 30. E. (José), 1791, lieut in Malaspina's exped. i. 490. E. (José), regidor of Mont. '30. ii. 612; at Mont. '50. E. (Juan), sirviente at S. F. 1777. i. 297. E. (Juan B.), in comp. extranjera '32. iii. 672. E. (Luis), Mex. soldier of the Hidalgo piquete at Mont. '36, age 34. E. (Manuel), at S. Bern. '46, had Cal. claim (v. 462). E. (Miguel), soldier of Mont. comp. 1791-1800. i. 499; sergt 1809-13. ii. 141, 339. E. (Prudencio), at Alisal, Mont. '36, age 33, wife Antonia Buelna, child. José Manuel b. '28, Antonio '31, Ramon '32, Leonardo '33, Trinidad '36, Concepcion '27. In '46 he was juez suplente of the valley ranchos, and carried a message from Larkin to Frémont. v. 14-15, 637. E. (Salvador), named as sirviente and soldier 1777-1800. i. 297, 499. E. (Salvador), alcalde at Mont. '31-2. iii. 223, 225, 672-3; in '35 regidor. iii. 673; in '36 at San Miguel rancho, age 40, wife Lugarda Castro, child. Cárlos b. '16, José Ant. '18, José María '20, Asuncion '24; in '37 grantee of S. Miguel, or Escarpin. ii. 616, 664, 677-8; admin. of Soledad '36-9. iii. 690-1; in '43 juez at Refugio. iii. 653. E. (Trinidad), grantee of Los Gatos, or Sta Rita '20, '37. iii. 677, 672; at S. Miguel rancho '36, being juez de campo. iii. 675, 678, age 43, wife Jacinta Archuleta, son Mariano b. '17; in '45 at battle of Cahuenga and juez at Refugio. iv. 506, 653. E. (Vicente), Cal. claim '46 of $2,285 (v. 462).

Esquerra (Cayetano), messenger Sta Cruz '18. ii. 225. E. (Manuel), 1791, contador in Malaspina's exped. i. 490. Est, 1817, left at Sta B. ii. 286; prob. 'Lester,' q.v. Estabrook (Ethan), 1840, left at Mont. as U. S. consular agent to attend to the claims of the Graham exiles. He was not recog. by the govt, and sailed for Mazatlan in '41; at Mazatlan in '46. iv. 36-7, 194, 207, 214. Estanislao, kills his wife 1792. i. 687-8. Estanislao, renegade neophyte and hostile chief. 29-35; the name of Stanislaus County comes indirectly from him. ii. 110-14, 362.

Esténega (Tomás Eleuterio), 1820, Span. friar who served at S. Miguel, S. F., and S. Gabriel, dying at the latter mission in '47. Biog. v. 629; ment. ii. 384, 394, 440, 595-6, 620, 655; iii. 7, 12, 19, 91, 96, 121, 257, 319, 349, 359, 642-3, 713, 716; iv. 331, 371, 422, 549-50, 623, 629, 636-7. Estévan (José), settler at the Colorado pueblos, killed by Ind. 1781. i. 359-62. E. (José), 1821, Span. capt. and com. of Horcasitas, Sonora, who fled to Cal. on refusing oath of indep., on the *Zertaje*. ii. 431. E. (Pedro de S. José), 1794, Span. friar who served at S. Diego and S. Gabriel. retiring in 1802. Biog. ii. 113; ment. i. 576, 655, 657, 664; ii. 159. E., executed at Purísima '24. Estirten (Félix), 1829, mr of the *Trident;* doubtful. iii. 149.

Estrada (Francisco), at Chualar rancho '36. iii. 677; at S. José '41, age 23, wife Inés Castro; grantee of Pastoría de las Borregas and Refugio '42. iv. 672. E. (Joaquin), in '36 at Chualar, age 19, single. iii. 677; grantee of Sta Margarita '41. iv. 656; juez de paz at S. Luis Ob. '45. iv. 658-9; arrested by Frémont '46. v. 377; county judge '53; still at S. Luis '77. E. (José Ant.), represented Gov. Alvarado at his wedding '39. iii. 593; admin. of S. José mission '40-1. iii. 725; iv. 681, 684. E. (José María), alférez of the Loreto comp., prob. father of José Mariano and Raimundo, died 1791; never in Cal.

Estrada (José Mariano), 1806, born at Loreto 1784, enlisted 1797, came to Cal. as alférez of the Mont. comp., which position he held for 12 years, being habilitado most of the time. ii. 140, 206, 379-89. He was made brevet lieut in '18 for his services against Bouchard, and lieut '24 for services in suppressing the Ind. revolt. ii. 225-33, 243-4, 247, 531-3, 536, 608; also habilitado and sometimes acting com.; ment. in connection with various affairs. i. 170; ii. 451, 454, 461, 510; grantee of Buenavista ranchos '22–3. ii. 615, 664; iii. 677; admin. gen. of provincial finances '24. ii. 513, 521; mention '25–9, quarrel with Capt. Gonzalez, vocal in diputacion, Herrera trial, revenue affairs. ii. 612; iii. 25, 36–7, 39–40, 62–5, 159. He retired from the mil. service in '29; in '30 executor of Luis Argüello's estate. iii. 12; in '32–3 sub-comisario at Mont. iii. 376, 672; juez de campo '35. iii. 674; in '36 at Buenavista, a widower, child. Julian b. '16, and Francisco '20; ment. in the troubles at Mont. '36, also in '44. iii. 439; iv. 408. I have no record of him after '45. Don Mariano was one of the most respected and influential men in northern California. E. (José Raimundo), 1806, brother of José Mariano, who was cadet of the Mont. comp. to '18. ii. 56, 88, 379; in 1812 married the widow Josefa Vallejo de Alvarado. ii. 141; iii. 451 (where 'Ramon' should read 'Raimundo'); ment. perhaps in '24. ii. 537. In '24–30 Raimundo Estrada was cadet in the S.F. comp. ii. 584, 669; and would seem to be the same man, though he appears as a soldier at S.F. in '23; thus there may have been another of the name.

Estrada (José Ramon), son of José Mariano; in school at Mont. '15–20. ii. 429; hunting otter '32–4. iii. 374, 394; grantee of El Toro '35. iii. 679; in '36 alcalde at Mont. iii. 430, 439, 674; being at that time 25 years of age, wife María Castro; in '37 memb. of dip., in com. at Mont., and comisionado and admin. at Sta Clara. iii. 507, 511, 672, 728; iv. 47; vocal again '39. iii. 585, 590. In '41–3 Estrada was prefect of the 1st district. iv. 357, 652, 656; in '42 grantee of S. Simeon. iv. 656; and in '42–5 memb. of the junta. iv. 295, 360–1, 410, 521, 540. He seems to have died in '45. E. (Julian), son of José Mariano, grantee of Sta Rosa rancho '41. iv. 656; still in S. Luis Ob. Co. '50–60. E. (Nicanor), 1834, Mex. blacksmith and political exile with the H. & P. col., who had been a capt. in Mex., and whose rank was restored in '35; went to the L. Cal. frontier in '36 on the fall of Gutierrez. iii. 263, 467; being at this time 30 years old, wife Guadalupe Diaz, child. Gumesinda b. '31, Elena '34. In '37 he aided Bandini and others in their preparations against Alvarado, and was perhaps sent as a comisionado to Mex. iii. 516, 520, 531; but came back with Micheltorena in '42, and was capt. of the Mont. comp. in '43–4. iv. 290, 357, 652. I have no later record of him.

Estrada (Patricio), 1825, alférez of the piquete de Hidalgo who came with Echeandía, and in '36 was sent away with Gutierrez. iii. 13–15, 463, 467, 672. He was 29 years old and single in '36. E. (Pedro), owner of lot at S.F. '41–5. iv. 669; sub-lieut of militia; grantee of Asuncion in '45. iv. 655; still at S. Luis Ob. '50–1. E. (Rafael), celador of Mont. custom-house '42–4. iv. 339, 377, 431; grantee of S. Lúcas rancho '42, and alf. of aux. cavalry. 655, 652; in '46 regidor at Mont. v. 636; still in Mont. Co. '53. E. (Raimundo), cadet in S. F. comp. '24–30; prob. same as José Raimundo, q.v. E. (Santiago), son of José Mariano, grantee with his brothers of Buenavista rancho '22–3. ii. 615; iii. 677; made a trip to China on the *Rover* '24. ii. 520; síndico at Mont. '33. iii. 673; in '35–6 aux. alcalde and juez de campo. iii. 674–5; then living at Buevavista, age 27, wife Isidora Soto, child. Mariano, Francisco, María de los Angeles, and Juana. In '36–7 also named as sub-comisario and comandante at Mont. iii. 513, 524, 672; iv. 96; in '38 courier and com. of prisoners' guard. iii. 552, 567; in '39 partido elector. iii. 590; in '39–45 capt. of aux. comp. at Mont. iv. 75, 197–8, 407, 515, 652; in '46 juez of the valley ranchos. v. 637; still in Mont. Co. '50–1.

Estudillo (José Antonio), son of José María, b. at Mont. 1805.; in '27 of terna for treasurer, and grantee of S. Diego lot. ii. 546–7; iii. 63; in '28–30, revenue collector and treasurer at S.D. ii. 543; iii. 137; in '29 grantee of Otay rancho. ii. 542, 547, 663; iii. 612. In '33–5 he was a memb. of the dip. iii. 246, 249–50; in '35 had a claim to the temporary governorship. iii. 299–300, 414–15; grantee of Temécula. iii. 612; in '36–8 alcalde and juez of S. Diego. iii. 485, 616; in '36–8 took part against Alvarado's govt. iv. 491, 548–9, 557, 568, 578; elector '39, treasurer '40, and justice of the sup. tribunal '40–2. iii. 605, 614, 616; iv. 296; admin. and maj. at S. Luis Rey '40–3, also owner of land at S. Juan Cap. '41. iii. 623–4, 627; iv. 619, 623, 626; grantee of S. Jacinto '42. iv. 621, 618; claim against the govt '45. iv. 561; in '45-6 juez de paz at S. Diego, iv. 618-20, but was neutral in the troubles with the U.S. v. 329; ment. '47. v. 620. In later years he served under the U.S. rule as town treasurer and county assessor. Died in '52. Don José Antonio was a man of excellent character, of good education for his time and country, and of wide influence in the south. His wife was María Victoria Dominguez, locally well known for her charities, who died in '73 at the age of 72, leaving 30 grandchildren. The sons were José María, Salvador, José Guadalupe, José Antonio, and Francisco. Of the daughters, two, Francisca and Rosario, married José Ant. Aguirre, and another seems to have married Manuel A. Ferrer. E. (José Guadalupe), son of José Antonio, b. '38; connected with a S. Diego bank; county treasurer from '63; state treasurer from '75; still living in Southern Cal. '85.

Estudillo (José Joaquin), son of José María, b. 1798, who entered the mil. service in '15 as soldado distinguido of the Mont. comp., but was transferred to the S.F. comp. in '16 as cadet, which place he held until he left the service in '23, having accompanied Luis Argüello on the famous exped. to the far north in '21. ii. 370, 445, 584. Ment. at S.F. '26-7. iii. 33, 63; munic. elector '27, and supl. member of dip. '27, '29. ii. 592; iii. 36-41; in '34-5 comisionado to secularize S.F. mission. iii. 346, 354, 714-15; in '35 elector, in '36 alcalde at S.F. iii. 703-5; in '38 living at S. Leandro rancho, which in '42 was granted to him. iii. 713; iv. 673, 314. In a padron of the S. José dist. of '41 he is named, with wife Juana Martinez, child. Concepcion b. '25, Ramon '27, Gertrudis '29, Antonio '30, María de Jesus '31, José Vicente '33, José Luis '36, María Guadalupe '38. Don Joaquin was juez de la contra costa in '43, also in '46-7, taking but slight part in the war. iv. 685; v. 17, 129, 662. He died in '52. I have much of his corresp. in dif. private archives; and also 2 vols of *Estudillo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, presented by his son Jesus María in '75. He left 9 children, some of whom in '85 still own a part of the original S. Leandro estate. Of his daughters, the oldest, Concepcion, married John B. Ward, María de Jesus in '47 became the wife of Wm H. Davis, Magdalena married John Nugent, and Dolores married Chas H. Cushing. Of the sons Antonio lives in '85 at S. Leandro, Luis at Oakland, Ramon and Vicente at S. Luis Ob., and Jesus María at S.F.

Estudillo (José María), 1806, Span. lieut of the Mont. comp. 1806-27, and capt. of the S. Diego comp. from '27 to his death in '30. Biog. ii. 541-2; ment. ii. 140, 171, 192, 226, 230, 234, 271, 285, 309, 335-6, 340-1, 379, 382, 383-4, 387-8, 412, 433, 442, 451, 454-5, 461, 467, 507-8, 512-13, 517, 523, 525, 539, 608; iii. 13, 39, 51-3, 60, 291, 422. Don José María was the founder of the Estudillo family in Cal., one of the best of the old families, as judged by the average prominence and character of its members. A faithful officer, though of only medium abilities, he had some disagreeable qualities—notably that of vanity—which made him at one time or another heartily disliked by most of his brother officers, who were disposed to ridicule him and make him the butt of practical jokes. His wife was Gertrudis Horcasitas. His daughter, Magdalena, was grantee of part of Otay in '29. ii. 209, 373, 542, 547; v. 619. A daughter married Lieut Manuel Gomez. ii. 470. E. (José María), cadet at S.F. 1803-7. ii. 135. I do not know who he was. E. (José María), son of José Ant., b. at S. Diego '31; educ. at Sta B., Mont., and Lima '39-48; in '50 agent for Aguirre, his brother-in-law; later a ranchero in the S.D. mission valley, where, in '77, he gave me some interesting *Datos Históricos*. His wife was a daughter of Juan María Marron.

Etholin (Adolf), 1827, mr of the Russian *Baikal* '27-30. ii. 649-51; iii. 146; i. list auth. Eusebio, Ind. in Sutter's employ '45-6; induced to testify that Castro had instigated him to burn grain-fields, etc. Eustice (Dabney), 1846, with Kearny from N. Mex. v. 337. Eustis, 1845, at N. Helv., perhaps an overl. immig. iv. 578. Euth (John), 1847, Co. G, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499).

Evans (Geo. M.), 1847, brick-maker and owner of a S.F. lot. v. 685; published an article in defense of the Mormons in *S.F. Californian* July 31, '47. E. (Israel), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); in Sutter's employ; went to

Utah '48. E. (John), 1826–7, clerk on the *Blossom;* trip from S.F. to Mont. by land. iii. 121. E. (John), 1842, Austrian sailor and carpenter, landed from a whaler with a broken leg. iv. 341; hunted otter with Dittmann '45; at S.F. '46 with a family, getting a lot in '47. The original name was Evanowitz; still at S.F. '79. E. (John), 1847, Co. F, 3d artillery. *Lancey;* not on roll. E. (Joseph), 1847, sergt Co. I, N.Y. Vol. v. 504; 15 years in Cal.; at Newark N. J. '84; a brother Geo. at S. José '78. E. (O. H.), 1847, at S. F. from Or. on the *Henry.* E. (Parley P.), 1847, nat. of Penn.; son of Wm, age 6 years; in '55 messenger in the assembly at Sac.; I have a letter from him in Utah '84. E. (Plummer B.), 1847, Co. I, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499); at Hampton, Va. '82. E. (Randolph), 1847, Co. F, N.Y. Vol. (v. 499). E. (Wm), 1846, of the Morm. col., with wife Hannah R., and 4 child. Amanda M., Jonathan B., Parley P., and Wm. v. 546; owner of S.F. lot '47. v. 682; d. S.F. '52; the family went to Utah '57, where the mother died in '84, when the children were all living. E. (Wm), 1847, Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); reënl.; a mason who in '48 was judge of election at S. Diego. v. 652.

Everett (C. T.), 1846, mr of a whaler at S. Pedro. E. (Elisha), 1847, musician Co. B, Morm. Bat. (v. 469); capt. of a party on the return. *Bigler.* E. (John C.), 1844, mr of the *Vandalia* '44–7; owner of S. F. lot. iv. 569; v. 580. E. (John H.), 1836, at Mont., prob. as clerk on the *Alert.* iv. 118, 141; and again in '41–4 as sup. of the *Tasso.* iv. 460, 569. He is said to have been much less popular with the Californians than other traders of the period. Everhart (Lazarus), 1845, tailor in the McMahon-Clyman party from Or. iv. 572, 587; had crossed the plains from Mich. in '44. He went first to Mont., but from '47 had a tailor-shop at S. F., where he was the owner of several lots, a candidate for alcalde, and in '49 member of the council. v. 650, 676, 683. Eversfield (Chas), 1846, asst surg. on the U. S. *Congress;* acting as surg. in Stockton's Bat. '47. v. 385. Everts (Henry), 1845, doubtful name of an overl. immig. iv. 578. Evrett (Solomon), 1845, Del. Ind. in Frémont's party.

Ewel (James D.), 1846, came to S. José Valley. *Hall.* Ewer, 1847, mr of the *Emily Morgan.* v. 577. Exter (Richard), 1828, licensed by Mex. govt to hunt in Cal. with Julian Wilson; no definite record of operations. iii. 172–3. Eymerlun, 1845, doubtful name of a negro deserter from the *Héroine.* Ezquer (Ignacio), 1833, Mex. clerk who came by sea at the age of 15; served as clerk for dif. admin. of missions; kept a bar '42–5, later a store and billiard-room; in '38 temp. in charge of S. Juan Cap. iii. 558; in '48 candidate for munic. treasurer. iv. 653; in '46 regidor and acting alcalde of Mont. v. 233, 636; in '49 again alcalde. He lived at Alisal '50–3, and in '54 went to S. Luis Ob., where he served several years as justice of the peace. There in '78 he gave me his *Memorias* on early events. His first wife was Josefa, daughter of Rafael Pico; the second a daughter of Gov. Alvarado.

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